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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 375--82nd Congress

Chapter 369--2nd Session

H. R. 6947

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THE HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE
UNITED STATES
BY
W. M. LADD

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE
UNITED STATES

Digest of Public Law 375

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION ACT, 1952. Provides the following items for this Department: The Forest Service received an additional appropriation of \$3,250,000 for fighting forest fires and \$700,000 for smoke-jumper facilities, to remain available until expended. The Act provides that the \$700,000 shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of the smoke-jumper facilities, and that the authorization granted in section 3, Public Law 198, 82nd Cong., to enter into contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be exercised hereafter.

Contains various amounts for Department agencies to cover pay increases authorized by Public Law 201, 82nd Cong. Provides \$800 pay increases for certain \$14,000 officials. An item of \$4,000,000 is provided for Civil Service Commission investigations, and \$4,000,000 is provided for the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is largely for the Mexican farm-labor program. An additional \$69,500,000 is provided for Federal-aid highways, and \$4,400,000 is for the acquisition of a site and construction of a building in the Kansas City area to be used as a supply and records center to replace the building damaged by flood in 1951. Various amounts are included for claims for damages, audited claims, and judgments.

The Act contains a provision against use of the appropriations provided therein for publicity or propaganda purposes not theretofore authorized by the Congress. The Whitten personnel amendment is modified in several respects, including a proviso that any agency may promote any employee permanently to a position if such promotion will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in such agency above the number of such grade in such agency prior to September 1, 1950.

Under the following items for total Government: The Forest Service received an additional appropriation of \$5,350,000 for fighting forest fires and \$70,000 for smoke-jumper facilities, to remain available until expended. The Act provides that the \$700,000 shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of the smoke-jumper facilities, and that the appropriation created in section 3, Public Law 195, 82nd Cong., to enter into contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be expended hereafter.

Contains various amounts for Department agencies to cover various investigations authorized by Public Law 201, 82nd Cong. Provides \$800 per investigator for certain \$10,000 officials. In title of \$1,000,000 is provided for Civil Service Commission investigations, and \$1,000,000 is provided for the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is largely for the Mexican farm-labor program. An additional \$1,400,000 is provided for Federal-aid highways, and \$1,400,000 is for the acquisition of a site and construction of a building in the Kansas City area to be used as a municipal and regional center to replace the building damaged by flood in 1951. Various amounts are included for claims for damages, settled claims, and judgments.

The Act contains a provision for use of the experimental provisions provided therein for public or private purposes and not otherwise authorized by the Congress. The latter paragraph amendment is modified in several respects, including a proviso that any money may travel any route. Furthermore, to a provision it such situation will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in which vacancy above the number of such grade is now being filled in Government per 1, 1950.

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF H. R. 6947

February 18, 1952	Proposed supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1952. House Document 358.
March 7, 1952	Mr. Cannon of the Committee on Appropriations of the House, reported H. R. 6947. House report 1503. Print of bill as reported. Hearings: House Hearings: Senate
March 12, 1952	House began debate on H. R. 6947.
March 13, 1952	H. R. 6947 passed House with amendments.
March 14, 1952	H. R. 6947 read twice and referred to the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Print of bill as referred to the Senate.
April 7, 1952	Senate Appropriations Committee began the mark-up of H. R. 6947.
April 10, 1952	Senate committee reported H. R. 6947 with amendments. Senate report 1454. Print of bill as reported.
April 16, 1952	Senate began debate on H. R. 6947.
April 17, 1952	Senate continued debate.
April 18, 1952	Senate continued debate.
April 21, 1952	Senate continued debate.
April 22, 1952	Senate passed with amendments, H. R. 6947. Print of bill with Senate amendments numbered. Senate conferees appointed.
April 29, 1952	House conferees appointed.
June 3, 1952	House received conference report. House Report 2017.
June 4, 1952	Consideration of conference report deferred.
June 5, 1952	Both Houses agreed to conference report. Approved: Public Law 375.

UNITED STATES SENATE

February 26, 1952

From the Senate Committee on Appropriations for the fiscal year 1953. (House Document 228)

March 2, 1952

Mr. Cramer of the Committee on Appropriations for the fiscal year 1953. (House Document 228). House report 228. Title of bill as reported.

Committee: House
 Committee: Senate

March 15, 1952

House passed debate on H. R. 228.

March 17, 1952

H. R. 228 was a House with amendments.

March 18, 1952

H. R. 228 was referred to the Committee on Appropriations. Title of bill as referred to the Senate.

March 19, 1952

Senate Appropriations Committee passed the bill on H. R. 228.

April 10, 1952

Senate committee reported H. R. 228 with amendments. Senate report 228. Title of bill as reported.

April 16, 1952

Senate passed debate on H. R. 228.

April 17, 1952

Senate continued debate.

April 18, 1952

Senate continued debate.

April 22, 1952

Senate continued debate.

April 23, 1952

Senate passed with amendments, H. R. 228. Title of bill with Senate amendments adopted.

Senate conference appointed.

April 29, 1952

House conference appointed.

June 3, 1952

House received conference report. House report 228.

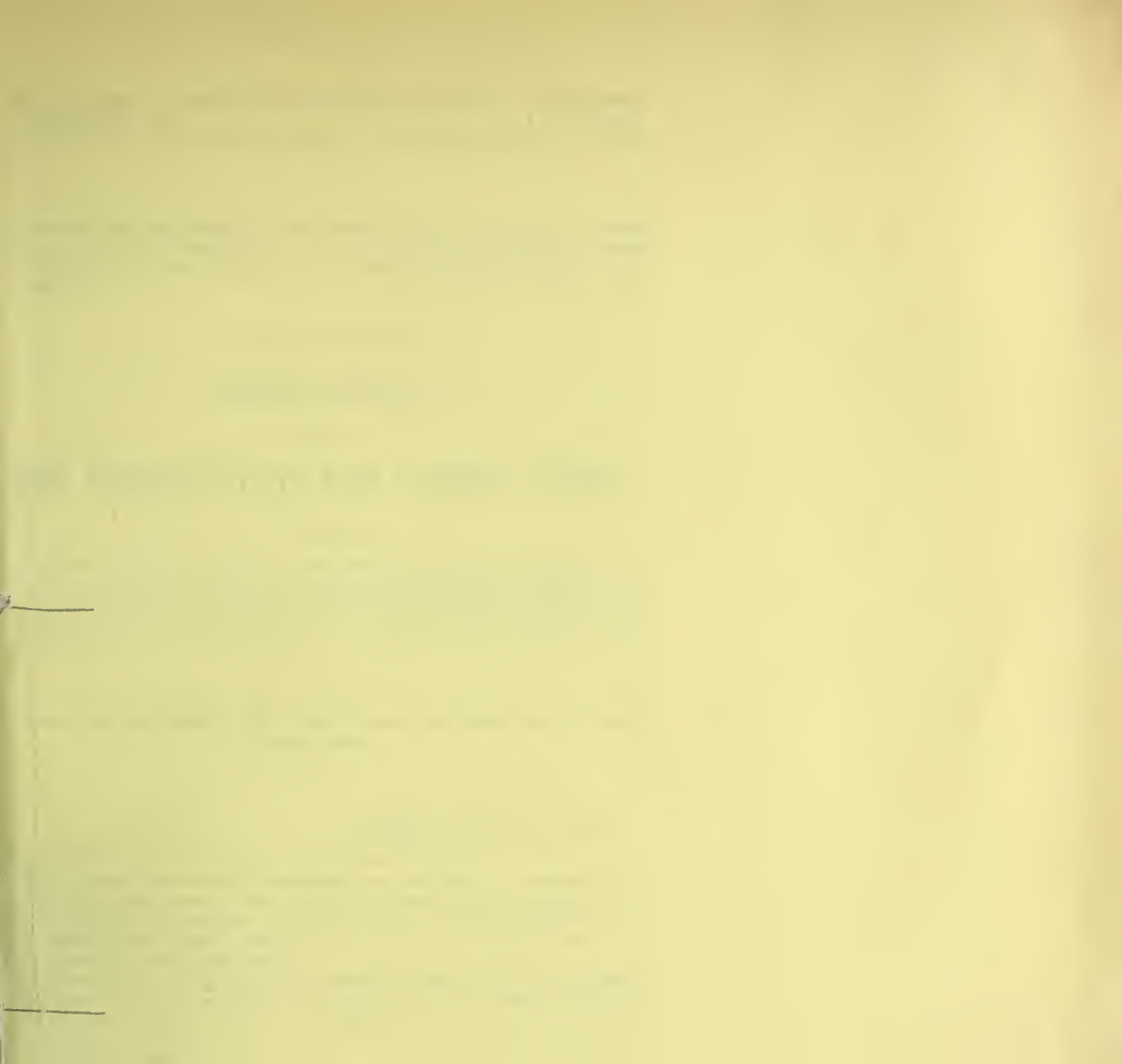
June 4, 1952

Reconciliation of conference report adopted.

June 5, 1952

Bill passed after to conference report.

Approved: Public Law 228.



PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE
AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND FOR
VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES OF THE EXECUTIVE
BRANCH

COMMUNICATION

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL
YEAR 1952, IN THE AMOUNT OF \$360,248,306, FOR THE LEGISLATIVE
AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND FOR
VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES OF THE EXECUTIVE
BRANCH

FEBRUARY 18, 1952.—Referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered
to be printed

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 18, 1952.

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration
of the Congress proposed supplemental appropriations for the fiscal
year 1952, in the amount of \$360,248,306, for the legislative and
judicial branches of the Government and for various departments and
agencies of the executive branch.

The details of the estimates, the necessity therefor, and the reasons
for their submission at this time are set forth in the attached letter from
the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, with whose comments and
observations thereon I concur.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,

Washington 25, D. C., February 15, 1952.

The PRESIDENT,

The White House.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith for your consideration proposed supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1952, in the amount of \$360,248,306, for the legislative and judicial branches of the Government and for various departments and agencies of the executive branch.

The proposed appropriations will provide funds for pay increases under the following statutes:

Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951, granted pay increases, retroactive to the beginning of the first pay period of the current fiscal year, to employees receiving compensation under the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, and to other groups of employees in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

Public Law 204, approved October 24, 1951, granted pay increases, retroactive to July 1, 1951, to postmasters, officers, and employees of the postal service, and postal employees of the Canal Zone government.

Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, granted pay increases, retroactive to the beginning of the first pay period of the current fiscal year, to policemen, firemen, teachers, and certain other employees in the District of Columbia, Federal, and Canal Zone governments.

In order to provide equitable treatment, the proposed appropriations include funds for pay increases for certain other groups of employees whose compensation is fixed by administrative action pursuant to law (other than upon the basis of Wage Board recommendation). These are the so-called "ungraded" employees, whose salaries, although established by administrative order, are generally comparable to those of classified employees and have customarily been increased when statutory salary rates have been increased by statutes such as Public Law 201. Also, there is included language which would permit these increases to be made retroactive on the same basis as if they had been granted by Public Law 201. It is estimated that the total cost of pay increases for these ungraded employees, including the retroactive portion, will approximate \$12,000,000.

The total cost of all these pay increases is \$698,822,889, of which \$311,158,983, or 45 percent, can be met by savings arising from adoption of the graduated-leave law, other savings possible by administrative action, increases in limitations on administrative expenses and trust and revolving funds, and transfers of funds from one account to another within the same agency. The remaining \$387,663,906, or 55 percent of the total cost, will require supplemental appropriations. Of this latter amount, \$360,248,306 is included in this consolidated submission and \$27,415,600 is being submitted separately as a part of proposed supplemental appropriations involving other requirements as well as pay-increase costs.

Where it appeared that supplemental appropriations would be required to meet pay-increase costs, the appropriations of the executive branch were apportioned on that basis. These actions were reported to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in letters of January 7, 1952, as required by paragraph 2 of subsection (e) of section 3679 of the Revised Statutes, as amended.

This submission provides only for the increased pay costs for employment which can be financed by appropriations already enacted for the fiscal year 1952. All proposed supplemental appropriations for additional personal services for the fiscal year 1952 which are submitted during the present session of Congress will be based on the new pay rates.

The submission also contains proposed language to waive certain limitations on appropriations to the extent necessary to cover the pay-increase costs and is needed because the limitations carried in the 1952 appropriation acts made no provision for these costs.

The proposed supplemental appropriations recommended herein, listed by departments and agencies and appropriations involved, are set forth in the attachment to this letter.

The tabular statement following the list of items shows by departments and agencies (1) the total cost of the pay increases; (2) the total amount to be absorbed, broken between (a) the portion arising out of the reduction in annual leave under the graduated leave law (Public Law 233), (b) the portion which can be met by administrative action, and (c) the portion which can be met by proposed transfers between appropriations, by increases in limitations on administrative expenses, and by increases in the limitations on the amount of trust and Indian tribal funds which can be used in 1952; and (3) the additional appropriations required, broken between (a) the portion which is included in this submission and (b) the portion which will be included in other submissions.

These estimates of appropriation are required in connection with legislation enacted since the transmission to the Congress of the budget for the fiscal year 1952. The estimates submitted by the legislative branch and the judiciary have been included without change, and I make no observations regarding their necessity. The estimates for the executive branch and the District of Columbia have been carefully reviewed, and I recommend the transmission thereof to the Congress in the amounts specified.

Respectfully yours,

F. J. LAWTON,
Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

TITLE II—INCREASED PAY COSTS

For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law, as follows:

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Senate:

- "Salaries, officers and employees", \$782,896;
- Contingent expenses of the Senate:
 - "Senate policy committees", \$9,910;
 - "Joint Committee on the Economic Report", \$7,690;
 - "Joint Committee on Atomic Energy", \$12,925;
 - "Joint Committee on Printing", \$2,792;
 - "Vice President's automobile", \$355;
 - "Automobile for the President pro tempore", \$355;
 - "Automobile for majority and minority leaders", \$710;
 - "Reporting Senate proceedings", \$10,253;
 - "Furniture", cleaning and so forth, \$290;
 - "Inquiries and investigations", \$92,120;
 - "Folding documents", \$2,890;
 - "Miscellaneous items", \$15,060;

House of Representatives:

- "Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;
- "Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;
- Contingent expenses of the House:
 - "Furniture", \$8,850;
 - "Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation", \$14,475;
 - "Office of the Coordinator of Information", \$5,630;
 - "Folding documents", \$5,250;
 - "Revision of laws", \$800;
 - "Speaker's automobile", \$485;

"Office of Legislative Counsel", \$16,065, of which \$7,600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;

- Capitol police: "Capitol Police Board", \$1,795;
- "Education of Senate and House pages", \$2,940;

Architect of the Capitol:

- Office of the Architect of the Capitol: "Salaries", \$8,100;
- Capitol Buildings and Grounds:
 - "Capitol Buildings", \$39,000;
 - "Capitol Grounds", \$18,100;
 - "Legislative garage", \$2,400;
 - "Senate Office Building", \$55,400;
 - "House Office Buildings", \$78,000;
 - "Capitol Power Plant", \$35,400;

Library buildings and grounds: "Structural and mechanical care", \$16,700;

Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;

Library of Congress:

"Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;

Copyright office: "Salaries", \$78,182;

Legislative reference service: "Salaries and expenses", \$66,300;

Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and expenses", \$55,359;

Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$6,530;

Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,860;

Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of Documents: "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

THE JUDICIARY

Supreme Court of the United States:

"Salaries", \$52,000;

"Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;

Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;

Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;

Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;

Other courts and services:

"Salaries of clerks of courts", \$401,000;

"Probation system", \$197,000;

"Salaries of criers", \$52,500;

"Miscellaneous salaries", \$239,900;

"Salaries of court reporters", \$94,400;

"Administrative Office of the United States Courts", \$41,300;

"Expenses of referees", \$16,750;

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

"Executive Mansion and grounds", \$20,000;

Bureau of the Budget: "Salaries and expenses", \$246,000;

Council of Economic Advisers: "Salaries and expenses", \$17,800;

National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$30,000;

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,000,000;

Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,700,000;

"Export-Import Bank of Washington" (increase of \$75,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Federal Civil Defense Administration: "Operations", \$375,000;

Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$488,900;

Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$214,500;

Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys", \$14,000;

Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$274,000;

General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;
Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,900;

Interstate Commerce Commission:

"General expenses", \$719,000;

"Railroad safety", \$60,000;

"Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$455,000;

National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$22,000; and the amount made available under the head "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

"Reconstruction Finance Corporation" (increase of \$350,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$435,000;

Smithsonian Institution:

"Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution", \$162,000;

"Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art", \$90,000;

Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and expenses", \$42,000;

Veterans Administration: "Administration, medical, hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and expenses", \$28,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$361,400;

Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses", \$204,000;

Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$274,000, of which \$204,000 shall be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$213,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and expenses", \$40,000;

Public Health Service:

"Venereal diseases", \$154,000;

"Tuberculosis", \$65,000;

"Assistance to States, general", \$100,000;

"Communicable diseases", \$287,000;

"Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene", \$110,000;

- “Disease and sanitation investigations and control, Territory of Alaska”, \$19,000;
- “Salaries and expenses, hospital construction services”, \$67,000;
- “Hospitals and medical care”, \$1,417,000;
- “Foreign quarantine service”, \$156,000;
- “National Institutes of Health, operating expenses”, \$270,000;
- “National Cancer Institute”, \$165,000;
- “Mental health activities”, \$45,000;
- “National Heart Institute”, \$87,000;
- “Dental health activities”, \$20,000;
- “Salaries and expenses”, \$176,000;
- Saint Elizabeths Hospital: “Salaries and expenses”, \$209,500;
- Social Security Administration:
 - “Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit Unions”, \$57,000;
 - “Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assistance”, \$102,000;
 - “Salaries and expenses, Children’s Bureau”, \$95,000;
 - “Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner”, \$15,000, together with not to exceed \$7,700 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;
- Office of the Administrator:
 - “Salaries, Office of the Administrator”, \$164,500, together with not to exceed \$32,000 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;
 - “Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations”, \$30,500, together with not to exceed \$3,900 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;
 - “Salaries, Office of the General Counsel”, \$30,000, together with not to exceed \$2,000 to be transferred from the appropriation “Salaries and expenses, certification and inspection services”, and not to exceed \$30,800 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

- “Operating expenses”, \$5,759,000;

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

- Office of the Administrator:
 - “Salaries and expenses”, \$207,000;
 - “Advance planning of non-Federal public works”, \$63,500;
 - “Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services”, \$44,700;
 - “Salaries and expenses, defense production activities”, \$41,800;
 - “Federal National Mortgage Association” (increase of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);
 - Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses in connection with loans for prefabricated housing);

"Home Loan Bank Board" (increase of \$31,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State chartered institutions);

"Federal Housing Administration" (increase of \$334,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses);

"Public Housing Administration" (increase of \$833,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses);

"Administrative expenses", \$601,000;

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$222,000;

Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

"Economic investigations", \$170,500;

"Crop and livestock estimates", \$234,500;

Agricultural Research Administration:

"Office of Administrator", \$41,000;

"Research on agricultural problems of Alaska", \$20,000;

"Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials", \$32,000;

Office of Experiment Stations: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,000;

"Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics", \$86,000;

Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

"Animal research", \$215,000;

"Animal disease control and eradication", \$395,800;

"Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum", \$4,200;

"Meat inspection", \$950,000;

"Bureau of Dairy Industry", \$98,000;

"Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry", \$450,000;

Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering:

"Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering research", \$745,920;

"National Arboretum", \$12,080;

Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

Salaries and expenses:

"Insect investigations", \$265,500;

"Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,900;

"Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

"Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the amount of this appropriation which may be apportioned for use only to meet emergency conditions, pursuant to the provision under this head in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law 201));

Forest Service:

Salaries and expenses:

"National forest protection and management", \$1,492,000;

"Forest research", \$308,000;

"State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing services", \$740,000;

"Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$540,000;

Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,745,000;

"Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law 201));

"Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

"Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

"Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

"Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

"Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

"Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

"Office of Information", \$48,000;

"Library", \$46,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$120,000;

"Technical and scientific services", \$20,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$2,953,000;

Bureau of the Census:

"Salaries and expenses", \$467,000;

"Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

Civil Aeronautics Administration:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,150,000;

"Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$80,000;

"Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport Act" (\$150,000 of the amount made available for projects in the States to be available for necessary planning, research, and administrative expenses);

Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;

Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses", \$469,000;

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

"Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;

"Field office service", \$134,000;

"Export control", \$356,000;

Maritime activities: "Salaries and expenses", \$719,300; and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:

Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$750,000;

National Bureau of Standards:

"Operation and administration", \$42,000;

"Research and testing", \$252,000;

"Radio propagation and standards", \$72,000;

Weather Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,470,000;

"Inland Waterways Corporation" (increase of \$10,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Department of the Army—Civil functions:

Quartermaster Corps: "Cemeterial expenses", \$50,000;

"United States Soldiers' Home" (\$135,000, to be paid from the Soldiers' Home permanent fund);

"Government and relief in occupied areas", \$450,000;

"Canal Zone Government", \$576,700;

"Postal service", \$53,300;

"Panama Canal Company" (increase of \$20,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act", \$11,000;

"Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power Administration", \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Construction, Southeastern Power Administration";

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$260,000;

Commission of Fine Arts: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,200;

Bonneville Power Administration: "Construction", \$590,000;

Bureau of Land Management: "Management of lands and resources", \$335,000;

Bureau of Indian Affairs:

"Health, education, and welfare services", \$2,175,000;

"Resources management", \$388,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$224,900;

"Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians, Oklahoma", \$1,500;

"Tribal funds" (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

Bureau of Reclamation: "General administrative expenses", \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Construction and rehabilitation";

Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and research", \$649,000;

Bureau of Mines:

"Conservation and development of mineral resources",
\$650,000;

"Health and safety", \$285,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$84,000;

National Park Service:

"Management and protection", \$440,000;

"Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facilities", \$79,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$83,000;

Fish and Wildlife Service:

"Management of resources", \$275,000;

"Investigations of resources", \$170,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$55,000;

Office of Territories: "Operation and maintenance of roads, Alaska",
\$40,000;

Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries and ex-
penses", \$140,000;

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Legal activities and general administration:

"Salaries and expenses, general administration", \$160,000;

"Salaries and expenses, general legal activities", \$450,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division", \$254,000;

"Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and marshals".

\$800,000;

Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons",
\$1,141,000;

Office of Alien Property (trust fund): "Salaries and expenses"
(increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
used for administrative expenses);

"Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of \$21,000 in
the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative
expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in the limitation upon the amount
which may be used for expenses of vocational training of prisoners);

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$80,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor", \$115,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards", \$46,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment
Rights", \$19,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities",
\$126,000;

Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses", \$175,000;

Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and expenses",
\$146,000;

Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"Salaries and expenses", \$340,000;

"Revision of consumers' price index", \$88,000;

Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$17,000;

Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses", \$549,000;

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

(Out of the postal revenues)

"General administration", \$1,719,000;

"Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"Salaries and expenses", \$4,228,000;

"International information and educational activities", \$2,237,000;

"Government in occupied areas", \$932,000;

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses", \$175,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of Accounts:

"Salaries and expenses", \$82,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Disbursement", \$814,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public debt", \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of Customs: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000,000;

Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses", \$130,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Secret Service Division:

"Salaries and expenses", \$172,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, White House police", \$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

General Administration:

"Executive office", \$20,400;

"Office of the corporation counsel", \$19,000;

"Purchasing Division", \$9,000;

"Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service", \$108,700;

Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

"Workmen's compensation, administrative expenses", \$14,000;

"District government retirement and relief funds", \$70,000;

Regulatory agencies:

- "Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$5,700;
- "Board of Parole", \$2,400;
- "Coroner's office", \$4,300;
- "Department of Insurance", \$2,200;
- "Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets", \$11,400;
- "License Bureau", \$6,700;
- "Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board", \$6,500;
- "Office of Recorder of Deeds", \$12,000;
- "Poundmaster's office", \$3,100;
- "Office of Administrator of Rent Control", \$1,200;
- "Zoning Commission", \$2,100;

Public schools:

- "General administration", \$1,557,000;
- "Vocational education, George-Barden program", \$19,000;
- "Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds and equipment", \$221,000;

Public Library: "Operating expenses", \$76,000;

Recreation Department: "Operating expenses", \$133,000;

"Metropolitan Police", \$964,000, of which \$135,500 shall be payable from the highway fund;

"Fire Department", \$440,000;

Courts: "District of Columbia courts", \$42,100, of which \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States Public Health Service;

Health Department:

"General administration", \$61,000;

"Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis Sanatorium", \$95,000;

"Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$346,000;

Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses", \$155,000;

Public welfare:

"General administration", \$4,400;

"Agency services", \$42,600;

"Operating expenses, protective institutions", \$119,000;

"Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;

Public works:

"Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;

"Office of Municipal Architect", \$9,200;

"Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of District Buildings", \$84,000;

"Department of Inspections", \$38,400;

"Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;

"Central garage", \$5,900;

"Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions" (payable from highway fund), \$75,000;

"Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions" (payable from highway fund), \$13,000;

"Department of Vehicles and Traffic" (payable from highway fund), \$37,000;

"Division of Trees and Parking" (payable from highway fund), \$27,800;

"Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation", \$331,000;

"Operating expenses, Sewer Division", \$133,000;

"Operating expenses, Water Division" (payable from water fund), \$170,000;

Washington Aqueduct: "Operating expenses" (payable from water fund), \$25,900;

"National Guard", \$4,500;

"National Capital Parks", \$146,000;

"National Capital Park and Planning Commission", \$3,400;

"National Zoological Park", \$29,800;

DIVISION OF EXPENSES

The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of 1952.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 202. Appropriations or other funds made available by this or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, comparable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pursuant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this section shall not affect the availability of funds for compensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar authority.

SEC. 203. Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for specified types of personal services, or for other purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may be transferred between appropriations or authorizations available for or involving such services, are hereby increased to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law.

ANALYSIS OF PAY INCREASE COSTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1952

Organization unit	Total cost	Absorption				Additional funds required		
		Total	Possible by administrative action		Requiring congressional action	Total	Included in this sub-mission	Submitted separately
			Leave savings	Other				
Legislative branch								
The Judiciary	\$3,058,423	\$454,102				\$2,604,321	\$2,604,321	
Executive Office of the President:	1,253,347	108,862				1,144,485	1,144,485	
The White House:								
Public Law 201	116,550	116,550						
Bureau of the Budget	21,000	1,000	\$11,000			20,000	20,000	
Council of Economic Advisers	275,885	29,885	25,000	4,885		246,000	246,000	
National Security Council	19,200	1,400		1,400		17,800	17,800	
National Security Council	9,690	9,690		9,690				
National Security Resources Board	60,000	30,000	4,500	25,500		30,000	30,000	
Office of Defense Mobilization	50,000	50,000	5,500	44,500				
Funds appropriated to the President:								
Emergency fund for the President, national defense	11,135	11,135		11,135				
Mutual security:	5,406,881	5,406,881	712,320	4,694,561				
Independent offices:								
American Battle Monuments Commission	33,771	33,771		33,771				
Atomic Energy Commission	2,678,000	385,000		2,293,000				
Civil Service Commission	1,599,000	199,000		400,000		1,000,000	1,000,000	
Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion	675	675						
Defense Materials Procurement Agency	238,900	238,900						
Defense Production Administration	229,000					229,000		\$229,000
Defense Transport Administration	94,737	94,737	8,000	86,737				
Displaced Persons Commission	198,000	16,000				182,000		182,000
Economic Stabilization Agency	7,700,000					7,700,000	7,700,000	
Export-Import Bank of Washington	80,300	3,641		1,659	\$75,000			
Federal Civil Defense Administration	118,500	63,400		55,100		375,000	375,000	
Federal Communications Commission	508,800	19,900		19,900		488,900	488,900	
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	438,000	45,000		393,000				
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	214,500					214,500	214,500	
Federal Power Commission	315,000					315,000	14,000	301,000
Federal Trade Commission	332,095	68,065	26,000	32,065		1,500,000	1,500,000	
General Accounting Office	2,530,600	1,080,600	250,000	830,600		3,900	3,900	
Indian Claims Commission	3,900					824,000	824,000	
Interstate Commerce Commission	925,070	102,070	5,000	97,070		5,000	5,000	5,000
Motor Carrier Charters Commission	5,350	350						
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	1,930,187	530,187	426,600	103,587		1,400,000	1,400,000	
National Capital Planning Authority	121,621	120,021		1,600		1,600		1,600
National Labor Relations Board	563,000	103,000	39,000	69,000		455,000	455,000	
National Labor Relations Board	40,857	18,857		18,857		22,000	22,000	
National Mediation Board	37,950	37,950	3,000	34,950				
National Science Foundation	6,550	6,550		6,550				
National Security Training Commission	790,400	790,400	68,000	354,400		354,400	354,400	
Railroad Retirement Board	1,235,000	1,235,000	125,000	790,000		368,000	368,000	
Reconstruction Finance Corporation						350,000	350,000	

Renegotiation Board	64,000	64,000	64,000	435,000	435,000
Securities and Exchange Commission	437,070	2,070	435,000	416,000	416,000
Selective Service System	481,000	65,000	25,500	252,000	252,000
Small Defense Plants Administration	25,500	28,000	12,840	87,000	87,000
Smithsonian Institution	284,505	32,505	5,600	3,583,995	3,583,995
Subversive Activities Control Board	12,840	12,840	3,910,000	2,000	2,000
Tariff Commission	92,600	5,600	326,035	2,680	2,680
Tennessee Valley Authority	3,910,000	3,910,000	3,583,015	21,981,282	21,981,282
The Tax Court of the United States	44,840	2,840	1,167,550	3,376,104	3,376,104
Veterans Administration	57,798,297	25,544,297	3,583,015	52,231	52,231
War Claims Commission	17,115	57,115	1,167,550	3,707,322	3,707,322
Federal Security Agency	11,803,172	7,330,272	4,228,441	13,160,000	13,160,000
General Services Administration	9,987,441	4,228,441	852,337	607,621	607,621
Housing and Home Finance Agency	3,354,221	4,396,221	2,499,864	5,218,194	5,218,194
Department of Agriculture	22,338,899	8,942,899	1,511,919	3,301,122	3,301,122
Department of Commerce	20,236,341	4,973,041	142,400	685,680	685,680
Department of Defense	828,080	828,080	21,895,065	58,299,343	58,299,343
Office of Secretary of Defense	80,194,408	80,194,408	1,389,646	8,121,300	8,121,300
Department of the Army:	10,512,846	9,605,946	19,818,780	38,841,683	38,841,683
Military functions:	53,300	229,800	12,563,340	29,029,460	29,029,460
Civil functions:	Public Law 201	Public Law 204	2,344,282	7,194,702	7,194,702
Public Law 207	58,660,463	41,592,800	1,762,000	5,579,294	5,579,294
Department of the Navy:	17,193,584	53,678	207,000	247,215	247,215
Department of the Air Force:	13,046,294	7,631,294	8,900	231,000	231,000
Department of the Interior:	2,597,215	2,597,215	373,662	1,882,249	1,882,249
Public Law 201	1,108,900	239,900	3,310,500	1,797,131	1,797,131
Public Law 207	259,296,549	16,967,549	3,000	54,585	54,585
Department of Justice:	9,652,911	2,255,911	76,912,780	223,604,032	223,604,032
Department of Labor:	29,476,631	7,097,631	76,908,780	206,230,298	206,230,298
Post Office Department:	67,585	67,585	16,967,549	1,967,549	1,967,549
Public Law 201	3,773,874	990,017	4,000	406,185	406,185
Public Law 207	3,817,665	297,922	76,912,780	223,604,032	223,604,032
District of Columbia:	698,822,889	311,158,983	76,912,780	223,604,032	223,604,032
Public Law 201	435,283,312	293,771,249	76,912,780	206,230,298	206,230,298
Public Law 207	239,349,840	16,967,549	16,967,549	1,967,549	1,967,549
Grand total	698,822,889	311,158,983	76,912,780	223,604,032	223,604,032
Summary by public laws:	435,283,312	293,771,249	76,912,780	206,230,298	206,230,298
Public Law 201	239,349,840	16,967,549	16,967,549	1,967,549	1,967,549
Public Law 207	4,189,728	420,185	4,000	406,185	406,185
Grand total	698,822,889	311,158,983	76,912,780	223,604,032	223,604,032

1 To avoid duplication of costs this figure excludes \$601,000 of the proposed increase in the limitation on administrative expenses for the Public Housing Administration.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Issued March 10, 1952

For actions of March 7, 1952

82nd-2nd, No. 37

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee reported 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Sen. Morse urged reclamation dam. Sen. Brewster criticized handling of price supports.

SENATE

1. RECLAMATION. Sen. Morse urged construction of the Hells Canyon reclamation dam, and other Senators discussed the matter with him (pp. 1989-2006).
2. POTATO PRICE SUPPORTS. Sen. Brewster inserted his speech discussing the history of potato price supports and criticizing the Administration's handling of the matter (pp. 1987-9).
3. FOREIGN AID. Received from the President the first report on the mutual security program (H. Doc. 371) (p. 1981).
4. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Wiley inserted various statements and letters favoring this proposed project (pp. 1982-4).
5. PURCHASING. S. 2433, to encourage the making of contracts with the U. S. by requiring the inclusion of an escalator clause to provide adjustments for approved price and wage increases, was taken from the Judiciary Committee and referred to the Banking and Currency Committee (p. 1986).
6. RECESSED until Mon., Mar. 10 (p. 2021).

HOUSE

7. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION ACT, 1952. During recess the Appropriations Committee reported this bill, which includes the following items:
Fighting forest fires, \$3,000,000 additional. This was a reduction of \$500,000 under the Budget estimate "with the understanding that funds for 1953 may be drawn upon to the extent of the reduction if necessary."
Acquisition of land and smoke jumper facilities (for fighting forest fires) at Missoula Mont., \$700,000 "to cover the full cost of this project."
The authorization and Budget estimate were \$970,000.
Soil Conservation Service, to meet increased pay costs due to Public Law 201, \$3,500,000. The Budget estimate was \$3,950,000 and included \$450,000 for reconstruction of the spillway at the McClellan Creek dam, Tex., which was damaged during a storm in 1951. In disallowing the latter amount "at this time," the committee stated as follows: "Of the fifteen dams of this type maintained by the Soil Conservation Service, eight are

in a very bad state of repair and six are damaged to the point where they may not withstand another major flood. The Committee requests that the Soil Conservation Service and the local groups concerned explore other possible means of repair and operation of these facilities without the outlay by the Federal Government of the large sums of money involved."

Increased pay costs due to Public Law 201, various amounts. The committee figures for this Department are the same as the Budget estimates except that the heat inspection amount is \$90,000 larger than the estimate, Federal-aid highways, \$69,500,000.

Acquisition of a site and construction of a building to be used as a supply and records center in the Kansas City area to replace the building damaged by flood in 1951, \$4,400,000.

BILLS INTRODUCED

8. RECLAMATION. S. 2812, by Sen. Morse (for himself and Sens. Magnuson, Murray, Lehman, Hill, and Kefauver), to authorize construction, operation, and maintenance of the initial phase of the Snake River reclamation project; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (p. 1984).
9. PERSONNEL. S. Res. 288, by Sen. Johnston, to extend until Jan. 31, 1953, the authority for an investigation of personnel needs and practices of Government agencies, and to provide \$50,000 additional for the study; (to Post Office and Civil Service Committee) (p. 1985).

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

10. ALASKA STATEHOOD. Sen. Ken inserted a Daily Alaska Empire (Juneau, Alaska) editorial favoring the recent action of the Senate in recommitting the Alaska statehood bill (pp. A1529-30).
11. EDUCATION; NATIONAL DEFENSE. Rep. Mansfield, Mont., inserted two Harper's magazine articles favoring passage by Congress of the measure to apply royalties received by the Federal Government from oil and gas produced from the tidelands oil deposits, for national defense and educational purposes (pp. A1526-8).
12. MILITARY TRAINING. Rep. Cleveland, Ohio, inserted an address by Ralph W. McDonald, Pres. of Bowling Green (Ohio) State University, in opposition to universal military training (pp. A1524-6).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR MAR. 10: Credit control and debt management, Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Transportation bills, S. Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Defense Production Act extension, S. Banking and Currency. Cotton crop reporting methods, H. Agriculture (ex). GSA control over passenger vehicles, furniture, and equipment, H. Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 105-A.

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NOTICE.—This report is given out subject to release when consideration of the bill which it accompanies has been completed by the whole committee. Please check on such action before release in order to be advised of any changes.

82D CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
2d Session } No. 523

THE THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

MARCH —, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. CANNON, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 6947]

The Committee on Appropriations submits the following report in explanation of the accompanying bill making appropriations to supply certain supplemental and deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The estimates upon which the bill is based are contained in House Document Nos. 348, 357, 358, and 380. The bill is divided into chapters corresponding to the subcommittees considering the estimates. The recommendations contained in the bill are a result of deliberations of the several subcommittees as approved by the full committee.

SUMMARY OF BILL

Budget estimates considered by the committee total, \$1,069,542,625. Appropriations recommended total \$992,067,943, a reduction of \$77,474,682. These amounts are distributed by chapters of the bill as indicated in the following table:

Chapter	Departments or agencies	Budget estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
I	Legislative	\$114,395	\$130,895	+\$16,500
II	Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary	97,648,870	91,076,170	-\$6,572,700
III	Treasury and Post Office	215,978,000	192,628,000	-\$23,350,000
IV	Labor-Federal Security	29,049,000	7,132,000	-\$21,917,000
V	Agriculture	8,420,000	7,200,000	-\$1,220,000
VI	Interior	2,148,000	1,128,000	-\$1,020,000
VII	Independent Offices	346,373,900	345,064,000	-\$1,309,900
VIII	Civil Functions	5,750,000		-\$5,750,000
IX	Foreign Aid	(1)	(1)	
X	Emergency Agencies	11,054,000		-\$11,054,000
XI	Increased Pay Costs	353,006,460	347,708,878	-\$5,297,582
	Total	\$1,069,542,625	\$992,067,943	-\$77,474,682

¹ Language only.

CHAPTER I

SUBCOMMITTEE

CHRISTOPHER C. McGRATH, New York, *Chairman*

MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio

WALT HORAN, Washington

GEORGE W. ANDREWS, Alabama

FRED E. BUSBEY, Illinois

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The bill includes \$130,895 to provide for various and sundry items for the House of Representatives, as set out in the table which follows, which could not be anticipated when the regular 1952 appropriation bill was under consideration.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	CHAPTER I--LEGISLATIVE BRANCH HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			
	Beneficiary of deceased members-----	-----	\$12,500	+\$12,500
	SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES			
348	Office of the Doorkeeper (pay of pages), 1952-----	\$38,895	38,895	-----
	CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE			
348	Stationery (revolving fund), 1952-----	500	500	-----
	Contested election cases-----	-----	4,000	+4,000
380	Special and Select Committees, 1952-----	75,000	75,000	-----
	Total, House of Representatives-----	114,395	130,895	+16,500
	Total, Legislative Branch (Ch. I)-----	114,395	130,895	+16,500

NOTE.—Item in H. Doc. 348 pertaining to the Senate, \$400,000, not included above.

CHAPTER II

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN J. ROONEY, New York, Chairman

DANIEL J. FLOOD, Pennsylvania
PRINCE H. PRESTON, Georgia
FRED MARSHALL, Minnesota

CLIFF CLEVENGER, Ohio
FRED G. AANDAHL, North Dakota

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Fees and expenses of witnesses.—The committee recommends \$100,000, a reduction of \$100,000 in the budget estimate for this item. There has previously been appropriated \$1,000,000 for payment of fees and expenses of witnesses for fiscal year 1952. The allowed additional funds are required primarily because of intensification of grand jury work and acceleration of litigation under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry.—The bill includes the additional sum of \$14,800,000 for the payment of claims of persons of Japanese ancestry. The regular appropriation act for 1952 provided \$750,000 for this purpose. In its report accompanying the regular bill the committee pointed out certain deficiencies in the administration of this program. The correction of deficiencies plus the passage of Public Law 116, Eighty-second Congress, providing for administrative settlement of certain claims have made it possible to greatly expedite the disposition of these claims. The Department estimates that of the 23,725 claims pending as of July 1, 1951, 17,824 claims will be disposed of by June 30, 1952. This acceleration in the disposition of claims necessitates the additional appropriation recommended. All of the funds provided in this bill are for the actual payment of claims and no part thereof is to be used for administrative costs.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Salaries and expenses.—The sum of \$4,000,000, a reduction of \$610,000 in the budget estimate, is included in the bill for this service. Of the amount proposed, \$2,610,000 is to cover pay increase costs under Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress. The remainder, \$1,390,000, is to curtail the illegal entry of Mexican nationals into the United States and to implement to the fullest extent the Agricultural Labor Program. This sum will provide for the establishment and maintenance of two detention camps, removal by air of several thousand illegal entrants to the interior of Mexico, and increased staff and equipment for the border patrol to prevent illegal entries.

FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

Support of United States Prisoners.—The committee recommends \$575,000 for this item which is in addition to the \$2,000,000 previously appropriated for payment to state and local penal institutions for short term boarding of Federal prisoners and for the maintenance of seven jails in the Territory of Alaska. The supplemental funds are necessitated by the increase in the number of prisoners over that previously estimated and to meet slightly higher costs.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

Establishment of air navigation facilities.—Included in the bill is language approved by the Bureau of the Budget increasing the personal service limitation on this item from \$4,965,300 to \$5,950,000. This will provide for increased pay costs of \$449,000 and also \$535,700 to permit the completion by June 30, 1952 of the project schedule for which equipment has already been procured. No additional appropriation is provided, and the insertion of this language should result in savings.

Claims, Federal Airport Act.—There is included in the bill \$701,170, the budget estimate, covering the payment of claims for 17 public airports as certified by the Administrator, Civil Aeronautics Administration, under the authority contained in section 17 of the Federal Airport Act of 1946 as amended. To date, appropriations totalling \$5,273,118 have been made for eight groups of claims comprising 58 airports. The committee was advised that there are 22 claims which have not yet been processed. The committee expects the CAA to process the remaining claims as expeditiously as possible and bring to a conclusion this program which when finished will have cost the taxpayers approximately \$10,000,000.

Additional Washington Airport.—An initial appropriation of \$1,000,000 was granted in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, toward the purchase of a suitable site for an additional public airport within or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia. There is included in this bill \$1,400,000, a reduction of \$260,000 in the amount of the budget estimate, to provide for the balance of the estimated land acquisition costs and for plans, specifications, and surveys for such an airport.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

Federal-aid Highways.—An additional sum of \$69,500,000 is included in the bill to reimburse the States for the Federal share of work done under previous Federal-aid highway authorizations. The sum of \$325,000,000 appropriated in the regular act for fiscal year 1952, and a cash carry over of prior appropriations of \$23,500,000, together with the \$69,500,000 recommended in this bill will make a total of \$418,000,000 available for this program during the current fiscal year. Expenditures for this program for fiscal year 1951 were \$394,088,896. The estimates of the Bureau of Public Roads for 1952 are approximately \$423,500,000. The committee has reduced that estimate by \$5,500,000.

THE JUDICIARY

OTHER COURTS AND SERVICES

Miscellaneous expenses.—A supplemental request for fiscal year 1951 of \$56,300 for this item was denied last year in The Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952. The budget estimate for fiscal year 1952 was \$795,800. The Congress appropriated \$750,000, a reduction of only \$45,800. The present supplemental request in the amount of \$77,700 for miscellaneous expenses, all of which is in the category entitled equipment, is likewise denied. The committee believes that the Judiciary should be able to maintain and continue necessary services with the \$750,000 previously appropriated and is of the opinion that the Judiciary should practice some economy as well as the Government departments.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE			
	LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION			
348	Fees and expenses of witnesses-----	\$200, 000	\$100, 000	--\$100, 000
348	Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry-- IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE	14, 800, 000	14, 800, 000	-----
348	Salaries and expenses----- FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM	4, 610, 000	4, 000, 000	--610, 000
348	Support of United States prisoners----- Total, Department of Justice-----	600, 000 20, 210, 000	575, 000 19, 475, 000	--25, 000 --735, 000
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
	CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION			
348	Establishment of air navigation facilities-----	(1)	(1)	-----
348	Additional, Washington Airport-----	1, 660, 000	1, 400, 000	--260, 000
348	Claims, Federal Airport Act-----	701, 170	701, 170	-----

	BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS			
348	Federal-aid highways -----	75,000,000	69,500,000	--5,500,000
	Total, Department of Commerce-----	77,361,170	71,601,170	--5,760,000
	THE JUDICIARY			
	OTHER COURTS AND SERVICES			
	Miscellaneous expenses-----	77,700	-----	--77,700
348	Total, Justice, Commerce and the Judiciary-----	97,648,870	91,076,170	--6,572,700

⁴ Personal service limitation increased from \$4,965,300 to \$5,950,000.

CHAPTER III

SUBCOMMITTEE

J. VAUGHAN GARY, Virginia, *Chairman*

ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ, New Mexico
OTTO E. PASSMAN, Louisiana
ALFRED SIEMINSKI, New Jersey

GORDON CANFIELD, New Jersey
EARL WILSON, Indiana
BENJAMIN F. JAMES, Pennsylvania

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

Salaries and expenses.—The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$550,000 for salaries and expenses for the fiscal year 1952. This amount is a reduction of \$75,000 in the supplemental budget estimate.

The amount recommended will provide for the cost of statutory pay increases; for the retention of employees currently on the payroll; and for minor other items such as increased equipment rentals, and increases in costs of printing, supplies, and materials. Testimony developed that backlogs in the operation of stating paper checks are currently nearly three times as great as a more normal carry over should be.

Contingent expenses, Public Moneys.—The committee considered a supplemental request for \$50,000 and recommends the amount of \$25,000. The necessity for this amount is based entirely on the increases in parcel post rates effective October 1, 1951.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$20,000,000 for the salaries and expenses of this Bureau, a reduction of \$5,500,000 in the estimate submitted.

Of the amount recommended, \$18,900,000 is required to meet the cost of statutory pay increases, and the remainder will be necessary to meet increased costs of printing and reproduction of forms, blanks, etc.

The committee reduced the estimates by \$5.5 million since that amount was estimated for the purpose of advancing recruitment for the Bureau's 1953 program into the latter months of 1952, a plan which the committee feels to be most undesirable.

BUREAU OF THE MINT

An additional appropriation of \$225,000 is recommended by the committee to provide funds to meet statutory pay increases, certain pay increases granted by wage board action, and to provide for a small increase in coinage production. Language is provided in the bill to permit payment of the increases granted by wage board action,

retroactive to the date such action is approved by the Treasury Department.

The amount of \$240,000, which is the reduction made by the committee in the supplemental estimate, had been proposed for a sizeable increase in the production of pennies. The committee, referring to information that it obtained following the hearings on the regular 1953 budget estimates to the effect that 30% of coins returned by banks as unfit for use are, in reality, fit for continued use—felt that the increase requested at this time was not substantially justified.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

POSTAL OPERATIONS

The committee recommends an additional appropriation for 1952 of \$10,000,000, a reduction of \$17,200,000 in the estimates for this item. The entire amount of the estimate was said to be required in order to pay for personnel required to replace those who take advantage of the additional annual leave granted postal employees by the passage of Public Law 233, 82nd Congress. However, an analysis of the obligations through the month of January, and a generous allowance for leave to be taken later in the year, failed to disclose a need in excess of the amount recommended.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE MAILS

The committee recommends the full amounts of the supplemental requests, \$61,578,000 for the fiscal year 1951, and \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year 1952. These amounts are required to meet increased costs of transporting mail by rail, resultant from the issuance of an order by the Interstate Commerce Commission on November 16, 1951, establishing new rail mail pay rates effective January 1, 1951.

The estimates for 1952 take into consideration savings of approximately \$12,000,000 to be effected in air mail pay as the result of negotiations under way between the Civil Aeronautics Board and air carriers looking toward the establishment of rates based on cost exclusive of subsidy.

CLAIMS

The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$250,000 for this item for 1952, a reduction of \$310,000 in the supplemental estimates.

The increase is required to cover increasing volume and unit value of claims, which in turn reflect the increasing volume and dollar value of merchandise shipped by mail.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	TREASURY DEPARTMENT			
	Office of the Treasurer:			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	\$625, 000	\$550, 000	—\$75, 000
348	Contingent expenses, public moneys-----	50, 000	25, 000	—25, 000
	Total, Office of the Secretary-----	675, 000	575, 000	—100, 000
348	Bureau of Internal Revenue-----	25, 500, 000	20, 000, 000	—5, 500, 000
348	Bureau of the Mint-----	465, 000	225, 000	—240, 000
	Total, Treasury Department-----	26, 640, 000	20, 800, 000	—5, 840, 000
	POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT			
348	Postal operations-----	27, 200, 000	10, 000, 000	—17, 200, 000
348	Transportation of mails (1951)-----	61, 578, 000	61, 578, 000	-----
348	Transportation of mails-----	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	-----
348	Claims-----	560, 000	250, 000	—310, 000
	Total, Post Office Department-----	189, 338, 000	171, 828, 000	—17, 510, 000
	Total, Treasury and Post Office Departments (chap. III)-----	215, 978, 000	192, 628, 000	—23, 350, 000

CHAPTER IV

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN E. FOGARTY, Rhode Island, Chairman

E. H. HEDRICK, West Virginia

CHRISTOPHER C. McGRATH, New York

WINFIELD K. DENTON, Indiana

GEORGE B. SCHWABE, Oklahoma

LOWELL STOCKMAN, Oregon

FRED E. BUSBEY, Illinois

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

Salaries and expenses.—The request for an additional \$1,053,000 contained in House Document 357 was composed of \$442,000 for pay increases under Public Law 201 and \$611,000 to carry out the purposes of Public Law 78 which vests in the Department of Labor the responsibility of conducting a program for importing Mexican workers for jobs in American agriculture. The committee has allowed \$892,000 or a reduction of \$161,000.

It is recognized that the major part of this reduction must be applied against the amount requested to carry out the program under Public Law 78, for which purpose \$1,287,500 has already been appropriated for 1952. It was the understanding of each of the members of the committee, when this legislation was under consideration, that it would be in most part self-supporting. However, this has proven to be far from true. In fact, Federal appropriations are bearing over half of the cost of the program. Based on testimony of officials of the Department of Labor, the committee believes that this reduction is the greatest that can be made and still provide for adequate administration of the program as it is now constituted. The committee is unanimous in its belief that such steps as are necessary should be taken to remove the obstacles in the way of making the program more nearly self-supporting to the end that those who benefit should bear a greater portion of the cost.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

Employees' compensation fund.—The committee has approved the entire request of \$2,200,000 which is solely to provide for benefit payments arising out of injuries to those covered by the Federal Employees' Compensation Act of 1916. The estimate is based on mathematical computations of the Government's liability. Any delays in meeting this liability would not result in any saving, but would only bring hardship to disabled Federal employees and their dependents. No funds are included for administrative costs.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.—The supplemental request for \$2,270,000 was composed of \$1,943,000 to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, and \$327,000 for additional work made necessary by the 1951 amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act (Public Law 234). The major part of the latter amount was based on the work resulting from the new provision restricting the payment of benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act to employees with 10 or more years of creditable railroad service, with the result of shifting to the Social Security Administration the responsibility for the handling of many additional claims.

The committee believes that the relatively small reduction of \$170,000 will not interfere with the expeditious handling of this Bureau's work. All of the funds recommended will be transferred from the OASI Trust Fund and so will result in no charge against the general fund of the Treasury.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

Surplus property disposal.—The committee has allowed \$40,000 of the supplemental request for \$46,000 which included \$7,000 for pay costs under Public Law 201. Much of the work under this head now involves recapture of equipment, such as airplanes and parts and machine tools, needed in the defense effort. More work also needs to be done in connection with the abrogation of restrictions on real property. The committee received testimony to the effect that, if staff and travel funds were available, several hundred thousand dollars could be collected from various institutions legally owing such funds to the United States. It will be expected that this increase in funds will not only result in more effective program administration, but also in increased receipts to the Treasury far in excess of the appropriation.

Defense community facilities and services.—The committee is recommending \$4,000,000 for this activity, which is a reduction of \$21,750,000 from the amount requested. All requested funds for recreation facilities, day care functions and additional administrative expenses are disallowed.

The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952 provided \$4,250,000 for this program including \$250,000 for administrative expenses. This appropriation was made after considerable testimony was had from the program administrators concerning the great and emergent need for funds. These funds have been available since November 1, 1951, but the committee was told on February 26, 1952, that none of the \$4,000,000 for program operations had yet been obligated. The justifications for the requested supplemental of \$25,750,000 were far from satisfactory. They were not only vague and based in large part on generalities, but also lacked such basic data as the portion of the requested amount programmed for loans and the portion programmed for out-right grants. They did not contain information on the amount of administrative expense funds already obligated and contained incomplete information on the proposed use of the additional funds requested. The written justifications and

the oral testimony were so devoid of evidence of accomplishment and adequate programming that the committee believes that any larger appropriation should at least be deferred.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund).—The requested supplemental of \$1,853,000 was composed of \$368,000 for pay costs under Public Law 201, \$924,000 to cover the non-recurring work of reexamination of awarded claims required by the 1951 amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act (Public Law 234), and \$561,000 for increases in regular workload resulting from these amendments. This additional workload was outlined in considerable detail in the Board's written justifications, the pertinent portions of which were incorporated in the hearing record. The committee believes, however, that sufficient economies and further efficiencies can be effected so that this work can be properly handled with the \$1,600,000 allowed. These funds will come from the Railroad Retirement trust fund and will constitute no charge against the general funds of the Treasury.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF LABOR			
	BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY			
357	Salaries and expenses -----	\$1, 053, 000	\$892, 000	-\$161, 000
	BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION			
348	Employees' compensation fund -----	2, 200, 000	2, 200, 000	-----
	Total, Department of Labor -----	3, 253, 000	3, 092, 000	- 161, 000
	FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY			
	SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance -----	[2, 270, 000]	[2, 100, 000]	[- 170, 000]
	OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR			
348	Surplus property disposal -----	46, 000	40, 000	- 6, 000
348	Defense community facilities and services -----	25, 750, 000	4, 000, 000	- 21, 750, 000
	Total, Federal Security Agency -----	25, 796, 000	4, 040, 000	- 21, 756, 000
	RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD			
348	Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund) -----	[1, 853, 000]	[1, 600, 000]	[- 253, 000]
	Total, Labor-Federal Security (Chapter IV) -----	29, 049, 000	7, 132, 000	- 21, 917, 000

CHAPTER V

SUBCOMMITTEE

JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi, *Chairman*

WILLIAM G. STIGLER, Oklahoma
JOE B. BATES, Kentucky

H. CARL ANDERSEN, Minnesota
WALT HORAN, Washington

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FOREST SERVICE

Fighting forest fires.—A request of \$3,500,000 is included in H. Doc. 348 to cover the estimated amount by which emergency fire fighting costs will exceed the \$6,000,000 provided in the regular appropriation for fiscal year 1952. A total of \$8,569,354 was obligated thru December 31, 1951, and it is estimated that an additional \$1 million will be required for the balance of the fiscal year. The Committee recommends an appropriation of \$3,000,000, a reduction in the estimate of \$500,000, with the understanding that funds for 1953 may be drawn upon to the extent of the reduction if necessary.

Smoke jumper facilities.—Public Law 198, 82nd Congress, approved October 24, 1951, authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire land and construct smoke jumper facilities at Missoula, Montana. This Act also authorized an appropriation of \$970,000 and gave the Secretary authority to proceed to enter into contracts up to \$500,000. The regular budget estimates for the Forest Service for 1953 include \$970,000 for this item. In view of the need to proceed with this project immediately, however, the Committee recommends that it be included in this supplemental bill. An appropriation of \$700,000 is recommended to cover the full cost of this project.

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

Salaries and expenses.—H. Doc. 348 includes \$3,950,000 for this activity. The Committee approves \$3,500,000 of the estimate to meet increased pay costs due to Public Law 201, 82nd Congress. The remaining \$450,000 for reconstruction of the spillway at the McClellan Creek dam in Gray County, Texas, which was seriously damaged during a storm in May, 1951, is not recommended at this time. Of the fifteen dams of this type maintained by the Soil Conservation Service, eight are in a very bad state of repair and six are damaged to the point where they may not withstand another major flood. The Committee requests that the Soil Conservation Service and the local groups concerned explore other possible means of repair and operation of these facilities without the outlay by the Federal Government of the large sums of money involved.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated in this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimate
348	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE Forest Service:			
	Fighting forest fires-----	\$3, 500, 000	\$3, 000, 000	-\$500, 000
	Smoke Jumper Facilities-----	970, 000	700, 000	-270, 000
348	Soil Conservation Service: Salaries and Expenses-----	3, 950, 000	3, 500, 000	-450, 000
	Total, Department of Agriculture, Chap. V-----	8, 420, 000	7, 200, 000	-1, 220, 000

CHAPTER VI

SUBCOMMITTEE

MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio, *Chairman*

W. F. NORRELL, Arkansas

HENRY M. JACKSON, Washington

FOSTER FURCOLO, Massachusetts

BEN F. JENSEN, Iowa

IVOR D. FENTON, Pennsylvania

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

Operation and Maintenance.—Of the total amount of \$240,000 requested, \$160,000 is for increases in base salaries under Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress. The remainder, \$80,000, is for increased wage rates for hourly maintenance personnel under collective bargaining agreements negotiated after the 1953 budget estimate was submitted. The committee recommends the \$240,000 requested and an increase in the personal services limitation in the 1952 bill to permit payments.

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Management of Lands and Resources.—The budget request of \$250,000 is recommended for the fire-suppression program and the personal services limitation is increased accordingly. Obligation of the funds allowed in the 1952 bill for this purpose, up to the present time, indicate clearly the necessity for this increase.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Resources Management.—The budget request of \$175,000 is recommended for this item. Adverse weather conditions in the western United States and in Alaska have required obligation of funds in amounts exceeding the funds programmed in 1952. The waiver of the personal services limitation for the purpose of meeting the increased cost of fire suppression is also recommended.

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Construction and Rehabilitation.—Approval of the increase in the personal services limitation from \$38,570,172 to \$42,976,462 is recommended. The increase in the limitation is necessary to meet the increase in salaries made necessary by the 1951 pay act and to meet increased costs of equivalent increases for wage board employees.

BUREAU OF MINES

Conservation and Development of Natural Resources.—Approval of the increase in the personal services limitation in the 1952 bill from \$10,446,575 to \$11,454,000 is recommended for the purpose of meeting increased costs due to the 1951 pay act and for equivalent increases for employees whose salaries are fixed by wage boards.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities.—The committee recommends approval of the increase in personal services requested for the purpose of meeting the increase in costs due to the pay act of 1951 and to provide equivalent increases for wage board employees. This increase amounts to \$350,153 and is being absorbed by the Bureau.

OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

Construction of Roads, Alaska.—The requested increase in the personal services limitation from \$2,493,000 to \$2,844,700 is recommended. This will permit the Office to meet all increased costs due to the pay act of 1951 and equivalent increases resulting from wage board and administrative action for those employees whose salaries are so controlled.

Administration of Territories.—Of the \$1,483,000 requested, the committee recommends \$463,000 which includes \$163,000 for pay act increases and \$300,000 for grants for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The \$300,000 allowed the Trust Territory is for general transportation and is necessary to permit continued operation of the supply system to and between the island groups, without which there would be no means of provisioning the American personnel stationed in the islands. The remaining \$1,020,000 of the budget request was also for Trust Territory operations. The committee has not allowed any of this since it prefers to review this entire program, recently taken over from the Navy, as spelled out in the 1953 budget request before elevating the current level of operations.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR			
	BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION			
348	Operation and Maintenance-----	¹ \$240, 000	¹ \$240, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT			
348	Management of Lands and Resources-----	² 250, 000	² 250, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS			
348	Resources Management-----	² 175, 000	² 175, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF RECLAMATION			
348	Construction and Rehabilitation-----	(³)	(³)	-----
	BUREAU OF MINES			
348	Conservation and Development of Mineral Resources-----	(⁴)	(⁴)	-----
	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE			
348	Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities-----	(⁵)	(⁵)	-----

¹ Personal services limitation increased from \$3,983,862 to \$4,264,862.

² Personal services limitation waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

³ Personal services limitation increased from \$38,570,172 to \$42,976,462.

⁴ Personal services limitation increased from \$10,446,575 to \$11,454,000.

⁵ Personal services limitation increased from \$4,193,747 to \$4,543,900.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR—continued			
	OFFICE OF TERRITORIES	(⁶)	(⁶)	-----
348	Construction of Roads, Alaska-----	7 \$1, 483, 000	7 \$463, 000	—\$1, 020, 000
348	Administration of Territories-----			
	Total-----	2, 148, 000	1, 128, 000	—1, 020, 000

⁶ Personal services limitation increased from \$2,493,000 to \$2,844,700.

⁷ Personal services limitation increased from \$811,865 to \$879,200.

CHAPTER VII

SUBCOMMITTEE

ALBERT THOMAS, *Texas, Chairman*

ALBERT GORE, Tennessee
GEORGE W. ANDREWS, Alabama
SIDNEY R. YATES, Illinois

JOHN PHILLIPS, California
FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR., New York
NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

The committee has approved a supplemental appropriation of \$3,074,500 for this activity, which is a reduction of \$225,500 in the estimate of \$3,300,000. The funds are made available until August 31, 1952, the Commission being required by law to terminate its operations as of that date. The amount recommended will provide \$182,000 for Pay Act increases, \$2,620,000 for transportation to the United States of displaced persons of ethnic German origin, and additional funds for terminal leave and transportation of personnel back to the United States. The Commission has advised the Committee that salary requirements between April 1, 1952, and August 31st will amount to \$650,624, and it is estimated that, excluding Section 12 travel, approximately \$125,000 will be required for other obligations. The committee feels that these estimates are in excess of actual needs and has required savings totaling \$125,500 in these items.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

For salaries and expenses the committee has allowed \$313,000, a reduction of \$12,000 in the estimate. The amount recommended will provide \$301,000 for pay increases and \$12,000 for travel, the latter sum being required because of an unexpected increase in the number of applications for rate increases under the Natural Gas Act. This increase will cause additional travel not taken into account when the 1952 appropriation bill was under consideration.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

The committee has allowed \$4,400,000 for the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building to be used as a supply and records center in the Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, area. The amount recommended will require a saving of \$200,000 in the estimate of \$4,600,000. Replacement of the building formerly occupied by GSA, which was almost completely destroyed by the flood of last summer, is essential. The new building will be erected on a site free from the danger of flood and will furnish space for the storage of records and the operation of a supply center to provide operating supplies and materials for government activities in the area.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Defense Housing and Defense Community Facilities and Services.—Appropriations of \$50,000,000 for defense housing and \$60,000,000 for defense community facilities were authorized by Public Law 139, approved September 1, 1951. Of the \$50,000,000 authorized for defense housing, the Congress has provided \$25,000,000, and the remaining \$25,000,000 was considered by the Committee in the present supplemental request. Of the \$60,000,000 for defense community facilities authorized in the basic act, \$11,250,000 was appropriated for the class of facility to be furnished by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, leaving a remainder of \$18,750,000 which has been submitted in the pending supplemental request. Appropriations for the remainder of the authorization for community facilities amounting to \$30,000,000 are provided through an appropriation to the Federal Security Agency. The committee has allowed the total Budget estimates of \$25,000,000 for defense housing and \$18,750,000 for defense community facilities. In connection with defense housing, \$24,000,000 of the \$25,000,000 heretofore appropriated has been committed, there being 38 high priority areas where the needs may be several times in excess of the sum provided. In the case of defense community facilities the committee was advised that the Housing Agency has applications on hand, or in process, that will almost exhaust the \$11,250,000 now available, and that surveys of 30 of the 148 critical defense areas designated show additional needs substantially in excess of the \$18,750,000 requested.

The committee calls attention to the fact that the President's budget for the fiscal year 1953 indicates that an additional \$300,000,000 will be required in that year to provide defense housing in critical areas.

Alaska housing.—The committee has allowed the estimate of \$1,125,000 which will provide the remainder of the \$15,000,000 authorized for this purpose by Public Law 52 of the 81st Congress. This appropriation goes into a revolving fund and is used to provide additional housing in several of the larger communities in Alaska. About 90 per cent of available funds for loans of this type have been committed and the additional sum recommended in the bill is required if funds essential to future commitments are to be provided.

Annual contributions.—The Independent Offices Appropriation Act for 1952 appropriated \$10,000,000 for payment of annual contributions. The committee is of the opinion that, in allowing an additional appropriation of \$3,600,000, a reduction of \$400,000 in the supplemental estimate, it has provided a sum adequate to meet all payments which must be made prior to the close of the fiscal year 1952. Attention is called to the fact that for the fiscal year 1952 this item has increased from \$10,000,000 to a request for \$14,000,000, and that \$36,000,000 is requested for 1953. This appropriation will increase in subsequent years until it reaches a maximum of \$336,000,000 annually. Payments run over a period of 40 years, and these payments are amounts over which the Congress will have no real control because they are for obligations for which the Government is committed as a result of the passage of prior legislation.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

The committee considered a supplemental estimate for the Selective Service System totaling \$3,415,000 for use during the remainder of the fiscal year 1952. The additional funds are required for pay act costs, including additional pay for unclassified employees of local and appeal boards, a conscientious objector program, an increase in the number of draftees required, and increased workloads in National and State Headquarters. A breakdown of the supplemental estimate and the amounts recommended by the Committee are as follows:

Object	Budget estimate	Recommended by committee	Decrease
Pay Act.....	\$416, 000	\$416, 000	-----
Local and Appeal Board clerks.....	237, 000	237, 000	-----
Foreign Registration.....	22, 000	-----	—\$22, 000
Conscientious objector program.....	150, 000	15, 000	—135, 000
Selectee travel.....	1, 378, 000	1, 378, 000	-----
National Administration.....	186, 000	139, 500	—46, 500
State Administration.....	1, 026, 000	769, 500	—256, 500
Total.....	3, 415, 000	2, 955, 000	—460, 000

In eliminating the estimate of \$22,000 for foreign registration the committee is requiring that existing personnel in the System and in the State Department perform this service without additional funds. The committee is not in accord with the conscientious objector program as presented and has denied funds for putting it into operation. The sum of \$15,000 has been provided for administrative expenses in connection with this activity and is provided in order that further consideration may be given this problem.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

The committee has approved the supplemental Budget estimate of \$285,800,000 to provide additional funds for benefits for veterans, including life insurance. Not one penny of this sum is for salaries and expenses, but is exclusively for benefits. A very substantial portion of the total recommended is required because of additional or increased benefits for veterans as a result of legislation enacted during the First Session of the 82d Congress, and an increase in the number of World War II veterans who decided to take advantage of education and training program before the date of expiration. The appropriation title and the amount recommended in each instance is set forth below:

Appropriation:	Amount recommended by Budget and Committee
Compensation and Pensions.....	\$60, 000, 000
Readjustment Benefits.....	148, 000, 000
Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans.....	25, 000, 000
National Service Life Insurance.....	50, 000, 000
Servicemen's Indemnity Appropriation.....	2, 300, 000
Service Disabled Veterans Insurance Fund.....	250, 000
Veterans Special Term Insurance Fund.....	250, 000
Total.....	285, 800, 000

In connection with the sum of \$25,000,000 recommended for the purchase of automobiles and other conveyances for veterans it should

be pointed out that this sum is authorized under the liberalized terms of Public Law 187, approved October 20, 1951. It is estimated that the amount recommended will cover the cost of 15,625 automobiles. As of December 31, 1951, about 3,000 applications had been filed under the new law. A review of VA records indicates there are 8,700 eligibles on the rolls who have not filed applications, it is estimated that 3,590 retired service personnel and veterans with service on or after June 27, 1950, became eligible under Public Law 187, and applications received during the fiscal year 1951 are pending for 335 veterans.

MARITIME ACTIVITIES

Operating-differential subsidies.—The supplemental estimate considered by the committee proposes amendment of the provision in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, to provide for fourteen hundred voyages, without limitation. During hearings on the estimate it was pointed out that 1340 voyages for presently subsidized services will be eligible for such payments and that about 60 voyages will earn subsidy under contracts for which applications are pending. The committee has approved the proposed reduction in the limitation on the number of voyages from 1522 to 1400, and has provided that 1340 shall be for presently subsidized operators, and that the remaining 60 voyages not presently allocated shall be used for new operators.

Maritime training.—For this activity the committee considered a supplemental estimate of \$55,000. Of this request the committee has allowed the budget estimate of \$20,000 for Pay Act increases, it has provided \$10,000 for emergency repairs at Alameda, California, instead of \$15,000, and has approved \$13,500 for refresher training courses for radio, engine and deck officers, in lieu of \$20,000 as proposed in the estimate.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES			
348	Displaced Persons Commission-----	\$3, 300, 000	\$3, 074, 500	—\$225, 500
348	Federal Power Commission-----	325, 000	313, 000	—12, 000
	General Services Administration:			
348	Federal supply and records building-----	4, 600, 000	4, 400, 000	—200, 000
	Housing and Home Finance Agency:			
	Office of the Administrator:			
348	Defense community facilities and services-----	18, 750, 000	18, 750, 000	-----
348	Defense housing-----	25, 000, 000	25, 000, 000	-----
348	Alaska housing-----	1, 125, 000	1, 125, 000	-----
	Public Housing Administration:			
	Annual contributions-----	4, 000, 000	3, 600, 000	—400, 000
348	National Capital Housing Authority-----	3, 900	3, 000	—900
348	Selective Service System-----	3, 415, 000	2, 955, 000	—460, 000

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES—Continued			
	Veterans Administration:			
348	Compensation and pensions-----	\$60, 000, 000	\$60, 000, 000	-----
348	Readjustment benefits-----	148, 000, 000	148, 000, 000	-----
348	National service life insurance-----	50, 000, 000	50, 000, 000	-----
348	Servicemen's indemnities-----	2, 300, 000	2, 300, 000	-----
348	Service-disabled veterans insurance fund-----	250, 000	250, 000	-----
348	Veterans special term insurance fund-----	250, 000	250, 000	-----
348	Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans-----	25, 000, 000	25, 000, 000	-----
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
	Maritime Activities:			
348	Maritime training-----	55, 000	43, 500	-\$11, 500
	Total, independent offices (ch. VII)-----	346, 373, 900	345, 064, 000	-1, 309, 900

CHAPTER VIII

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN H. KERR, North Carolina, *Chairman*

CLARENCE CANNON, Missouri

LOUIS C. RABAUT, Michigan

GLENN R. DAVIS, Wisconsin

GERALD R. FORD, JR., Michigan

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Flood Control, general, emergency fund.—Funds were requested in H. Doc. 348 in the amount of \$5,750,000 for this emergency fund. The need for these additional funds is directly related to the large and unanticipated expenditures occasioned by the recent floods in the Kansas and Missouri river basins. The committee is allowing the full amount, but believes that they should be derived by transfer from funds presently available for "flood control, general".

Information supplied the committee shows that an unobligated balance in excess of \$142,000,000 remains in the construction phase of the flood control program as of December 31, 1951. Corps of Engineers estimates of unobligated balances in the past have been notoriously low. In this connection the committee calls particular attention to the Harlan County Dam, Nebraska. This project is in operation at the present time and is scheduled for completion in June of this year. On January 31, 1952, an unobligated balance of \$2,541,945 remained on this project. It is anticipated that \$1,346,377 will still be unobligated on June 30, 1952. The committee directs that all funds allocated to this project and not obligated directly thereon be transferred to the above mentioned emergency fund.

f the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS			
	CORPS OF ENGINEERS			
348	Flood control, general (emergency fund)-----	\$5, 750, 000	1 (\$5, 750, 000)	— \$5, 750, 000

¹ To be derived by transfer from "Flood Control, general".

CHAPTER IX

SUBCOMMITTEE

J. VAUGHAN GARY, Virginia, *Chairman*

JOHN J. ROONEY, New York
JOE B. BATES, Kentucky

RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, Massachusetts
FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Jr., New York

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

The Budget recommended, in House Document 348, that provision be made for the transfer of funds from the appropriation for government and relief in occupied areas available for governmental functions in Japan to the State Department in the event of ratification of the treaty of peace with Japan. Immediately upon such ratification the responsibility for continuation of United States activities in Japan will shift from the Department of the Army to the State Department and some provision must, of course, be made to pay the cost thereof. The Committee has agreed with the proposal except that it has included in the language a limiting clause to insure that the funds transferred to the State Department will not be used in any other area.

CHAPTER X

SUBCOMMITTEE

CLARENCE CANNON, Missouri, *Chairman*

ALBERT THOMAS, Texas
MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio
JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi
JOHN J. ROONEY, New York
JOHN E. FOGARTY, Rhode Island

JOHN TABER, New York
RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, Massachusetts
GLENN R. DAVIS, Wisconsin
¹ NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

¹ Temporarily assigned.

EMERGENCY AGENCIES

Defense Production Administration.—H. Doc. 348 contained requests of \$229,000 for pay increases for this agency and \$200,000 for expediting the program for the production of critical defense needs. The latter sum was to be derived by transfer from the Office of Defense Mobilization. The committee was informed by the Administrator of DPA that the second request was no longer needed. Accordingly it is not allowed and the funds contained in the bill are to be used for the payment of pay increases in the amount of \$200,000.

Small Defense Plants Administration.—Estimates for the Small Defense Plants Administration are contained in H. Doc. 348; included therein are \$825,000 for salaries and expenses and \$10,000,000 for the establishment of a revolving fund. Data presented to the committee in justification of these estimates failed to disclose a need for them. The committee believes that the proposed program of this agency practically duplicates existing small business activities of other agencies of the Government. It is recommended therefore that the agency be liquidated at once and that its functions be carried out by existing governmental agencies within appropriations presently available to them, except for the revolving fund for which there is no apparent need or justification.

Pay increases.—The pay increases for the several emergency agencies are carried in chapter XI of the bill.

H. Doc. 358 includes an estimate of \$11,455,800 for pay increases for these agencies. The Committee recommends \$8,275,000, a reduction of \$3,180,800.

The amount of \$2,500,000 is allowed for the Department of Commerce, defense production activities, a reduction of \$453,000. Information furnished the Committee shows completely unrealistic personnel recruitment programs in several of the activities in this agency, notably the Office of Field Service and the Industry Evaluation Board.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	EMERGENCY AGENCIES			
	DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	¹ \$229, 000	(²)	—\$229, 000
	SMALL DEFENSE PLANT, ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	825, 000	-----	—825, 000
	Revolving fund-----	10, 000, 000	-----	—10, 000, 000
	Total, emergency agencies-----	11, 054, 000	-----	—11, 054, 000

¹ In addition, \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.² Committee recommends \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

CHAPTER XI

INCREASED PAY COSTS

The various subcommittees considered estimates submitted in House Document No. 358 totaling \$353,006,460 and recommended the appropriation of \$347,708,878 therefor, a reduction of \$5,297,582.

The total of pay increases resulting from the passage of Public Laws 201, 204 and 207 of the 82nd Congress is estimated by the Bureau of the Budget to be \$698,822,889 against which an absorption of \$311,158,983 was proposed. The committee reduction of \$5,297,582 imposes a further absorption, making a total of \$316,456,565.

The amounts acted upon in this chapter do not take into consideration estimates totaling \$27,415,600 which were submitted previously in House Document 348 reported upon in other chapters of this report.

LIMITATIONS AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

The following limitations and legislative provisions not heretofore carried are included in the bill:

On page —, in connection with the appropriation for defense community facilities and services:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

On page —, in connection with the appropriation for defense housing:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

On page —, in connection with the appropriation for the Selective Service System:

Provided, That effective as of the first day of the first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended: Provided further, That such increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951.

On page —, in connection with the appropriations for salary increases for the Federal Security Agency:

Provided, That the Administrator may transfer from any appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Federal Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal Security Agency such additional amounts as may be necessary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951;

COMPLIANCE WITH RULE XIII—CLAUSE 2A

The following is submitted in compliance with rule XIII, clause 2A:

IN PENDING BILL

EXISTING LAW

On page —, beginning on line —:

Provided, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed.

—the Secretary of Labor is authorized, without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, to appoint Mexican nationals for temporary employment in Mexico for a period of not to exceed one hundred and twenty days.

NOTICE: This bill is given out subject to release when consideration of it has been completed by the Whole Committee. Please check on such action before release in order to be advised of any changes.

[FULL COMMITTEE PRINT]

Union Calendar No.

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH , 1952

Mr. CANNON, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the following bill; which was committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

A BILL

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply sup-
5 plemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June
6 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely:

1 CHAPTER I
2 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH
3 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

4 For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John
5 A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of
6 Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gra-
7 tuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any
8 time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or
9 at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of
10 Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been
11 a gift.

12 SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

13 Office of the Doorkeeper

14 For an additional amount for "Office of the Door-
15 keeper", \$38,895.

16 CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

17 For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for ex-
18 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
19 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Com-
20 mittee on House Administration, \$2,000.

21 For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for ex-
22 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
23 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee
24 on House Administration, \$2,000.

25 Stationery (Revolving Fund)

26 For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving

1 fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500,
2 to remain available until expended.

3 Special and Select Committees

4 For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and
5 select committees", \$75,000.

6 CHAPTER II

7 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8 LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

9 FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

10 For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of
11 witnesses", \$100,000.

12 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF 13 JAPANESE ANCESTRY

14 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
15 claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", \$14,800,000.

16 IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

17 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

18 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$4,000,000; and the limitation under this head in the Depart-
20 ment of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
21 available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159.-
22 900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appropriations
23 granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be
24 available for the purchase of not to exceed forty passenger
25 motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided,

1 and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct
2 facilities for detention of aliens.

3 FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

4 SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

5 For an additional amount for "Support of United States
6 prisoners", \$575,000.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

9 ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

10 The limitation under this head in the Department of
11 Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
12 able for personal services, is increased from "\$4,965,300"
13 to "\$5,950,000".

14 ADDITIONAL WASHINGTON AIRPORT

15 For expenses necessary for the acquisition of land, in-
16 terests therein and appurtenances thereto, for the site and
17 appurtenant facilities for an additional public airport within
18 or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia, as authorized
19 by Public Law 762, approved September 7, 1950; plans,
20 specifications, and surveys; and services as authorized by
21 section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a);
22 \$1,400,000, to remain available until expended.

23 CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

24 For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport
25 Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953,

1 as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901;
 2 Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County
 3 Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Air-
 4 port, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm
 5 Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado
 6 Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro,
 7 Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Geor-
 8 gia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia,
 9 \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,-
 10 538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368;
 11 Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal
 12 Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport,
 13 Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria,
 14 Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia,
 15 \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla,
 16 Washington, \$21,241.

17 BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

18 FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

19 For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways",
 20 to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum
 21 is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount
 22 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and
 23 \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appro-
 24 priated for the fiscal year 1951.

1

CHAPTER III

2

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

3

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

4

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

5

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",

6

\$550,000.

7

CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

8

For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses,

9

public moneys", \$25,000.

10

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

11

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

12

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",

13

\$20,000,000.

14

BUREAU OF THE MINT

15

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

16

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",

17

\$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this

18

head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying

19

wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury

20

Department.

21

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

22

(Out of the postal revenues)

23

POSTAL OPERATIONS

24

For an additional amount for "Postal operations",

25

\$10,000,000.

TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
\$100,000,000.

CLAIMS

For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
\$892,000; and the limitation under this head in the Depart-
ment of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
available for personal services, is increased from "\$4,200,-
000" to "\$5,675,000": *Provided*, That the limitation in the
appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint
resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the
duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is
repealed.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

For an additional amount for "Employees' compensation
fund", \$2,200,000.

1 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

2 SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

3 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND

4 SURVIVORS INSURANCE

5 The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal
6 old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, for "Salaries
7 and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance",
8 by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952,
9 is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000".

10 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

11 SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

12 For an additional amount for "Surplus property dis-
13 posal", \$40,000.

14 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

15 For an additional amount for "Defense community
16 facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,-
17 000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the
18 amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses,
19 defense community facilities and services", granted in the
20 Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be
21 available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of
22 the Federal Security Agency in connection with its func-
23 tions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities
24 and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized

1 by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C.
2 55a).

3 RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

4 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

5 (TRUST FUND)

6 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
7 Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to
8 be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the
9 limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board
10 Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
11 personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to
12 "\$5,259,000".

13 CHAPTER V

14 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

15 FOREST SERVICE

16 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

17 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
18 for fighting forest fires, \$3,000,000.

19 SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

20 For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities
21 for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of
22 October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain
23 available until expended: *Provided*, That hereafter the au-

1 authorization granted in section 3 of said Act to enter into
2 contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be exercised.

3 SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

4 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

5 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
6 \$3,500,000.

7 CHAPTER VI

8 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

9 BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

10 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

11 For an additional amount for "Operation and maintenance",
12 \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the
13 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
14 amount available for personal services is increased from
15 "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,264,862".

16 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

17 MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

18 For an additional amount for "Management of lands and
19 resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within
20 the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting
21 the amounts which may be expended from appropriations
22 to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services,

1 are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost
2 of fire suppression.

3 BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

4 RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

5 For an additional amount for "Resources management",
6 \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior
7 Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts
8 which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau
9 of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to
10 the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

11 BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

12 CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

13 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
14 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supple-
15 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available
16 for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to
17 "\$42,976,462".

18 BUREAU OF MINES

19 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL

20 RESOURCES

21 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart
22 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for

1 personal services, is increased from "\$10,446,575" to
2 "\$11,454,000".

3 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

4 MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL
5 FACILITIES

6 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
7 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
8 personal services, is increased from "\$4,193,747" to
9 "\$4,543,900".

10 OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

11 CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

12 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
13 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
14 personal services, is increased from "\$2,493,000" to
15 "\$2,844,700".

16 ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

17 For an additional amount for "Administration of Terri-
18 tories", \$463,000; and the limitation under this head in the
19 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
20 available for personal services, is increased from "\$811,865"
21 to "\$879,200".

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Commission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available until August 31, 1952.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to "\$252,000".

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon of a building for use as a supply and records center, including related equipment, approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the pro-

visions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$4,400,000, to remain available until expended.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

For an additional amount for "Defense community facilities and services", \$18,750,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

DEFENSE HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

ALASKA HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,125,000, to remain available until expended.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

For an additional amount for "Annual contributions", \$3,600,000.

1 NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

2 MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

3 For an additional amount for "Maintenance and opera-
4 tion of properties", \$3,000.

5 SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$2,955,000; and the limitations under this head in the Sup-
9 plemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
10 able for expenses of National Administration, Planning,
11 Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,-
12 856,000" to "\$1,995,500", and on the amount available
13 for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and
14 Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,-
15 223,500": *Provided*, That effective as of the first day of the
16 first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within
17 ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate
18 of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal
19 board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained
20 in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service
21 Act, as amended: *Provided further*, That such increases may
22 be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they
23 had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October
24 24, 1951.

1 VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

2 COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

3 For an additional amount for "Compensation and pen-
4 sions", \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

5 READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

6 For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits",
7 \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

8 NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

9 For an additional amount for "National service life in-
10 surance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

11 SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

12 For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indem-
13 nities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

14 SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

15 For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund",
16 authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insur-
17 ance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000,
18 to remain available until expended.

19 VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

20 For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", author-
21 ized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance
22 Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000,
23 to remain available until expended.

1 AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED
2 VETERANS

3 To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in pro-
4 viding, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled vet-
5 erans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public
6 Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 MARITIME ACTIVITIES

9 OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

10 The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential
11 subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act,
12 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further,*
13 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be avail-
14 able for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the pay-
15 ment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of
16 voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen
17 hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which
18 number shall include the number of voyages under con-
19 tracts hereafter awarded."

20 MARITIME TRAINING

21 For an additional amount for "Maritime training",
22 \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independ-

ent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$2,236,500" to "\$2,263,500".

CHAPTER VIII

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

Flood control, general (emergency fund)

For an additional amount for "Flood control, general (emergency fund)", \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer from "Flood control, general" and to remain available until expended.

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN AID

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

After the termination of the occupation government in Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobligated balances of the appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto,

1 as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations
 2 in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby
 3 waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes
 4 of such transfers.

5 CHAPTER X

6 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

7 DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

8 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

9 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 10 \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
 11 for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

12 CHAPTER XI

13 INCREASED PAY COSTS

14 For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal
 15 year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public
 16 Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public
 17 Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay
 18 increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law,
 19 as follows:

20 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

21 House of Representatives:

22 "Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;

23 "Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;

24 Contingent expenses of the House:

25 "Furniture", \$8,850;

- 1 “Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-
- 2 tion”, \$7,475;
- 3 “Office of the Coordinator of Information”,
- 4 \$5,630;
- 5 “Folding documents”, \$5,250;
- 6 “Revision of laws”, \$800;
- 7 “Speaker’s automobile”, \$485;
- 8 “Office of Legislative Counsel”, \$16,065, of which \$7,-
- 9 600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and
- 10 \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;
- 11 Capitol police: “Capitol Police Board”, \$1,795;
- 12 “Education of Senate and House pages”, \$2,940;
- 13 Architect of the Capitol:
- 14 Office of the Architect of the Capitol: “Salaries”,
- 15 \$8,100;
- 16 Capitol Buildings and Grounds:
- 17 “Capitol Buildings”, \$39,000;
- 18 “Capitol Grounds”, \$18,100;
- 19 “Legislative garage”, \$2,400;
- 20 “Senate Office Building”, \$55,400;
- 21 “House Office Buildings”, \$78,000;
- 22 “Capitol Power Plant”, \$35,400;
- 23 Library buildings and grounds: “Structural and
- 24 mechanical care”, \$16,700;

1 Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;

2 Library of Congress:

3 "Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;

4 Copyright office: "Salaries", \$73,000;

5 Legislative reference service: "Salaries and ex-
6 penses", \$66,300;

7 Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and ex-
8 penses", \$55,359;

9 Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,230;

10 Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,-
11 860;

12 Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of
13 Documents: "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

14 THE JUDICIARY

15 Supreme Court of the United States:

16 "Salaries", \$52,000;

17 "Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;

18 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and
19 expenses", \$7,000;

20 Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;

21 Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;

22 Other courts and services:

23 "Salaries of clerks of courts", \$398,000;

24 "Probation system", \$197,000;

25 "Salaries of criers", \$51,000;

1 "Miscellaneous salaries", \$239,900;

2 "Salaries of court reporters", \$94,400;

3 "Administrative Office of the United States Courts",
4 \$40,300;

5 "Expenses of referees", \$15,000;

6 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

7 "Executive Mansion and grounds", \$20,000;

8 Bureau of the Budget: "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$246,000;

10 Council of Economic Advisers: "Salaries and expenses",
11 \$17,800;

12 National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and ex-
13 penses", \$30,000;

14 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

15 Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
16 \$1,000,000;

17 Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and ex-
18 penses", \$5,000,000;

19 "Export-Import Bank of Washington" (increase of
20 \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
21 used for administrative expenses);

22 Federal Civil Defense Administration: "Operations",
23 \$365,000;

24 Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and ex-
25 penses", \$488,900;

1 Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$203,775;

3 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys",
4 \$14,000;

5 Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
6 \$274,000;

7 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

8 Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$3,900;

10 Interstate Commerce Commission:

11 "General expenses", \$719,000;

12 "Railroad safety", \$60,000;

13 "Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

14 National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Sal-
15 aries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

16 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$432,250;

18 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$20,900; and the amount made available under the head
20 "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment
21 Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation
22 Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is
23 decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

24 Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and
25 expenses", \$435,000;

1 Smithsonian Institution:

2 “Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution”,
3 \$162,000;

4 “Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art”,
5 \$90,000;

6 Tariff Commission: “Salaries and expenses”, \$87,000;

7 The Tax Court of the United States: “Salaries and
8 expenses”, \$42,000;

9 Veterans’ Administration: “Administration, medical,
10 hospital, and domiciliary services”, \$32,254,000;

11 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

12 Columbia Institution for the Deaf: “Salaries and ex-
13 penses”, \$26,600, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
14 priation “Promotion and further development of vocational
15 education”, Office of Education;

16 Food and Drug Administration: “Salaries and ex-
17 penses”, \$343,300;

18 Freedmen’s Hospital: “Salaries and expenses”,
19 \$193,800;

20 Howard University: “Salaries and expenses”, \$260,300,
21 of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the
22 appropriation “Promotion and further development of voca-
23 tional education”, Office of Education;

24 Office of Education: “Salaries and expenses”, \$202,300,
25 to be derived by transfer from the appropriation “Promotion

1 and further development of vocational education", Office of
2 Education;

3 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and ex-
4 penses", \$38,000;

5 Public Health Service:

6 "Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

7 "Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

8 "Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

9 "Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

10 "Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene",
11 \$104,500;

12 "Disease and sanitation investigations and control,
13 Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

14 "Salaries and expenses, hospital construction serv-
15 ices", \$63,650;

16 "Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

17 "Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

18 "National Institutes of Health, operating expenses",
19 \$256,500;

20 "National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

21 "Mental health activities", \$42,750;

22 "National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

23 "Dental health activities", \$19,000;

24 "Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

1 Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
2 \$199,025;

3 Social Security Administration:

4 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit
5 Unions", \$54,150;

6 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assist-
7 ance", \$96,900;

8 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,-
9 250;

10 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commis-
11 sioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325
12 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
13 insurance trust fund;

14 Office of the Administrator:

15 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275,
16 together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred
17 from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust
18 fund;

19 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Opera-
20 tions", \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700
21 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
22 insurance trust fund;

23 "Salaries, Office of the General Counsel", \$28,500,
24 together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred
25 from the appropriation "Salaries and expenses, certifica-

tion and inspection services", and not to exceed \$29,250 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

Provided, That the Administrator may transfer from any appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Federal Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal Security Agency such additional amounts as may be necessary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951;

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

"Operating expenses", \$5,759,000;

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries and expenses", \$207,000;

"Advance planning of non-Federal public works", \$63,500;

"Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services", \$44,700;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$40,000;

"Federal National Mortgage Association" (increase of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,-

1 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
 2 used for administrative expenses in connection with loans
 3 for prefabricated housing) ;

4 “Home Loan Bank Board” (increase of \$31,000 in
 5 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ad-
 6 ministrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limita-
 7 tion upon the amount which may be used for nonadmin-
 8 istrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State
 9 chartered institutions) ;

10 “Federal Housing Administration” (increase of \$334,-
 11 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
 12 for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the
 13 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
 14 administrative expenses) ;

15 “Public Housing Administration” (increase of \$833,000
 16 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
 17 administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the
 18 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
 19 administrative expenses) ;

20 “Administrative expenses”, \$601,000;

21 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

22 “Research and Marketing Act of 1946”, \$222,000 ;

23 Bureau of Agricultural Economics :

24 “Economic investigations”, \$170,500 ;

25 “Crop and livestock estimates”, \$234,500 :

Agricultural Research Administration:

“Office of Administrator”, \$41,000;

“Research on agricultural problems of Alaska”,
\$20,000;

“Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials”, \$32,000;

Office of Experiment Stations: “Salaries and expenses”, \$23,000;

“Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics”, \$86,000;

Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

“Animal research”, \$215,000;

“Animal disease control and eradication”,
\$395,800;

“Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum”, \$4,200;

“Meat inspection”, \$1,040,000;

“Bureau of Dairy Industry”, \$98,000;

“Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry”,
\$450,000;

Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural
Engineering:

“Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering
research”, \$745,920;

“National Arboretum”, \$12,080;

1 Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

2 Salaries and expenses:

3 "Insect investigations", \$265,500;

4 "Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,-
5 900;

6 "Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

7 "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and
8 plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the
9 amount of this appropriation which may be appor-
10 tioned for use only to meet emergency conditions,
11 pursuant to the provision under this head in the
12 Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act,
13 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs
14 under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law
15 201)) ;

16 Forest Service:

17 Salaries and expenses:

18 "National forest protection and management",
19 \$1,492,000;

20 "Forest research", \$308,000;

21 "State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

22 Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing
23 services", \$740,000;

24 "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

1 Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and ex-
2 penses", \$540,000;

3 Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and ex-
4 penses", \$1,745,000;

5 "Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed
6 \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to
7 the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agri-
8 culture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet in-
9 creased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public
10 Law 201)) ;

11 "Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

12 "Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of
13 \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
14 used for administrative expenses) ;

15 "Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,-
16 015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
17 used for administrative expenses) ;

18 Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

19 "Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

20 "Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

21 "Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

22 "Office of Information", \$48,000;

23 "Library", \$46,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary:

“Salaries and expenses”, \$100,000;

“Technical and scientific services”, \$10,000;

“Salaries and expenses, defense production activities”, \$2,500,000;

Bureau of the Census:

“Salaries and expenses”, \$450,000;

“Seventeenth decennial census”, \$660,000;

Civil Aeronautics Administration:

“Salaries and expenses”, \$6,000,000;

“Technical development and evaluation”, \$70,000;

“Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport”, \$80,000;

“Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport Act” (\$150,000 of the amount made available for projects in the States to be available for necessary planning, research, and administrative expenses) ;

Civil Aeronautics Board: “Salaries and expenses”, \$250,000;

Coast and Geodetic Survey: “Salaries and expenses”, \$469,000;

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

“Departmental salaries and expenses”, \$209,000;

1 “Field office service”, \$92,000;

2 “Export control”, \$124,000;

3 Maritime activities: “Salaries and expenses”, \$719,300;

4 and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:

5 Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

6 Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

7 Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

8 Patent Office: “Salaries and expenses”, \$750,000;

9 National Bureau of Standards:

10 “Operation and administration”, \$40,000;

11 “Research and testing”, \$250,000;

12 “Radio propagation and standards”, \$70,000;

13 Weather Bureau: “Salaries and expenses”, \$1,470,000;

14 “Inland Waterways Corporation” (increase of \$10,000

15 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
16 administrative expenses) ;

17 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

18 Department of the Army—Civil functions:

19 Quartermaster Corps: “Cemeterial expenses”,
20 \$47,500;

21 “United States Soldiers’ Home” (\$135,000, to be
22 paid from the Soldiers’ Home permanent fund) ;

23 “Canal Zone Government”, \$550,000;

24 “Postal service”, \$50,000;

1 “Panama Canal Company” (increase of \$15,000
2 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
3 for administrative expenses) ;

4 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

5 Office of the Secretary:

6 “Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act”,
7 \$11,000;

8 “Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power
9 Administration”, \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from
10 the appropriation “Construction, Southeastern Power
11 Administration”;

12 “Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
13 ties”, \$250,000;

14 Commission of Fine Arts: “Salaries and expenses”,
15 \$1,200;

16 Bonneville Power Administration: “Construction”,
17 \$590,000;

18 Bureau of Land Management: “Management of lands
19 and resources”, \$335,000;

20 Bureau of Indian Affairs:

21 “Health, education, and welfare services”, \$2,-
22 175,000;

23 “Resources management”, \$388,000;

24 “General administrative expenses”, \$224,900;

1 “Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of
2 Indians, Oklahoma”, \$1,500;

3 “Tribal funds” (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

4 Bureau of Reclamation: “General administrative ex-
5 penses”, \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the
6 appropriation “Construction and rehabilitation”;

7 Geological Survey: “Surveys, investigations, and re-
8 search”, \$649,000;

9 Bureau of Mines:

10 “Conservation and development of mineral re-
11 sources”, \$650,000;

12 “Health and safety”, \$285,000;

13 “General administrative expenses”, \$84,000;

14 National Park Service:

15 “Management and protection”, \$440,000;

16 “Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facili-
17 ties”, \$79,000;

18 “General administrative expenses”, \$83,000;

19 Fish and Wildlife Service:

20 “Management of resources”, \$275,000;

21 “Investigations of resources”, \$170,000;

22 “General administrative expenses”, \$55,000;

23 Office of Territories: “Operation and maintenance of
24 roads, Alaska”, \$40,000;

1 Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$140,000;

3 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4 Legal activities and general administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, general administration",
6 \$160,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities",
8 \$400,000;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division",
10 \$245,000;

11 "Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and
12 marshals", \$800,000;

13 Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau
14 of Prisons", \$1,130,000;

15 Office of Alien Property (trust fund): "Salaries and ex-
16 penses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the
17 amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

18 "Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of
19 \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
20 used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in
21 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ex-
22 penses of vocational training of prisoners);

23 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

24 Office of the Secretary:

25 "Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

1 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor",
2 \$109,200;

3 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards",
4 \$43,700;

5 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Re-
6 employment Rights", \$18,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
8 ties", \$120,000;

9 Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses",
10 \$166,300;

11 Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and ex-
12 penses", \$138,700;

13 Bureau of Labor Statistics:

14 "Salaries and expenses", \$323,000;

15 "Revision of consumers' price index", \$83,600;

16 Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$16,200;

17 Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses",
18 \$521,500;

19 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

20 (Out of the postal revenues)

21 "General administration", \$1,675,000;

22 "Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

23 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

24 "Salaries and expenses", \$4,200,000;

1 “International information and educational activities”,
2 \$1,750,000;

3 “Government in occupied areas”, \$700,000;

4 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

5 Office of the Secretary: “Salaries and expenses”, \$175,-
6 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation “Opér-
7 ating expenses, Coast Guard”;

8 Bureau of Accounts:

9 “Salaries and expenses”, \$65,000, to be derived
10 by transfer from the appropriation “Operating expenses,
11 Coast Guard”;

12 “Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement”,
13 \$400,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
14 tion “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

15 Bureau of the Public Debt: “Administering the public
16 debt”, \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
17 priation “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

18 Bureau of Customs: “Salaries and expenses”,
19 \$3,000,000;

20 Bureau of Narcotics: “Salaries and expenses”, \$130,-
21 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
22 “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

23 Secret Service Division:

24 “Salaries and expenses”, \$172,000, to be derived

by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,
Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, White House police",
\$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

General Administration:

"Executive office", \$19,400;

"Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

"Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

"Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service",
\$106,700;

Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

"Workmen's compensation, administrative ex-
penses", \$14,000;

"District government retirement and relief funds",
\$70,000;

Regulatory agencies:

"Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

"Board of Parole", \$2,400;

"Coroner's office", \$4,300;

"Department of Insurance", \$700;

- 1 “Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets”,
2 \$11,400;
3 “License Bureau”, \$6,700;
4 “Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board”,
5 \$6,500;
6 “Office of Recorder of Deeds”, \$10,000;
7 “Poundmaster’s office”, \$3,100;
8 “Office of Administrator of Rent Control”, \$1,200;
9 “Zoning Commission”, \$2,100;
10 Public schools:
11 “General administration”, \$1,557,000;
12 “Vocational education, George-Barden program”,
13 \$19,000;
14 “Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds
15 and equipment”, \$221,000;
16 Public Library: “Operating expenses”, \$68,000;
17 Recreation Department: “Operating expenses”, \$133,-
18 000;
19 “Metropolitan Police”, \$944,000, of which \$132,650
20 shall be payable from the highway fund;
21 “Fire Department”, \$440,000;
22 Courts: “District of Columbia courts”, \$42,100, of which
23 \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States
24 Public Health Service;

1 Health Department:

2 "General administration", \$56,000;

3 "Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis
4 Sanatorium", \$94,000;

5 "Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital
6 and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$341,000;

7 Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses",
8 \$150,500;

9 Public welfare:

10 "General administration", \$4,400;

11 "Agency services", \$12,600;

12 "Operating expenses, protective institutions",
13 \$97,000;

14 "Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;

15 Public works:

16 "Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;

17 "Office of Municipal Architect", \$8,800;

18 "Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of
19 District Buildings", \$79,000;

20 "Department of Inspections", \$36,000;

21 "Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;

22 "Central garage", \$5,900;

23 "Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions"
24 (payable from highway fund), \$60,000;

25 "Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions" (pay-
26 able from highway fund), \$13,000;

1 “Department of Vehicles and Traffic” (payable
2 from highway fund), \$32,000;

3 “Division of Trees and Parking” (payable from
4 highway fund), \$21,300;

5 “Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation”,
6 \$331,000;

7 “Operating expenses, Sewer Division”, \$85,000;

8 “Operating expenses, Water Division” (payable
9 from water fund), \$105,000;

10 Washington Aqueduct: “Operating expenses” (payable
11 from water fund), \$20,000;

12 “National Guard”, \$3,500;

13 “National Capital Parks”, \$146,000;

14 “National Zoological Park”, \$29,800;

15 DIVISION OF EXPENSES

16 The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of
17 Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be
18 paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as
19 defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of
20 1952.

21 GENERAL PROVISIONS

22 Appropriations or other funds made available by this
23 or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal
24 year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, com-
25 parable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved

1 October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pur-
2 suant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be
3 made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had
4 been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this
5 section shall not affect the availability of funds for com-
6 pensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to
7 section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a),
8 or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of
9 pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates
10 upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar
11 authority.

12 Except where specifically increased or decreased
13 elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within
14 appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or
15 other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limit-
16 ing the amounts which may be expended for personal serv-
17 ices, or for specified types of personal services, or for other
18 purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may
19 be transferred between appropriations or authorizations
20 available for or involving such services, are hereby increased
21 to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs author-
22 ized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24,
23 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and
24 comparable pay increases granted by administrative action
25 pursuant to law.

CHAPTER XII

1
2 SEC. 1201. No part of any appropriation contained in
3 this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any cor-
4 poration included in this Act, shall be used to pay the salary
5 or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the
6 Government of the United States or who is a member of an
7 organization of Government employees that asserts the right
8 to strike against the Government of the United States, or who
9 advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates,
10 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
11 force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof
12 an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that
13 the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the pro-
14 visions of this section engaged in a strike against the Govern-
15 ment of the United States, is not a member of an organiza-
16 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
17 against the Government of the United States, or that such
18 person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organ-
19 ization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of
20 the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*,
21 That any person who engages in a strike against the Govern-
22 ment of the United States or who is member of an organiza-
23 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
24 against the Government of the United States, or who advo-
25 cates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,

1 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
2 force or violence and accepts employment the salary or
3 wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund
4 contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon
5 conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or im-
6 prisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided*
7 *further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition
8 to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of exist-
9 ing law.

10 This Act may be cited as the "Third Supplemental Ap-
11 propriation Act, 1952".

[FULL COMMITTEE PRINT]

Union Calendar No.

82^d CONGRESS
2^d SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No.]

A BILL

Making supplemental appropriations for the
fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for
other purposes.

By Mr. CANNON

MARCH , 1952

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on
the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

82D CONGRESS	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT
2d Session				No. 1503

THE THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

MARCH 7, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. CANNON, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 6947]

The Committee on Appropriations submits the following report in explanation of the accompanying bill making appropriations to supply certain supplemental and deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The estimates upon which the bill is based are contained in House Document Nos. 348, 357, 358, and 380. The bill is divided into chapters corresponding to the subcommittees considering the estimates. The recommendations contained in the bill are a result of deliberations of the several subcommittees as approved by the full committee.

SUMMARY OF BILL

Budget estimates considered by the committee total, \$1,069,542,625. Appropriations recommended total \$970,192,943, a reduction of \$99,349,682. These amounts are distributed by chapters of the bill as indicated in the following table:

Chapter	Departments or agencies	Budget estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
I	Legislative.....	\$114, 395	\$130, 895	+\$16, 500
II	Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary.....	97, 648, 870	91, 076, 170	- 6, 572, 700
III	Treasury and Post Office.....	215, 978, 000	192, 628, 000	-23, 350, 000
IV	Labor-Federal Security.....	29, 049, 000	7, 132, 000	-21, 917, 000
V	Agriculture.....	8, 420, 000	7, 200, 000	- 1, 220, 000
VI	Interior.....	2, 148, 000	1, 128, 000	-1, 020, 000
VII	Independent Offices.....	346, 373, 900	323, 189, 000	-23, 184, 900
VIII	Civil Functions.....	5, 750, 000	-----	- 5, 750, 000
IX	Foreign Aid.....	(¹)	(¹)	-----
X	Emergency Agencies.....	11, 054, 000	-----	-11, 054, 000
XI	Increased Pay Costs.....	353, 006, 460	347, 708, 878	- 5, 297, 582
	Total.....	1, 069, 542, 625	970, 192, 943	-99, 349, 682

¹ Language only.

CHAPTER I

SUBCOMMITTEE

CHRISTOPHER C. McGRATH, New York, *Chairman*

MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio

WALT HORAN, Washington

GEORGE W. ANDREWS, Alabama

FRED E. BUSBEY, Illinois

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The bill includes \$130,895 to provide for various and sundry items for the House of Representatives, as set out in the table which follows, which could not be anticipated when the regular 1952 appropriation bill was under consideration.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	CHAPTER I—LEGISLATIVE BRANCH			
	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			
	Beneficiary of deceased members-----	-----	\$12, 500	+\$12, 500
	SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES			
348	Office of the Doorkeeper (pay of pages), 1952-----	\$38, 895	38, 895	-----
	CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE			
348	Stationery (revolving fund), 1952-----	500	500	-----
	Contested election cases-----	-----	4, 000	+4, 000
380	Special and Select Committees, 1952-----	75, 000	75, 000	-----
	Total, House of Representatives-----	114, 395	130, 895	+16, 500
	Total, Legislative Branch (Ch. I)-----	114, 395	130, 895	+16, 500

NOTE.—Item in H. Doc. 348 pertaining to the Senate, \$400,000, not included above.

CHAPTER II

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN J. ROONEY, New York, *Chairman*

DANIEL J. FLOOD, Pennsylvania
PRINCE H. PRESTON, Georgia
FRED MARSHALL, Minnesota

CLIFF CLEVENGER, Ohio
FRED G. AANDAHL, North Dakota

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Fees and expenses of witnesses.—The committee recommends \$100,000, a reduction of \$100,000 in the budget estimate for this item. There has previously been appropriated \$1,000,000 for payment of fees and expenses of witnesses for fiscal year 1952. The allowed additional funds are required primarily because of intensification of grand jury work and acceleration of litigation under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry.—The bill includes the additional sum of \$14,800,000 for the payment of claims of persons of Japanese ancestry. The regular appropriation act for 1952 provided \$750,000 for this purpose. In its report accompanying the regular bill the committee pointed out certain deficiencies in the administration of this program. The correction of deficiencies plus the passage of Public Law 116, Eighty-second Congress, providing for administrative settlement of certain claims have made it possible to greatly expedite the disposition of these claims. The Department estimates that of the 23,725 claims pending as of July 1, 1951, 17,824 claims will be disposed of by June 30, 1952. This acceleration in the disposition of claims necessitates the additional appropriation recommended. All of the funds provided in this bill are for the actual payment of claims and no part thereof is to be used for administrative costs.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Salaries and expenses.—The sum of \$4,000,000, a reduction of \$610,000 in the budget estimate, is included in the bill for this service. Of the amount proposed, \$2,610,000 is to cover pay increase costs under Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress. The remainder, \$1,390,000, is to curtail the illegal entry of Mexican nationals into the United States and to implement to the fullest extent the Agricultural Labor Program. This sum will provide for the establishment and maintenance of two detention camps, removal by air of several thousand illegal entrants to the interior of Mexico, and increased staff and equipment for the border patrol to prevent illegal entries.

FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

Support of United States Prisoners.—The committee recommends \$575,000 for this item which is in addition to the \$2,000,000 previously appropriated for payment to state and local penal institutions for short term boarding of Federal prisoners and for the maintenance of seven jails in the Territory of Alaska. The supplemental funds are necessitated by the increase in the number of prisoners over that previously estimated and to meet slightly higher costs.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

Establishment of air navigation facilities.—Included in the bill is language approved by the Bureau of the Budget increasing the personal service limitation on this item from \$4,965,300 to \$5,950,000. This will provide for increased pay costs of \$449,000 and also \$535,700 to permit the completion by June 30, 1952 of the project schedule for which equipment has already been procured. No additional appropriation is provided, and the insertion of this language should result in savings.

Claims, Federal Airport Act.—There is included in the bill \$701,170, the budget estimate, covering the payment of claims for 17 public airports as certified by the Administrator, Civil Aeronautics Administration, under the authority contained in section 17 of the Federal Airport Act of 1946 as amended. To date, appropriations totalling \$5,273,118 have been made for eight groups of claims comprising 58 airports. The committee was advised that there are 22 claims which have not yet been processed. The committee expects the CAA to process the remaining claims as expeditiously as possible and bring to a conclusion this program which when finished will have cost the taxpayers approximately \$10,000,000.

Additional Washington Airport.—An initial appropriation of \$1,000,000 was granted in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, toward the purchase of a suitable site for an additional public airport within or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia. There is included in this bill \$1,400,000, a reduction of \$260,000 in the amount of the budget estimate, to provide for the balance of the estimated land acquisition costs and for plans, specifications, and surveys for such an airport.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

Federal-aid Highways.—An additional sum of \$69,500,000 is included in the bill to reimburse the States for the Federal share of work done under previous Federal-aid highway authorizations. The sum of \$325,000,000 appropriated in the regular act for fiscal year 1952, and a cash carry over of prior appropriations of \$23,500,000, together with the \$69,500,000 recommended in this bill will make a total of \$418,000,000 available for this program during the current fiscal year. Expenditures for this program for fiscal year 1951 were \$394,088,896. The estimates of the Bureau of Public Roads for 1952 are approximately \$423,500,000. The committee has reduced that estimate by \$5,500,000.

THE JUDICIARY

OTHER COURTS AND SERVICES

Miscellaneous expenses.—A supplemental request for fiscal year 1951 of \$56,300 for this item was denied last year in The Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952. The budget estimate for fiscal year 1952 was \$795,800. The Congress appropriated \$750,000, a reduction of only \$45,800. The present supplemental request in the amount of \$77,700 for miscellaneous expenses, all of which is in the category entitled equipment, is likewise denied. The committee believes that the Judiciary should be able to maintain and continue necessary services with the \$750,000 previously appropriated and is of the opinion that the Judiciary should practice some economy as well as the Government departments.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE			
	LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION			
348	Fees and expenses of witnesses-----	\$200, 000	\$100, 000	—\$100, 000
348	Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry--	14, 800, 000	14, 800, 000	-----
	IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	4, 610, 000	4, 000, 000	—610, 000
	FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM			
348	Support of United States prisoners-----	600, 000	575, 000	—25, 000
	Total, Department of Justice-----	20, 210, 000	19, 475, 000	—735, 000
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
	CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION			
348	Establishment of air navigation facilities-----	(¹)	(¹)	-----
348	Additional, Washington Airport-----	1, 660, 000	1, 400, 000	—260, 000
348	Claims, Federal Airport Act-----	701, 170	701, 170	-----

348	BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS				
	Federal-aid highways-----		75, 000, 000	69, 500, 000	-- 5, 500, 000
	Total, Department of Commerce-----		77, 361, 170	71, 601, 170	-- 5, 760, 000
348	THE JUDICIARY				
	OTHER COURTS AND SERVICES				
	Miscellaneous expenses-----		77, 700	-----	-- 77, 700
	Total, Justice, Commerce and the Judiciary-----		97, 648, 870	91, 076, 170	-- 6, 572, 700

¹ Personal service limitation increased from \$4,965,300 to \$5,950,000.

CHAPTER III

SUBCOMMITTEE

J. VAUGHAN GARY, Virginia, *Chairman*

ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ, New Mexico
OTTO E. PASSMAN, Louisiana
ALFRED SIEMINSKI, New Jersey

GORDON CANFIELD, New Jersey
EARL WILSON, Indiana
BENJAMIN F. JAMES, Pennsylvania

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

Salaries and expenses.—The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$550,000 for salaries and expenses for the fiscal year 1952. This amount is a reduction of \$75,000 in the supplemental budget estimate.

The amount recommended will provide for the cost of statutory pay increases; for the retention of employees currently on the payroll; and for minor other items such as increased equipment rentals, and increases in costs of printing, supplies, and materials. Testimony developed that backlogs in the operation of stating paper checks are currently nearly three times as great as a more normal carry over should be.

Contingent expenses, Public Moneys.—The committee considered a supplemental request for \$50,000 and recommends the amount of \$25,000. The necessity for this amount is based entirely on the increases in parcel post rates effective October 1, 1951.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$20,000,000 for the salaries and expenses of this Bureau, a reduction of \$5,500,000 in the estimate submitted.

Of the amount recommended, \$18,900,000 is required to meet the cost of statutory pay increases, and the remainder will be necessary to meet increased costs of printing and reproduction of forms, blanks, etc.

The committee reduced the estimates by \$5.5 million since that amount was estimated for the purpose of advancing recruitment for the Bureau's 1953 program into the latter months of 1952, a plan which the committee feels to be most undesirable.

BUREAU OF THE MINT

An additional appropriation of \$225,000 is recommended by the committee to provide funds to meet statutory pay increases, certain pay increases granted by wage board action, and to provide for a small increase in coinage production. Language is provided in the bill to permit payment of the increases granted by wage board action,

retroactive to the date such action is approved by the Treasury Department.

The amount of \$240,000, which is the reduction made by the committee in the supplemental estimate, had been proposed for a sizeable increase in the production of pennies. The committee, referring to information that it obtained following the hearings on the regular 1953 budget estimates to the effect that 30% of coins returned by banks as unfit for use are, in reality, fit for continued use—felt that the increase requested at this time was not substantially justified.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

POSTAL OPERATIONS

The committee recommends an additional appropriation for 1952 of \$10,000,000, a reduction of \$17,200,000 in the estimates for this item. The entire amount of the estimate was said to be required in order to pay for personnel required to replace those who take advantage of the additional annual leave granted postal employees by the passage of Public Law 233, 82nd Congress. However, an analysis of the obligations through the month of January, and a generous allowance for leave to be taken later in the year, failed to disclose a need in excess of the amount recommended.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE MAILS

The committee recommends the full amounts of the supplemental requests, \$61,578,000 for the fiscal year 1951, and \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year 1952. These amounts are required to meet increased costs of transporting mail by rail, resultant from the issuance of an order by the Interstate Commerce Commission on November 16, 1951, establishing new rail mail pay rates effective January 1, 1951.

The estimates for 1952 take into consideration savings of approximately \$12,000,000 to be effected in air mail pay as the result of negotiations under way between the Civil Aeronautics Board and air carriers looking toward the establishment of rates based on cost exclusive of subsidy.

CLAIMS

The committee recommends an additional appropriation of \$250,000 for this item for 1952, a reduction of \$310,000 in the supplemental estimates.

The increase is required to cover increasing volume and unit value of claims, which in turn reflect the increasing volume and dollar value of merchandise shipped by mail.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	TREASURY DEPARTMENT			
	Office of the Treasurer:			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	\$625, 000	\$550, 000	—\$75, 000
348	Contingent expenses, public moneys-----	50, 000	25, 000	—25, 000
	Total, Office of the Secretary-----	675, 000	575, 000	—100, 000
348	Bureau of Internal Revenue-----	25, 500, 000	20, 000, 000	—5, 500, 000
348	Bureau of the Mint-----	465, 000	225, 000	—240, 000
	Total, Treasury Department-----	26, 640, 000	20, 800, 000	—5, 840, 000
	POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT			
348	Postal operations-----	27, 200, 000	10, 000, 000	—17, 200, 000
348	Transportation of mails (1951)-----	61, 578, 000	61, 578, 000	-----
348	Transportation of mails-----	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	-----
348	Claims-----	560, 000	250, 000	—310, 000
	Total, Post Office Department-----	189, 338, 000	171, 828, 000	—17, 510, 000
	Total, Treasury and Post Office Departments (chap. III)-----	215, 978, 000	192, 628, 000	—23, 350, 000

CHAPTER IV

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN E. FOGARTY, Rhode Island, *Chairman*

E. H. HEDRICK, West Virginia

CHRISTOPHER C. McGRATH, New York

WINFIELD K. DENTON, Indiana

GEORGE B. SCHWABE, Oklahoma

LOWELL STOCKMAN, Oregon

FRED E. BUSBEY, Illinois

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

Salaries and expenses.—The request for an additional \$1,053,000 contained in House Document 357 was composed of \$442,000 for pay increases under Public Law 201 and \$611,000 to carry out the purposes of Public Law 78 which vests in the Department of Labor the responsibility of conducting a program for importing Mexican workers for jobs in American agriculture. The committee has allowed \$892,000 or a reduction of \$161,000.

It is recognized that the major part of this reduction must be applied against the amount requested to carry out the program under Public Law 78, for which purpose \$1,287,500 has already been appropriated for 1952. It was the understanding of each of the members of the committee, when this legislation was under consideration, that it would be in most part self-supporting. However, this has proven to be far from true. In fact, Federal appropriations are bearing over half of the cost of the program. Based on testimony of officials of the Department of Labor, the committee believes that this reduction is the greatest that can be made and still provide for adequate administration of the program as it is now constituted. The committee is unanimous in its belief that such steps as are necessary should be taken to remove the obstacles in the way of making the program more nearly self-supporting to the end that those who benefit should bear a greater portion of the cost.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

Employees' compensation fund.—The committee has approved the entire request of \$2,200,000 which is solely to provide for benefit payments arising out of injuries to those covered by the Federal Employees' Compensation Act of 1916. The estimate is based on mathematical computations of the Government's liability. Any delays in meeting this liability would not result in any saving, but would only bring hardship to disabled Federal employees and their dependents. No funds are included for administrative costs.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.—The supplemental request for \$2,270,000 was composed of \$1,943,000 to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, and \$327,000 for additional work made necessary by the 1951 amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act (Public Law 234). The major part of the latter amount was based on the work resulting from the new provision restricting the payment of benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act to employees with 10 or more years of creditable railroad service, with the result of shifting to the Social Security Administration the responsibility for the handling of many additional claims.

The committee believes that the relatively small reduction of \$170,000 will not interfere with the expeditious handling of this Bureau's work. All of the funds recommended will be transferred from the OASI Trust Fund and so will result in no charge against the general fund of the Treasury.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

Surplus property disposal.—The committee has allowed \$40,000 of the supplemental request for \$46,000 which included \$7,000 for pay costs under Public Law 201. Much of the work under this head now involves recapture of equipment, such as airplanes and parts and machine tools, needed in the defense effort. More work also needs to be done in connection with the abrogation of restrictions on real property. The committee received testimony to the effect that, if staff and travel funds were available, several hundred thousand dollars could be collected from various institutions legally owing such funds to the United States. It will be expected that this increase in funds will not only result in more effective program administration, but also in increased receipts to the Treasury far in excess of the appropriation.

Defense community facilities and services.—The committee is recommending \$4,000,000 for this activity, which is a reduction of \$21,750,000 from the amount requested. All requested funds for recreation facilities, day care functions and additional administrative expenses are disallowed.

The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, provided \$4,250,000 for this program including \$250,000 for administrative expenses. This appropriation was made after considerable testimony was had from the program administrators concerning the great and emergent need for funds. These funds have been available since November 1, 1951, but the committee was told on February 26, 1952, that none of the \$4,000,000 for program operations had yet been obligated. The justifications for the requested supplemental of \$25,750,000 were far from satisfactory. They were not only vague and based in large part on generalities, but also lacked such basic data as the portion of the requested amount programmed for loans and the portion programmed for out-right grants. They did not contain information on the amount of administrative expense funds already obligated and contained incomplete information on the proposed use of the additional funds requested. The written justifications and

the oral testimony were so devoid of evidence of accomplishment and adequate programming that the committee believes that any larger appropriation should at least be deferred.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund).—The requested supplemental of \$1,853,000 was composed of \$368,000 for pay costs under Public Law 201, \$924,000 to cover the non-recurring work of reexamination of awarded claims required by the 1951 amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act (Public Law 234), and \$561,000 for increases in regular workload resulting from these amendments. This additional workload was outlined in considerable detail in the Board's written justifications, the pertinent portions of which were incorporated in the hearing record. The committee believes, however, that sufficient economies and further efficiencies can be effected so that this work can be properly handled with the \$1,600,000 allowed. These funds will come from the Railroad Retirement trust fund and will constitute no charge against the general funds of the Treasury.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF LABOR			
	BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY			
357	Salaries and expenses-----	\$1, 053, 000	\$892, 000	—\$161, 000
	BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION			
348	Employees' compensation fund-----	2, 200, 000	2, 200, 000	-----
	Total, Department of Labor-----	3, 253, 000	3, 092, 000	—161, 000
	FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY			
	SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance-----	[2, 270, 000]	[2, 100, 000]	[—170, 000]
	OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR			
348	Surplus property disposal-----	46, 000	40, 000	—6, 000
348	Defense community facilities and services-----	25, 750, 000	4, 000, 000	—21, 750, 000
	Total, Federal Security Agency-----	25, 796, 000	4, 040, 000	—21, 756, 000
	RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD			
348	Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)-----	[1, 853, 000]	[1, 600, 000]	[—253, 000]
	Total, Labor-Federal Security (Chapter IV)-----	29, 049, 000	7, 132, 000	—21, 917, 000

CHAPTER V

SUBCOMMITTEE

JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi, *Chairman*

WILLIAM G. STIGLER, Oklahoma
JOE B. BATES, Kentucky

H. CARL ANDERSEN, Minnesota
WALT HORAN, Washington

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FOREST SERVICE

Fighting forest fires.—A request of \$3,500,000 is included in H. Doc. 348 to cover the estimated amount by which emergency fire fighting costs will exceed the \$6,000,000 provided in the regular appropriation for fiscal year 1952. A total of \$8,569,354 was obligated thru December 31, 1951, and it is estimated that an additional \$1 million will be required for the balance of the fiscal year. The Committee recommends an appropriation of \$3,000,000, a reduction in the estimate of \$500,000, with the understanding that funds for 1953 may be drawn upon to the extent of the reduction if necessary.

Smoke jumper facilities.—Public Law 198, 82nd Congress, approved October 24, 1951, authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire land and construct smoke jumper facilities at Missoula, Montana. This Act also authorized an appropriation of \$970,000 and gave the Secretary authority to proceed to enter into contracts up to \$500,000. The regular budget estimates for the Forest Service for 1953 include \$970,000 for this item. In view of the need to proceed with this project immediately, however, the Committee recommends that it be included in this supplemental bill. An appropriation of \$700,000 is recommended to cover the full cost of this project.

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

Salaries and expenses.—H. Doc. 348 includes \$3,950,000 for this activity. The Committee approves \$3,500,000 of the estimate to meet increased pay costs due to Public Law 201, 82nd Congress. The remaining \$450,000 for reconstruction of the spillway at the McClellan Creek dam in Gray County, Texas, which was seriously damaged during a storm in May, 1951, is not recommended at this time. Of the fifteen dams of this type maintained by the Soil Conservation Service, eight are in a very bad state of repair and six are damaged to the point where they may not withstand another major flood. The Committee requests that the Soil Conservation Service and the local groups concerned explore other possible means of repair and operation of these facilities without the outlay by the Federal Government of the large sums of money involved.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated in this bill.

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared, with estimate
348	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE			
	Forest Service:			
	Fighting forest fires-----	\$3, 500, 000	\$3, 000, 000	— \$500, 000
	Smoke Jumper Facilities-----	970, 000	700, 000	— 270, 000
348	Soil Conservation Service: Salaries and Expenses-----	3, 950, 000	3, 500, 000	— 450, 000
	Total, Department of Agriculture, Chap. V-----	8, 420, 000	7, 200, 000	— 1, 220, 000

CHAPTER VI

SUBCOMMITTEE

MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio, *Chairman*

W. F. NORRELL, Arkansas

HENRY M. JACKSON, Washington

FOSTER FURCOLO, Massachusetts

BEN F. JENSEN, Iowa

IVOR D. FENTON, Pennsylvania

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

Operation and Maintenance.—Of the total amount of \$240,000 requested, \$160,000 is for increases in base salaries under Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress. The remainder, \$80,000, is for increased wage rates for hourly maintenance personnel under collective bargaining agreements negotiated after the 1953 budget estimate was submitted. The committee recommends the \$240,000 requested and an increase in the personal services limitation in the 1952 bill to permit payments.

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Management of Lands and Resources.—The budget request of \$250,000 is recommended for the fire-suppression program and the personal services limitation is increased accordingly. Obligation of the funds allowed in the 1952 bill for this purpose, up to the present time, indicate clearly the necessity for this increase.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Resources Management.—The budget request of \$175,000 is recommended for this item. Adverse weather conditions in the western United States and in Alaska have required obligation of funds in amounts exceeding the funds programmed in 1952. The waiver of the personal services limitation for the purpose of meeting the increased cost of fire suppression is also recommended.

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Construction and Rehabilitation.—Approval of the increase in the personal services limitation from \$38,570,172 to \$42,976,462 is recommended. The increase in the limitation is necessary to meet the increase in salaries made necessary by the 1951 pay act and to meet increased costs of equivalent increases for wage board employees.

BUREAU OF MINES

Conservation and Development of Natural Resources.—Approval of the increase in the personal services limitation in the 1952 bill from \$10,446,575 to \$11,454,000 is recommended for the purpose of meeting increased costs due to the 1951 pay act and for equivalent increases for employees whose salaries are fixed by wage boards.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities.—The committee recommends approval of the increase in personal services requested for the purpose of meeting the increase in costs due to the pay act of 1951 and to provide equivalent increases for wage board employees. This increase amounts to \$350,153 and is being absorbed by the Bureau.

OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

Construction of Roads, Alaska.—The requested increase in the personal services limitation from \$2,493,000 to \$2,844,700 is recommended. This will permit the Office to meet all increased costs due to the pay act of 1951 and equivalent increases resulting from wage board and administrative action for those employees whose salaries are so controlled.

Administration of Territories.—Of the \$1,483,000 requested, the committee recommends \$463,000 which includes \$163,000 for pay act increases and \$300,000 for grants for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The \$300,000 allowed the Trust Territory is for general transportation and is necessary to permit continued operation of the supply system to and between the island groups, without which there would be no means of provisioning the American personnel stationed in the islands. The remaining \$1,020,000 of the budget request was also for Trust Territory operations. The committee has not allowed any of this since it prefers to review this entire program, recently taken over from the Navy, as spelled out in the 1953 budget request before elevating the current level of operations.

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR			
	BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION			
348	Operation and Maintenance-----	1 \$240, 000	1 \$240, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT			
348	Management of Lands and Resources-----	2 250, 000	2 250, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS			
348	Resources Management-----	2 175, 000	2 175, 000	-----
	BUREAU OF RECLAMATION			
348	Construction and Rehabilitation-----	(3)	(3)	-----
	BUREAU OF MINES			
348	Conservation and Development of Mineral Resources-----	(4)	(4)	-----
	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE			
348	Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities-----	(5)	(5)	-----

- 1 Personal services limitation increased from \$3,983,862 to \$4,264,862.
2 Personal services limitation waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.
3 Personal services limitation increased from \$38,570,172 to \$42,976,462.
4 Personal services limitation increased from \$10,446,575 to \$11,454,000.
5 Personal services limitation increased from \$4,193,747 to \$4,543,900.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR—continued			
	OFFICE OF TERRITORIES			
348	Construction of Roads, Alaska	(⁶)	(⁶)	-----
348	Administration of Territories	7 \$1, 483, 000	7 \$463, 000	--\$1, 020, 000
	Total	2, 148, 000	1, 128, 000	--1, 020, 000

⁶ Personal services limitation increased from \$2,493,000 to \$2,844,700.

⁷ Personal services limitation increased from \$811,865 to \$879,200.

CHAPTER VII

SUBCOMMITTEE

ALBERT THOMAS, Texas, *Chairman*

ALBERT GORE, Tennessee

GEORGE W. ANDREWS, Alabama

SIDNEY R. YATES, Illinois

JOHN PHILLIPS, California

FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Jr., New York

NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

The committee has approved a supplemental appropriation of \$3,074,500 for this activity, which is a reduction of \$225,500 in the estimate of \$3,300,000. The funds are made available until August 31, 1952, the Commission being required by law to terminate its operations as of that date. The amount recommended will provide \$182,000 for Pay Act increases, \$2,620,000 for transportation to the United States of displaced persons of ethnic German origin, and additional funds for terminal leave and transportation of personnel back to the United States. The Commission has advised the Committee that salary requirements between April 1, 1952, and August 31st will amount to \$650,624, and it is estimated that, excluding Section 12 travel, approximately \$125,000 will be required for other obligations. The committee feels that these estimates are in excess of actual needs and has required savings totaling \$125,500 in these items.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

For salaries and expenses the committee has allowed \$313,000, a reduction of \$12,000 in the estimate. The amount recommended will provide \$301,000 for pay increases and \$12,000 for travel, the latter sum being required because of an unexpected increase in the number of applications for rate increases under the Natural Gas Act. This increase will cause additional travel not taken into account when the 1952 appropriation bill was under consideration.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

The committee has allowed \$4,400,000 for the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building to be used as a supply and records center in the Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, area. The amount recommended will require a saving of \$200,000 in the estimate of \$4,600,000. Replacement of the building formerly occupied by GSA, which was almost completely destroyed by the flood of last summer, is essential. The new building will be erected on a site free from the danger of flood and will furnish space for the storage of records and the operation of a supply center to provide operating supplies and materials for government activities in the area.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Defense Housing and Defense Community Facilities and Services.—Appropriations of \$50,000,000 for defense housing and \$60,000,000 for defense community facilities were authorized by Public Law 139, approved September 1, 1951. Of the \$50,000,000 authorized for defense housing, the Congress has provided \$25,000,000, and the remaining \$25,000,000 was considered by the Committee in the present supplemental request. Of the \$60,000,000 for defense community facilities authorized in the basic act, \$11,250,000 was appropriated for the class of facility to be furnished by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, leaving a remainder of \$18,750,000 which has been submitted in the pending supplemental request. Appropriations for the remainder of the authorization for community facilities amounting to \$30,000,000 are provided through an appropriation to the Federal Security Agency. The committee has allowed \$12,500,000 of the Budget estimate of \$25,000,000 for defense housing and \$9,375,000 of the Budget estimate of \$18,750,000 for defense community facilities.

The committee is of the opinion that funds for these programs should be provided only after final arrangements have been decided upon, and believes the amount recommended will be sufficient to meet such needs.

The committee calls attention to the fact that the President's budget for the fiscal year 1953 indicates that an additional \$300,000,000 will be required in that year to provide defense housing in critical areas.

Alaska housing.—The committee has allowed the estimate of \$1,125,000 which will provide the remainder of the \$15,000,000 authorized for this purpose by Public Law 52 of the 81st Congress. This appropriation goes into a revolving fund and is used to provide additional housing in several of the larger communities in Alaska. About 90 per cent of available funds for loans of this type have been committed and the additional sum recommended in the bill is required if funds essential to future commitments are to be provided.

Annual contributions.—The Independent Offices Appropriation Act for 1952 appropriated \$10,000,000 for payment of annual contributions. The committee is of the opinion that, in allowing an additional appropriation of \$3,600,000, a reduction of \$400,000 in the supplemental estimate, it has provided a sum adequate to meet all payments which must be made prior to the close of the fiscal year 1952. Attention is called to the fact that for the fiscal year 1952 this item has increased from \$10,000,000 to a request for \$14,000,000, and that \$36,000,000 is requested for 1953. This appropriation will increase in subsequent years until it reaches a maximum of \$336,000,000 annually. Payments run over a period of 40 years, and these payments are amounts over which the Congress will have no real control because they are for obligations for which the Government is committed as a result of the passage of prior legislation.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

The committee considered a supplemental estimate for the Selective Service System totaling \$3,415,000 for use during the remainder of the fiscal year 1952. The additional funds are required for pay act costs, including additional pay for unclassified employees of local and appeal boards, a conscientious objector program, an increase in the number of draftees required, and increased workloads in National and State Headquarters. A breakdown of the supplemental estimate and the amounts recommended by the Committee are as follows:

Object	Budget estimate	Recommended by committee	Decrease
Pay Act.....	\$416, 000	\$416, 000	-----
Local and Appeal Board clerks.....	237, 000	237, 000	-----
Foreign Registration.....	22, 000	-----	-\$22, 000
Conscientious objector program.....	150, 000	15, 000	-135, 000
Selectee travel.....	1, 378, 000	1, 378, 000	-----
National Administration.....	186, 000	139, 500	-46, 500
State Administration.....	1, 026, 000	769, 500	-256, 500
Total.....	3, 415, 000	2, 955, 000	-460, 000

In eliminating the estimate of \$22,000 for foreign registration the committee is requiring that existing personnel in the System and in the State Department perform this service without additional funds. The committee is not in accord with the conscientious objector program as presented and has denied funds for putting it into operation. The sum of \$15,000 has been provided for administrative expenses in connection with this activity and is provided in order that further consideration may be given this problem.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

The committee has approved the supplemental Budget estimate of \$285,800,000 to provide additional funds for benefits for veterans, including life insurance. Not one penny of this sum is for salaries and expenses, but is exclusively for benefits. A very substantial portion of the total recommended is required because of additional or increased benefits for veterans as a result of legislation enacted during the First Session of the 82d Congress, and an increase in the number of World War II veterans who decided to take advantage of education and training program before the date of expiration. The appropriation title and the amount recommended in each instance is set forth below:

Appropriation:	Amount recommended by Budget and Committee
Compensation and Pensions.....	\$60, 000, 000
Readjustment Benefits.....	148, 000, 000
Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans.....	25, 000, 000
National Service Life Insurance.....	50, 000, 000
Servicemen's Indemnity Appropriation.....	2, 300, 000
Service Disabled Veterans Insurance Fund.....	250, 000
Veterans Special Term Insurance Fund.....	250, 000
Total.....	285, 800, 000

In connection with the sum of \$25,000,000 recommended for the purchase of automobiles and other conveyances for veterans it should

be pointed out that this sum is authorized under the liberalized terms of Public Law 187, approved October 20, 1951. It is estimated that the amount recommended will cover the cost of 15,625 automobiles. As of December 31, 1951, about 3,000 applications had been filed under the new law. A review of VA records indicates there are 8,700 eligibles on the rolls who have not filed applications, it is estimated that 3,590 retired service personnel and veterans with service on or after June 27, 1950, became eligible under Public Law 187, and applications received during the fiscal year 1951 are pending for 335 veterans.

MARITIME ACTIVITIES

Operating-differential subsidies.—The supplemental estimate considered by the committee proposes amendment of the provision in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, to provide for fourteen hundred voyages, without limitation. During hearings on the estimate it was pointed out that 1340 voyages for presently subsidized services will be eligible for such payments and that about 60 voyages will earn subsidy under contracts for which applications are pending. The committee has approved the proposed reduction in the limitation on the number of voyages from 1522 to 1400, and has provided that 1340 shall be for presently subsidized operators, and that the remaining 60 voyages not presently allocated shall be used for new operators.

Maritime training.—For this activity the committee considered a supplemental estimate of \$55,000. Of this request the committee has allowed the budget estimate of \$20,000 for Pay Act increases, it has provided \$10,000 for emergency repairs at Alameda, California, instead of \$15,000, and has approved \$13,500 for refresher training courses for radio, engine and deck officers, in lieu of \$20,000 as proposed in the estimate.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES			
348	Displaced Persons Commission-----	\$3, 300, 000	\$3, 074, 500	—\$225, 500
348	Federal Power Commission-----	325, 000	313, 000	—12, 000
	General Services Administration:			
348	Federal supply and records building-----	4, 600, 000	4, 400, 000	—200, 000
	Housing and Home Finance Agency:			
	Office of the Administrator:			
348	Defense community facilities and services-----	18, 750, 000	9, 375, 000	—9, 375, 000
348	Defense housing-----	25, 000, 000	12, 500, 000	—12, 500, 000
348	Alaska housing-----	1, 125, 000	1, 125, 000	-----
	Public Housing Administration:			
	Annual contributions-----	4, 000, 000	3, 600, 000	—400, 000
348	National Capital Housing Authority-----	3, 900	3, 000	—900
348	Selective Service System-----	3, 415, 000	2, 955, 000	—460, 000

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES—Continued			
	Veterans Administration:			
348	Compensation and pensions-----	\$60,000,000	\$60,000,000	-----
348	Readjustment benefits-----	148,000,000	148,000,000	-----
348	National service life insurance-----	50,000,000	50,000,000	-----
348	Servicemen's indemnities-----	2,300,000	2,300,000	-----
348	Service-disabled veterans insurance fund-----	250,000	250,000	-----
348	Veterans special term insurance fund-----	250,000	250,000	-----
348	Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans-----	25,000,000	25,000,000	-----
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
	Maritime Activities:			
348	Maritime training-----	55,000	43,500	-\$11,500
	Total, independent offices (ch. VII)-----	346,373,900	323,189,000	-\$23,184,900

CHAPTER VIII

SUBCOMMITTEE

JOHN H. KERR, North Carolina, *Chairman*

CLARENCE CANNON, Missouri

LOUIS C. RABAUT, Michigan

GLENN R. DAVIS, Wisconsin

GERALD R. FORD, Jr., Michigan

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Flood Control, general, emergency fund.—Funds were requested in H. Doc. 348 in the amount of \$5,750,000 for this emergency fund. The need for these additional funds is directly related to the large and unanticipated expenditures occasioned by the recent floods in the Kansas and Missouri river basins. The committee is allowing the full amount, but believes that they should be derived by transfer from funds presently available for "flood control, general".

Information supplied the committee shows that an unobligated balance in excess of \$142,000,000 remains in the construction phase of the flood control program as of December 31, 1951. Corps of Engineers estimates of unobligated balances in the past have been notoriously low. In this connection the committee calls particular attention to the Harlan County Dam, Nebraska. This project is in operation at the present time and is scheduled for completion in June of this year. On January 31, 1952, an unobligated balance of \$2,541,945 remained on this project. It is anticipated that \$1,346,377 will still be unobligated on June 30, 1952. The committee directs that all funds allocated to this project and not obligated directly thereon be transferred to the above mentioned emergency fund.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS			
	CORPS OF ENGINEERS			
348	Flood control, general (emergency fund) -----	\$5, 750, 000	¹ (\$5, 750, 000)	—\$5, 750, 000

¹ To be derived by transfer from "Flood Control, general".

CHAPTER IX

SUBCOMMITTEE

J. VAUGHAN GARY, Virginia, *Chairman*

JOHN J. ROONEY, New York
JOE B. BATES, Kentucky

RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, Massachusetts
FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Jr., New York

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

The Budget recommended, in House Document 348, that provision be made for the transfer of funds from the appropriation for government and relief in occupied areas available for governmental functions in Japan to the State Department in the event of ratification of the treaty of peace with Japan. Immediately upon such ratification the responsibility for continuation of United States activities in Japan will shift from the Department of the Army to the State Department and some provision must, of course, be made to pay the cost thereof. The Committee has agreed with the proposal except that it has included in the language a limiting clause to insure that the funds transferred to the State Department will not be used in any other area.

CHAPTER X

SUBCOMMITTEE

CLARENCE CANNON, Missouri, *Chairman*

ALBERT THOMAS, Texas
MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Ohio
JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi
JOHN J. ROONEY, New York
JOHN E. FOGARTY, Rhode Island

JOHN TABER, New York
RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, Massachusetts
GLENN R. DAVIS, Wisconsin
1 NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

¹Temporarily assigned.

EMERGENCY AGENCIES

Defense Production Administration.—H. Doc. 348 contained requests of \$229,000 for pay increases for this agency and \$200,000 for expediting the program for the production of critical defense needs. The latter sum was to be derived by transfer from the Office of Defense Mobilization. The committee was informed by the Administrator of DPA that the second request was no longer needed. Accordingly it is not allowed and the funds contained in the bill are to be used for the payment of pay increases in the amount of \$200,000.

Small Defense Plants Administration.—Estimates for the Small Defense Plants Administration are contained in H. Doc. 348; included therein are \$825,000 for salaries and expenses and \$10,000,000 for the establishment of a revolving fund. Data presented to the committee in justification of these estimates failed to disclose a need for them. The committee believes that the proposed program of this agency practically duplicates existing small business activities of other agencies of the Government. It is recommended therefore that the agency be liquidated at once and that its functions be carried out by existing governmental agencies within appropriations presently available to them, except for the revolving fund for which there is no apparent need or justification.

In fiscal year 1951 the dollar value of military contracts awarded to small business was approximately five times greater than in 1950. These awards increased from \$1,311,000,000 in fiscal year 1950 to \$6,436,000,000 in fiscal year 1951. Over 20 percent of the value of all contracts with business firms was awarded to firms with fewer than 500 employees. These figures are particularly significant when one realizes that only a relatively small proportion of the prime contracts for items such as aircraft, petroleum products, engines, turbines and the like can be awarded to small firms due to their complex nature. It is particularly significant to note the portion of prime contracts awarded to small business for the types of products which they are equipped to produce or assemble. Listed below is a table showing the percentage of total contracts with small business firms for several items:

Percent of Army and Navy prime contracts awarded to small business firms by purchasing offices in continental United States

Product:	Percent of total contracts with small business firms
Apparel, except footwear and accessories.....	75.3
Containers and closures.....	52.8
Electrical distribution and control equipment.....	47.9
Electric generators, motors, and other rotating equipment.....	39.9
Food, manufactured.....	53.5
Furniture and fixtures.....	62.8
Metal fabricated basic products.....	42.0
Miscellaneous end products.....	75.0

The following table discloses the participation of small business in defense contracts let by advertisement:

Military prime contracts awarded by advertisement in continental United States

Month	Percent of total to small business	Amount	Month	Percent of total to small business	Amount
1951—May.....	57.8	\$135,650,000	1951—September.....	72.4	\$139,329,000
June.....	68.4	430,325,000	October.....	63.9	195,657,000
July.....	52.6	120,889,000	November.....	58.3	114,147,000
August.....	69.2	137,602,000	December.....	50.4	134,828,000

These statistics are especially significant when one considers that they include only prime contract data and do not in any way represent the total participation of small business in the defense program since it does not take into consideration the volume of business they receive through subcontracts.

Pay increases.—The pay increases for the several emergency agencies are carried in chapter XI of the bill.

H. Doc. 358 includes an estimate of \$11,455,800 for payincreases for these agencies. The Committee recommends \$8,275,000, a reduction of \$3,180,800

The amount of \$2,500,000 is allowed for the Department of Commerce, defense production activities, a reduction of \$453,000. Information furnished the Committee shows completely unrealistic personnel recruitment programs in several of the activities in this agency, notably the Office of Field Service and the Industry Evaluation Board.

Comparative statement of amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
	EMERGENCY AGENCIES			
	DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	¹ \$229, 000	(²)	-- \$229, 000
	SMALL DEFENSE PLANT, ADMINISTRATION			
348	Salaries and expenses-----	825, 000	-----	-- 825, 000
	Revolving fund-----	10, 000, 000	-----	-- 10, 000, 000
	Total, emergency agencies-----	11, 054, 000	-----	-- 11, 054, 000

¹ In addition, \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

² Committee recommends \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

CHAPTER XI

INCREASED PAY COSTS

The various subcommittees considered estimates submitted in House Document No. 358 totaling \$353,006,460 and recommend the appropriation of \$347,708,878 therefor, a reduction of \$5,297,582.

The total of pay increases resulting from the passage of Public Laws 201, 204 and 207 of the 82nd Congress is estimated by the Bureau of the Budget to be \$698,822,889 against which an absorption of \$311,158,983 was proposed. The committee reduction of \$5,297,582 imposes a further absorption, making a total of \$316,456,565.

The amounts acted upon in this chapter do not take into consideration estimates totaling \$27,415,600 which were submitted previously in House Document 348 reported upon in other chapters of this report.

LIMITATIONS AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

The following limitations and legislative provisions not heretofore carried are included in the bill:

On page 14, in connection with the appropriation for defense community facilities and services:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

On page 14, in connection with the appropriation for defense housing:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

On page 15, in connection with the appropriation for the Selective Service System:

Provided, That effective as of the first day of the first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended: Provided further, That such increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951.

On page 27, in connection with the appropriations for salary increases for the Federal Security Agency:

Provided, That the Administrator may transfer from any appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Federal Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal Security Agency such additional amounts as may be necessary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951;

COMPLIANCE WITH RULE XIII—CLAUSE 2A

The following is submitted in compliance with rule XIII, clause 2A:

IN PENDING BILL

EXISTING LAW

On page 7, beginning on line 16:

Provided, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed.

—the Secretary of Labor is authorized, without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, to appoint Mexican nationals for temporary employment in Mexico for a period of not to exceed one hundred and twenty days.

Union Calendar No. 472

82^D CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No. 1503]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 7, 1952

Mr. CANNON, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the following bill; which was committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

A BILL

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
- 4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply sup-
- 5 plemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June
- 6 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely.

1 CHAPTER I
2 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH
3 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

4 For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John
5 A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of
6 Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gra-
7 tuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any
8 time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or
9 at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of
10 Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been
11 a gift.

12 SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

13 Office of the Doorkeeper

14 For an additional amount for "Office of the Door-
15 keeper", \$38,895.

16 CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

17 For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for ex-
18 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
19 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Com-
20 mittee on House Administration, \$2,000.

21 For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for ex-
22 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
23 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee
24 on House Administration, \$2,000.

25 Stationery (Revolving Fund)

26 For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving

1 fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500,
2 to remain available until expended.

3 Special and Select Committees

4 For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and
5 select committees", \$75,000.

6 CHAPTER II

7 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8 LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

9 FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES.

10 For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of
11 witnesses", \$100,000.

12 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF

13 JAPANESE ANCESTRY

14 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
15 claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", \$14,800,000.

16 IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

17 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

18 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$4,000,000; and the limitation under this head in the Depart-
20 ment of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
21 available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159,-
22 900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appropriations
23 granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be
24 available for the purchase of not to exceed forty passenger
25 motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided,

1 and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct
2 facilities for detention of aliens.

3 FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

4 SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

5 For an additional amount for "Support of United States
6 prisoners", \$575,000.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

9 ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

10 The limitation under this head in the Department of
11 Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
12 able for personal services, is increased from "\$4,965,300"
13 to "\$5,950,000".

14 ADDITIONAL WASHINGTON AIRPORT

15 For expenses necessary for the acquisition of land, in-
16 terests therein and appurtenances thereto, for the site and
17 appurtenant facilities for an additional public airport within
18 or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia, as authorized
19 by Public Law 762, approved September 7, 1950; plans,
20 specifications, and surveys; and services as authorized by
21 section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a);
22 \$1,400,000, to remain available until expended.

23 CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

24 For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport
25 Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953,

1 as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901;
 2 Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County
 3 Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Air-
 4 port, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm
 5 Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado
 6 Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro,
 7 Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Geor-
 8 gia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia,
 9 \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,-
 10 538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368;
 11 Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal
 12 Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport,
 13 Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria,
 14 Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia,
 15 \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla,
 16 Washington, \$21,241.

17 BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

18 FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

19 For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways",
 20 to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum
 21 is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount
 22 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and
 23 \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appro-
 24 priated for the fiscal year 1951.

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CHAPTER III

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
\$550,000.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses,
public moneys", \$25,000.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
\$20,000,000.

BUREAU OF THE MINT

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
\$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this
head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying
wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury
Department.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

(Out of the postal revenues)

POSTAL OPERATIONS

For an additional amount for "Postal operations",
\$10,000,000.

TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
\$100,000,000.

CLAIMS

For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
\$892,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$4,200,000" to "\$5,675,000": *Provided*, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

For an additional amount for "Employees' compensation fund", \$2,200,000.

1 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

2 SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

3 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND

4 SURVIVORS INSURANCE

5 The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal
6 old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, for "Salaries
7 and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance",
8 by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952,
9 is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000".

10 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

11 SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

12 For an additional amount for "Surplus property dis-
13 posal", \$40,000.

14 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

15 For an additional amount for "Defense community
16 facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,-
17 000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the
18 amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses,
19 defense community facilities and services", granted in the
20 Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be
21 available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of
22 the Federal Security Agency in connection with its func-
23 tions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities
24 and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized

1 by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C.
2 55a).

3 RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

4 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

5 (TRUST FUND)

6 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
7 Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to
8 be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the
9 limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board
10 Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
11 personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to
12 "\$5,259,000".

13 CHAPTER V

14 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

15 FOREST SERVICE

16 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

17 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
18 for fighting forest fires, \$3,000,000.

19 SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

20 For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities
21 for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of
22 October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain
23 available until expended: *Provided*, That hereafter the au-

1 thorization granted in section 3 of said Act to enter into
2 contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be exercised.

3 SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

4 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

5 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
6 \$3,500,000.

7 CHAPTER VI

8 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

9 BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

10 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

11 For an additional amount for "Operation and mainte-
12 nance", \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the
13 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
14 amount available for personal services is increased from
15 "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,264,862".

16 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

17 MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

18 For an additional amount for "Management of lands and
19 resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within
20 the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting
21 the amounts which may be expended from appropriations
22 to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services,

1 are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost
2 of fire suppression.

3 BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

4 RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

5 For an additional amount for "Resources management",
6 \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior
7 Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts
8 which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau
9 of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to
10 the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

11 BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

12 CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

13 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
14 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supple-
15 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available
16 for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to
17 "\$42,976,462".

18 BUREAU OF MINES

19 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL

20 RESOURCES

21 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
22 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for

1 personal services, is increased from "\$10,446,575" to
2 "\$11,454,000".

3 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

4 MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL
5 FACILITIES

6 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
7 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
8 personal services, is increased from "\$4,193,747" to
9 "\$4,543,900".

10 OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

11 CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

12 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
13 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
14 personal services, is increased from "\$2,493,000" to
15 "\$2,844,700".

16 ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

17 For an additional amount for "Administration of Terri-
18 tories", \$463,000; and the limitation under this head in the
19 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
20 available for personal services, is increased from "\$811,865"
21 to "\$879,200".

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Commission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available until August 31, 1952.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to "\$252,000".

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon of a building for use as a supply and records center, including related equipment, approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the pro-

visions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$4,400,000, to remain available until expended.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

For an additional amount for "Defense community facilities and services", \$9,375,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

DEFENSE HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$12,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

ALASKA HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,125,000, to remain available until expended.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

For an additional amount for "Annual contributions", \$3,600,000.

1 NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

2 MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

3 For an additional amount for "Maintenance and opera-
4 tion of properties", \$3,000.

5 SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$2,955,000; and the limitations under this head in the Sup-
9 plemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
10 able for expenses of National Administration, Planning,
11 Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,-
12 856,000" to "\$1,995,500", and on the amount available
13 for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and
14 Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,-
15 223,500": *Provided*, That effective as of the first day of the
16 first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within
17 ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate
18 of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal
19 board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained
20 in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service
21 Act, as amended: *Provided further*, That such increases may
22 be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they
23 had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October
24 24, 1951.

1 VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

2 COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

3 For an additional amount for "Compensation and pen-
4 sions", \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

5 READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

6 For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits",
7 \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

8 NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

9 For an additional amount for "National service life in-
10 surance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

11 SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

12 For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indem-
13 nities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

14 SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

15 For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund",
16 authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insur-
17 ance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000,
18 to remain available until expended.

19 VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

20 For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", author-
21 ized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance
22 Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000,
23 to remain available until expended.

1 AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED
 2 VETERANS

3 To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in pro-
 4 viding, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled vet-
 5 erans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public
 6 Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 MARITIME ACTIVITIES

9 OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

10 The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential
 11 subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act,
 12 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further,*
 13 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be avail-
 14 able for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the pay-
 15 ment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of
 16 voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen
 17 hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which
 18 number shall include the number of voyages under con-
 19 tracts hereafter awarded."

20 MARITIME TRAINING

21 For an additional amount for "Maritime training",
 22 \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independ-

ent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from “\$2,236,500” to “\$2,263,500”.

CHAPTER VIII

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

Flood control, general (emergency fund)

For an additional amount for “Flood control, general (emergency fund)”, \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer from “Flood control, general” and to remain available until expended.

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN AID

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

After the termination of the occupation government in Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobligated balances of the appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto,

1 as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations
 2 in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby
 3 waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes
 4 of such transfers.

5 CHAPTER X

6 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

7 DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

8 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

9 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 10 \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
 11 for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

12 CHAPTER XI

13 INCREASED PAY COSTS

14 For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal
 15 year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public
 16 Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public
 17 Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay
 18 increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law,
 19 as follows:

20 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

21 House of Representatives:

22 "Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;

23 "Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;

24 Contingent expenses of the House:

25 "Furniture", \$8,850;

1 “Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-
2 tion”, \$7,475;

3 “Office of the Coordinator of Information”,
4 \$5,630;

5 “Folding documents”, \$5,250;

6 “Revision of laws”, \$800;

7 “Speaker’s automobile”, \$485;

8 “Office of Legislative Counsel”, \$16,065, of which \$7,-
9 600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and
10 \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;

11 Capitol police: “Capitol Police Board”, \$1,795;

12 “Education of Senate and House pages”, \$2,940;

13 Architect of the Capitol:

14 Office of the Architect of the Capitol: “Salaries”,
15 \$8,100;

16 Capitol Buildings and Grounds:

17 “Capitol Buildings”, \$39,000;

18 “Capitol Grounds”, \$18,100;

19 “Legislative garage”, \$2,400;

20 “Senate Office Building”, \$55,400;

21 “House Office Buildings”, \$78,000;

22 “Capitol Power Plant”, \$35,400;

23 Library buildings and grounds: “Structural and
24 mechanical care”, \$16,700;

1 Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;

2 Library of Congress:

3 "Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;

4 Copyright office: "Salaries", \$73,000;

5 Legislative reference service: "Salaries and ex-
6 penses", \$66,300;

7 Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and ex-
8 penses", \$55,359;

9 Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,230;

10 Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,-
11 860;

12 Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of
13 Documents: "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

14 THE JUDICIARY

15 Supreme Court of the United States:

16 "Salaries", \$52,000;

17 "Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;

18 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and
19 expenses", \$7,000;

20 Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;

21 Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;

22 Other courts and services:

23 "Salaries of clerks of courts", \$398,000;

24 "Probation system", \$197,000;

25 "Salaries of criers", \$51,000;

1 “Miscellaneous salaries”, \$239,900;

2 “Salaries of court reporters”, \$94,400;

3 “Administrative Office of the United States Courts”,

4 \$40,300;

5 “Expenses of referees”, \$15,000;

6 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

7 “Executive Mansion and grounds”, \$20,000;

8 Bureau of the Budget: “Salaries and expenses”,

9 \$246,000;

10 Council of Economic Advisers: “Salaries and expenses”,

11 \$17,800;

12 National Security Resources Board: “Salaries and ex-
13 penses”, \$30,000;

14 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

15 Civil Service Commission: “Salaries and expenses”,

16 \$1,000,000;

17 Economic Stabilization Agency: “Salaries and ex-
18 penses”, \$5,000,000;

19 “Export-Import Bank of Washington” (increase of
20 \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
21 used for administrative expenses) ;

22 Federal Civil Defense Administration: “Operations”,

23 \$365,000;

24 Federal Communications Commission: “Salaries and ex-
25 penses”, \$488,900;

1 Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$203,775;

3 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys",
4 \$14,000;

5 Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
6 \$274,000;

7 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

8 Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$3,900;

10 Interstate Commerce Commission:

11 "General expenses", \$719,000;

12 "Railroad safety", \$60,000;

13 "Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

14 National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Sal-
15 aries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

16 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$432,250;

18 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$20,900; and the amount made available under the head
20 "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment
21 Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation
22 Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is
23 decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

24 Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and
25 expenses", \$435,000;

1 Smithsonian Institution:

2 "Salaries and expenses. Smithsonian Institution",
3 \$162,000;

4 "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art",
5 \$90,000;

6 Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

7 The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and
8 expenses", \$42,000;

9 Veterans' Administration: "Administration, medical,
10 hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

11 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

12 Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and ex-
13 penses", \$26,600, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
14 priation "Promotion and further development of vocational
15 education", Office of Education;

16 Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$343,300;

18 Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$193,800;

20 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$260,300,
21 of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the
22 appropriation "Promotion and further development of voca-
23 tional education", Office of Education;

24 Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$202,300,
25 to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion

1 and further development of vocational education", Office of
2 Education;

3 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and ex-
4 penses", \$38,000;

5 Public Health Service:

6 "Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

7 "Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

8 "Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

9 "Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

10 "Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene",
11 \$104,500;

12 "Disease and sanitation investigations and control,
13 Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

14 "Salaries and expenses, hospital construction serv-
15 ices", \$63,650;

16 "Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

17 "Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

18 "National Institutes of Health, operating expenses",
19 \$256,500;

20 "National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

21 "Mental health activities", \$42,750;

22 "National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

23 "Dental health activities", \$19,000;

24 "Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

1 Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
2 \$199,025;

3 Social Security Administration:

4 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit
5 Unions", \$54,150;

6 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assist-
7 ance", \$96,900;

8 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,-
9 250;

10 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commis-
11 sioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325
12 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
13 insurance trust fund;

14 Office of the Administrator:

15 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275,
16 together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred
17 from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust
18 fund;

19 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Opera-
20 tions", \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700
21 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
22 insurance trust fund;

23 "Salaries, Office of the General Counsel", \$28,500,
24 together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred
25 from the appropriation "Salaries and expenses, certifica-

tion and inspection services", and not to exceed \$29,250 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

Provided, That the Administrator may transfer from any appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Federal Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal Security Agency such additional amounts as may be necessary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951;

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

"Operating expenses", \$5,759,000;

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries and expenses", \$207,000;

"Advance planning of non-Federal public works", \$63,500;

"Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services", \$44,700;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$40,000;

"Federal National Mortgage Association" (increase of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,-

1 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
 2 used for administrative expenses in connection with loans
 3 for prefabricated housing) ;

4 "Home Loan Bank Board" (increase of \$31,000 in
 5 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ad-
 6 ministrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limita-
 7 tion upon the amount which may be used for nonadmin-
 8 istrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State
 9 chartered institutions) ;

10 "Federal Housing Administration" (increase of \$334,-
 11 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
 12 for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the
 13 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
 14 administrative expenses) ;

15 "Public Housing Administration" (increase of \$833,000
 16 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
 17 administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the
 18 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
 19 administrative expenses) ;

20 "Administrative expenses", \$601,000;

21 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

22 "Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$222,000;

23 Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

24 "Economic investigations", \$170,500;

25 "Crop and livestock estimates", \$234,500;

Agricultural Research Administration:

“Office of Administrator”, \$41,000;

“Research on agricultural problems of Alaska”,
\$20,000;

“Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials”, \$32,000;

Office of Experiment Stations: “Salaries and expenses”, \$23,000;

“Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics”, \$86,000;

Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

“Animal research”, \$215,000;

“Animal disease control and eradication”,
\$395,800;

“Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum”, \$4,200;

“Meat inspection”, \$1,040,000;

“Bureau of Dairy Industry”, \$98,000;

“Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry”,
\$450,000;

Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural
Engineering:

“Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering
research”, \$745,920;

“National Arboretum”, \$12,080;

1 Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

2 Salaries and expenses:

3 "Insect investigations", \$265,500;

4 "Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,-
5 900;

6 "Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

7 "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and
8 plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the
9 amount of this appropriation which may be appor-
10 tioned for use only to meet emergency conditions,
11 pursuant to the provision under this head in the
12 Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act,
13 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs
14 under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law
15 201)) ;

16 Forest Service:

17 Salaries and expenses:

18 "National forest protection and management",
19 \$1,492,000;

20 "Forest research", \$308,000;

21 "State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

22 Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing
23 services", \$740,000;

24 "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

1 Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and ex-
2 penses", \$540,000;

3 Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and ex-
4 penses", \$1,745,000;

5 "Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed
6 \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to
7 the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agri-
8 culture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet in-
9 creased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public
10 Law 201)) ;

11 "Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

12 "Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of
13 \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
14 used for administrative expenses) ;

15 "Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,-
16 015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
17 used for administrative expenses) ;

18 Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

19 "Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

20 "Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

21 "Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

22 "Office of Information", \$48,000;

23 "Library", \$46,000;

1 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

2 Office of the Secretary:

3 "Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

4 "Technical and scientific services", \$10,000;

5 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
6 ties", \$2,500,000;

7 Bureau of the Census:

8 "Salaries and expenses", \$450,000;

9 "Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

10 Civil Aeronautics Administration:

11 "Salaries and expenses", \$6,000,000;

12 "Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

13 "Maintenance and operation, Washington National
14 Airport", \$80,000;15 "Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport
16 Act" (\$150,000 of the amount made available for
17 projects in the States to be available for necessary
18 planning, research, and administrative expenses) ;19 Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses",
20 \$250,000;21 Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses",
22 \$469,000;

23 Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

24 "Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;

1 “Field office service”, \$92,000;

2 “Export control”, \$124,000;

3 Maritime activities: “Salaries and expenses”, \$719,300;

4 and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:

5 Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

6 Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

7 Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

8 Patent Office: “Salaries and expenses”, \$750,000;

9 National Bureau of Standards:

10 “Operation and administration”, \$40,000;

11 “Research and testing”, \$250,000;

12 “Radio propagation and standards”, \$70,000;

13 Weather Bureau: “Salaries and expenses”, \$1,470,000;

14 “Inland Waterways Corporation” (increase of \$10,000

15 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for

16 administrative expenses) ;

17 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

18 Department of the Army—Civil functions:

19 Quartermaster Corps: “Cemeterial expenses”,

20 \$47,500;

21 “United States Soldiers’ Home” (\$135,000, to be

22 paid from the Soldiers’ Home permanent fund) ;

23 “Canal Zone Government”, \$550,000;

24 “Postal service”, \$50,000;

1 “Panama Canal Company” (increase of \$15,000
2 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
3 for administrative expenses) ;

4 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

5 Office of the Secretary:

6 “Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act”,
7 \$11,000;

8 “Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power
9 Administration”, \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from
10 the appropriation “Construction, Southeastern Power
11 Administration”;

12 “Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
13 ties”, \$250,000;

14 Commission of Fine Arts: “Salaries and expenses”,
15 \$1,200;

16 Bonneville Power Administration: “Construction”,
17 \$590,000;

18 Bureau of Land Management: “Management of lands
19 and resources”, \$335,000;

20 Bureau of Indian Affairs:

21 “Health, education, and welfare services”, \$2,-
22 175,000;

23 “Resources management”, \$388,000;

24 “General administrative expenses”, \$224,900;

1 “Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of
2 Indians, Oklahoma”, \$1,500;

3 “Tribal funds” (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

4 Bureau of Reclamation: “General administrative ex-
5 penses”, \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the
6 appropriation “Construction and rehabilitation”;

7 Geological Survey: “Surveys, investigations, and re-
8 search”, \$649,000;

9 Bureau of Mines:

10 “Conservation and development of mineral re-
11 sources”, \$650,000;

12 “Health and safety”, \$285,000;

13 “General administrative expenses”, \$84,000;

14 National Park Service:

15 “Management and protection”, \$440,000;

16 “Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facili-
17 ties”, \$79,000;

18 “General administrative expenses”, \$83,000;

19 Fish and Wildlife Service:

20 “Management of resources”, \$275,000;

21 “Investigations of resources”, \$170,000;

22 “General administrative expenses”, \$55,000;

23 Office of Territories: “Operation and maintenance of
24 roads, Alaska”, \$40,000;

1 Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$140,000;

3 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4 Legal activities and general administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, general administration",
6 \$160,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities",
8 \$400,000;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division",
10 \$245,000;

11 "Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and
12 marshals", \$800,000;

13 Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau
14 of Prisons", \$1,130,000;

15 Office of Alien Property (trust fund) : "Salaries and ex-
16 penses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the
17 amount which may be used for administrative expenses) ;

18 "Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of
19 \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
20 used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in
21 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ex-
22 penses of vocational training of prisoners) ;

23 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

24 Office of the Secretary:

25 "Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

1 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor",
2 \$109,200;

3 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards",
4 \$43,700;

5 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Re-
6 employment Rights", \$18,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
8 ties", \$120,000;

9 Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses",
10 \$166,300;

11 Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and ex-
12 penses", \$138,700;

13 Bureau of Labor Statistics:

14 "Salaries and expenses", \$323,000;

15 "Revision of consumers' price index", \$83,600;

16 Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$16,200;

17 Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses",
18 \$521,500;

19 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

20 (Out of the postal revenues)

21 "General administration", \$1,675,000;

22 "Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

23 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

24 "Salaries and expenses", \$4,200,000;

1 “International information and educational activities”,
2 \$1,750,000;

3 “Government in occupied areas”, \$700,000;

4 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

5 Office of the Secretary: “Salaries and expenses”, \$175,-
6 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation “Oper-
7 ating expenses, Coast Guard”;

8 Bureau of Accounts:

9 “Salaries and expenses”, \$65,000, to be derived
10 by transfer from the appropriation “Operating expenses,
11 Coast Guard”;

12 “Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement”,
13 \$400,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
14 tion “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

15 Bureau of the Public Debt: “Administering the public
16 debt”, \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
17 priation “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

18 Bureau of Customs: “Salaries and expenses”,
19 \$3,000,000;

20 Bureau of Narcotics: “Salaries and expenses”, \$130,-
21 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
22 “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

23 Secret Service Division:

24 “Salaries and expenses”, \$172,000, to be derived

by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,
Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, White House police",
\$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

General Administration:

"Executive office", \$19,400;

"Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

"Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

"Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service",
\$106,700;

Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

"Workmen's compensation, administrative ex-
penses", \$14,000;

"District government retirement and relief funds",
\$70,000;

Regulatory agencies:

"Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

"Board of Parole", \$2,400;

"Coroner's office", \$4,300;

"Department of Insurance", \$700;

- 1 “Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets”,
2 \$11,400;
3 “License Bureau”, \$6,700;
4 “Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board”,
5 \$6,500;
6 “Office of Recorder of Deeds”, \$10,000;
7 “Poundmaster’s office”, \$3,100;
8 “Office of Administrator of Rent Control”, \$1,200;
9 “Zoning Commission”, \$2,100;
10 Public schools:
11 “General administration”, \$1,557,000;
12 “Vocational education, George-Barden program”,
13 \$19,000;
14 “Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds
15 and equipment”, \$221,000;
16 Public Library: “Operating expenses”, \$68,000;
17 Recreation Department: “Operating expenses”, \$133,-
18 000;
19 “Metropolitan Police”, \$944,000, of which \$132,650
20 shall be payable from the highway fund;
21 “Fire Department”, \$440,000;
22 Courts: “District of Columbia courts”, \$42,100, of which
23 \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States
24 Public Health Service;

1 Health Department:

2 "General administration", \$56,000;

3 "Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis
4 Sanitorium", \$94,000;

5 "Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital
6 and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$341,000;

7 Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses",
8 \$150,500;

9 Public welfare:

10 "General administration", \$4,400;

11 "Agency services", \$12,600;

12 "Operating expenses, protective institutions",
13 \$97,000;

14 "Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;

15 Public works:

16 "Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;

17 "Office of Municipal Architect", \$8,800;

18 "Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of
19 District Buildings", \$79,000;

20 "Department of Inspections", \$36,000;

21 "Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;

22 "Central garage", \$5,900;

23 "Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions"
24 (payable from highway fund), \$60,000;

1 “Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions” (pay-
2 able from highway fund) , \$13,000;

3 “Department of Vehicles and Traffic” (payable
4 from highway fund), \$32,000;

5 “Division of Trees and Parking” (payable from
6 highway fund), \$21,300;

7 “Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation”,
8 \$331,000;

9 “Operating expenses, Sewer Division”, \$85,000;

10 “Operating expenses, Water Division” (payable
11 from water fund), \$105,000;

12 Washington Aqueduct: “Operating expenses” (payable
13 from water fund), \$20,000;

14 "National Guard", \$3,500;

15 “National Capital Parks”, \$146,000;

16 “National Zoological Park”, \$29,800;

17 DIVISION OF EXPENSES

18 The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of
19 Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be
20 paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as
21 defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of
22 1952.

23 GENERAL PROVISIONS

24 Appropriations or other funds made available by this
25 or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal

1 year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, comparable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pursuant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this section shall not affect the availability of funds for compensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar authority.

14 Except where specifically increased or decreased
15 elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within
16 appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or
17 other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for specified types of personal services, or for other
18 purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may
19 be transferred between appropriations or authorizations
20 available for or involving such services, are hereby increased
21 to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24,
22 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and

1 comparable pay increases granted by administrative action
2 pursuant to law.

3 CHAPTER XII

4 SEC. 1201. No part of any appropriation contained in
5 this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any cor-
6 poration included in this Act, shall be used to pay the salary
7 or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the
8 Government of the United States or who is a member of an
9 organization of Government employees that asserts the right
10 to strike against the Government of the United States, or who
11 advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates,
12 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
13 force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof
14 an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that
15 the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the pro-
16 visions of this section engaged in a strike against the Govern-
17 ment of the United States, is not a member of an organiza-
18 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
19 against the Government of the United States, or that such
20 person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organ-
21 ization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of
22 the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*,
23 That any person who engages in a strike against the Govern-
24 ment of the United States or who is member of an organiza-
25 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike

1 against the Government of the United States, or who advo-
2 cates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,
3 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
4 force or violence and accepts employment the salary or
5 wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund
6 contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon
7 conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or im-
8 prisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided*
9 *further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition
10 to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of exist-
11 ing law.

12 This Act may be cited as the "Third Supplemental Ap-
13 propriation Act, 1952".

82ND CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No. 1503]

A BILL

Making supplemental appropriations for the
fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for
other purposes.

By Mr. CANNON

MARCH 7, 1952

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on
the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued March 13, 1952
For actions of March 12, 1952
82nd-2nd, No. 40

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HIGHLIGHTS: House debated third supplemental appropriation bill. Joint committee submitted report on President's Economic Report. Senate committee ordered reported bill to continue ACP for 2 years, reported favorably nomination of Esgate to be Production Credit Commissioner, and scheduled CCC grain storage hearings. House committee reported Smokey Bear bill. Rep. D'Ewart inserted statement on Canadian foot-and-mouth disease as reported by Dr. Shahan.

HOUSE

- 1. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL.** Began debate on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 2216-53). Agreed, 105-46, to an amendment by Rep. Fisher, Tex., to cut \$1,390,000 from the item for prevention of wetback entry under the Immigration and Naturalization Service (pp. 2229-32). Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Fogarty, R. I., to restore \$825,000 for the Small Defense Plants Administration after rejecting, 113-130, an amendment by Rep. Cotton, E. H., to reduce the item to \$300,000 (pp. 2237-52). Pending is an amendment by Rep. Fogarty to provide for a \$10,000,000 revolving fund for SDPA (pp. 2252-3). No changes were proposed in the USDA items. However, the pay-cost items have not yet been read.
- 2. FORESTRY.** The Judiciary Committee reported with amendment H. R. 5790, to prohibit the unauthorized use of the character, "Smokey Bear," which was originated by the Forest Service to encourage forest-fire prevention (H. Rept. 1512) (p. 2256).
- 3. PUBLIC-LAND LAWS.** The "Daily Digest" states: "Bentsen Subcommittee on Public Lands held general discussion of possible revision of Federal public land laws, following which it was determined that a study of the many public-land laws was indicated. A resolution was adopted to introduce legislation in the House requesting authorization of funds to implement such study." (p. D202.)
- 4. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM.** The Majority Leader announced that the wetback-entry bill will be considered today, followed by the supplemental appropriation bill (p. 2253).

SENATE

5. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee ordered reported with amendment S. 2569, to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act so as to continue the authority for the Federal administration of this program for an additional 2 years (pp. D199-200).
6. CCC GRAIN STORAGE. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee determined that they would open hearings Wed., Mar. 19, on the investigation of the CCC grain storage program (p. D200).
7. NOMINATIONS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported favorably the nomination of Arthur T. Esgate to be Production Credit Commissioner (p. 2211). The Senate confirmed the nomination of W. J. Kenney to be Deputy Director for Mutual Security (p. 2213).
8. ECONOMIC REPORT. The Joint Economic Report Committee submitted its report on the January 1952 Economic Report of the President (S. Rept. 1295) (p. 2168).
9. FLOOD CONTROL. Received from this Department flood-control survey reports on the following watersheds: Pee Dee River, Va., N. C., and S. C.; Brazos River, Tex.; Queen Creek, Ariz.; and Sny, Ill. (p. 2167); to Public Works Committee.
10. FOREST LANDS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported with amendments S. 1536, to stabilize the economy of dependent residents of New Mexico using certain lands of the U. S. known as the North Lobato and El Pueblo tracts, originally purchased from relief program funds, and now administered under agreement by the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests, to effect permanent transfer of these lands (S. Rept. 1296) (p. 2168).
11. FOREIGN AID. Received from the State Department a report on the Yugoslav emergency relief assistance program (p. 2167).
12. PRICE CONTROLS. Sen. Maybank inserted a letter from the Office of Price Stabilization explaining their program for the use of radio and TV (p. 2172).
13. REORGANIZATION. Began debate on S. Res. 285, to disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1952, relating to the reorganization of the Internal Revenue Bureau (pp. 2173-211).

BILLS INTRODUCED

14. FORESTS; MINERALS. H. R. 7023, by Rep. Cooley, N. C., to protect the surface values of lands within the national forests; to Agriculture Committee (p. 2256).
15. RECLAMATION. H. R. 7025, by Rep. Harrison, Wyo., to provide for exemption from the land limitation provisions of the Federal reclamation laws as applied to supplemental water projects; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. (p. 2256)
16. GRAZING RESEARCH. S. 2845, by Sen. Johnson, Colo., to authorize the purchase of land and improvements in Gunnison County, Colo., to facilitate research into range improvement and range land management in the Rocky Mountain area; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (p. 2168).
17. BUDGET. S. 2844, by Sen. Langer, to direct the President to revise the budget so that the estimated expenditures thereunder will not exceed estimated revenues; to Appropriations Committee (p. 2168).

~~Donald T. Bonnette, Hillsboro.~~
~~William F. Byrne, Winchester.~~

~~NORTH CAROLINA~~

~~Milton N. McLaughlin, Cleveland.~~
~~James W. Nantz, Sr., Mount Holly.~~
~~Annie P. Southerland, Willard.~~

~~OHIO~~

~~Paul D. Smith, De Graff.~~
~~Robert W. Schroeder, Elmore.~~
~~Gerald D. Keller, Oberlin.~~
~~Lawrence D. Beardmore, Salem.~~
~~Effie R. Miller, Terrace Park.~~

~~OREGON~~

~~Bernice R. Reuterskiold, Bonnieville.~~
~~Clifford V. Bride, Sheridan.~~
~~Lucille M. Schultz, Westfir.~~

~~PENNSYLVANIA~~

~~Joseph J. Habeeb, Chinchilla.~~
~~Richard Downing, Jr., Conneaut Lake Park.~~
~~Clyde M. Buzard, Ellwood City.~~
~~Martin H. Liggins, Florin.~~
~~Dorina B. Torris, Green Ridge.~~
~~Natalie G. Landenberger, Holmes.~~
~~Marie G. Hastings, Pennadel.~~
~~Olga T. Graham, Russellton.~~
~~Guy V. Kingree, Jr., Smoketown.~~
~~Dean L. Musick, Youngstown.~~

~~SOUTH CAROLINA~~

~~Orin H. Garner, Jonesville.~~

~~TEXAS~~

~~Helen K. Humphries, Balmorhea.~~
~~Joel Parker Carroll, Bryan.~~
~~Gurley N. Sellers, Coolidge.~~
~~Thomas L. Cheatham, Edgewood.~~
~~Floyd S. May, Iowa Park.~~
~~Paul D. Cauley, Sr., Kingsville.~~
~~Almer D. Woods, Jr., Marquez.~~
~~Roy L. McGuire, Seymour.~~

~~VERMONT~~

~~Frederick R. Rousseau, North Hero.~~

~~VIRGINIA~~

~~Marian Irene Davenport, Lancaster.~~
~~Robert E. Booker, Jr., Lottsburg.~~
~~Rolla Wallace Rosen, Staunton.~~

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1952

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art the only source of light and hope in these days that are shrouded in darkness, and as we look wistfully and anxiously toward the future, grant that we may know the secret of triumphant and joyous living.

May we daily reaffirm our faith in Thee, confident that none of the hopes and longings for peace, which Thou dost vouchsafe unto our minds and hearts, are too lofty to be fulfilled by Thy divine wisdom and power.

Show us how we may strengthen the bonds of brotherhood. May our hearts go out in sympathy and our hands in helpfulness to men and nations everywhere in their struggles and sorrows.

Enable us by Thy grace to gain for ourselves and others the mastery over all trials and tribulations and may the spirit of our blessed Lord be the strength of our souls, His truth our shield, His companionship our joy.

In His name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Landers, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2697. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 396. Joint resolution making an appropriation for the Motor Carrier Claims Commission for the fiscal year 1952.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes today, after disposition of the regular business of the day and any special orders heretofore entered, and to extend my remarks at that point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that roll call No. 19 be corrected to show that I voted "yea" on that occasion.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

HISTORY REPEATS

(Mr. BERRY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, some 1,919 years ago, Judas was given 30 pieces of silver as a payoff for betraying the Saviour of us all.

Yesterday, while testifying before a congressional committee, Presidential Appointee Newbold Morris admitted that he had been given \$30,000 as his share of a shady tanker deal in which oil was transported to our far-eastern enemies—oil for the tanks of China.

Because of Judas, the noblest leader of all time died.

Because of Newbold Morris—and men like him—an untold number of American boys died.

History has only biting contempt for Judas.

What history will have to say of Newbold Morris only time will tell.

Thirty pieces of silver.

Thirty thousand dollars.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 23]

Aandahl	Hall,	Miller, Calif.
Addonizio	Edwin Arthur Mitchell	
Armstrong	Halleck	Morrison
Barden	Harden	Moulder
Barrett	Hart	Murdoch
Battle	Harvey	Murray, Wis.
Beall	Hebert	O'Konski
Aandahl	Heffernan	Patterson
Boykin	Heller	Potter
Buchanan	Herter	Powell
Buckley	Hopé	Rains
Camp	Horan	Roberts
Carnahan	Hull	Rogers, Mass.
Case	Hunter	Sadiak
Celler	Irving	Sheehan
Chatham	Jackson, Calif.	Sikes
Cole, Kans.	Kee	Staggers
Combs	King, Calif.	Sutton
Coudert	Kluczynski	Tackett
Cox	Lantaff	Vorys
Dawson	Larcade	Walter
Deane	Latham	Weichel
Dempsey	McKinnon	Welch
Dollinger	Mack, Ill.	Werdel
Doyle	Madden	Widnall
Fernandez	Martin, Iowa	Wood, Ga.
Flood	Merrrow	Yates
Gamble		
Greenwood		

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 347 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures may sit during general debate in the House today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes; and pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I would like to agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] as to time for general debate.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I think we might have not to exceed 2 hours.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Will the gentleman give those of us some time who are in favor of restoring the appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly. I may say that I have no applications at all for time up to this minute; so, following the suggestion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] that we have not to exceed 2 hours of general debate, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that general debate on the bill continue for not to exceed 2 hours, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and one-half by myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 6947, with Mr. Boggs of Louisiana in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 12 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this deficiency bill—we call it a supplemental bill, but it is really a deficiency bill—is a test of the adequacy of the regular bills which have been passed during the preceding ses-

sion, for the current fiscal year. If the bills have been cut too deeply and unwisely, we can expect a large deficiency bill. On the other hand, if they have not been cut enough, which is usually the case. We do not have such imposing requests for supplemental appropriations.

But, Mr. Chairman, judged by that criterion, the items fall into two classes. In fact the estimates for deficiencies in every supplemental bill, in every deficiency bill, should be considered under two categories, and that is especially true in this case. So, with that in view, I would like to call your attention very briefly to the distinction between the two classes of appropriations in this bill.

I might say by way of preface that the total estimates submitted to the committee aggregated approximately a billion dollars, or \$1,069,542,625. We bring them back to the House with the recommendation that only \$970,192,943 be appropriated. That is a reduction in the estimates submitted to us of practically \$100,000,000, or specifically \$99,349,682.

Of the two classes of estimates, one is for items on which the Committee on Appropriations had some latitude as to recommendation, a possibility that we might reduce the amounts proposed. The other is on items on which we had practically no latitude. They were for purposes over which we had little, if any, control, and in which, consequently, we were unable to make any material reduction.

Taking up the latter class first, those in which we had no option but to appropriate, there were the claims by persons of Japanese ancestry. It is quite an item. It runs over \$14,000,000. These are claims for persons of Japanese ancestry who were dispossessed, taken out of their homes during the Japanese war for obvious military reasons, but frequently at great injustice to the expatriates. These claims have been processed and adjudicated. They have been submitted to the proper authority, and the courts have decided that these amounts of money are due; that they have a legitimate claim against the Government for damage in these amounts for loss incurred in the unfortunate transfer from their homes to concentration camps, and therefore the committee recommends payment in full on claims aggregating \$14,800,000. It is an amount over which we have no control whatever. The courts have said it is due, and we must pay it.

Then there is the item for the support of United States prisons. No one knows how many prisoners will be convicted and incarcerated. It depends on the number of cases which result in convictions in the courts of the United States. If they commit a large number of people to prison we must support them. We have no choice in the matter. We must accept the figures based on the prison population. Therefore, while we nominally cut them \$25,000, we have in effect given them the full amount requested.

On Federal airport claims, the estimates originate in the requisition by the military authorities of private airports

for the use of Government which are alleged to have taken over their facilities and damaged their runways, and otherwise interfered with ownership control to their financial disadvantage to the extent of \$701,170.

The courts handed down decisions sustaining the contentions of the plaintiffs and the committee had no choice but to provide the appropriation which we have recommended, the full amount.

On Federal aid to highways, I think most of us will agree there is no money better spent than the money we spend on highways, but we have a system which is highly unsatisfactory in that it does not permit an annual review by the Congress. Not a dollar should be taken out of the Federal Treasury which has not been submitted for scrutiny and which has not been processed by the Committee on Appropriations and passed by the House of Representatives.

However, under the law they may go ahead and commit money in advance, and then when Congress meets, we have no choice but to allow the money. So we have a token cut, merely to let them know we passed by, but that money must be appropriated and we include it in our recommendation.

There were also various pay raises. We provided in the regular bills ample money to pay all salaries of employees of the United States. Subsequently Congress came along, and in its wisdom, or lack of wisdom, raised the pay of everybody, after the original pay roll had been provided. It is statutory, and we have no choice but to provide the amount approved by Congress.

We are criticized for the tremendous amount of money we are appropriating. We are criticized for the increase in the payment of Federal salaries. But the Committee on Appropriations pleads confession and avoidance, "We would not have appropriated this money, but Congress directed that it be appropriated, and we have no choice but to comply and propose appropriation of the required amount, \$26,640,000."

The same situation obtains on post-office rates. We had provided all the money necessary for the postal transportation, and along comes the Interstate Commerce Commission, and under the authority vested in it by the Congress of the United States, increases postal rates. What can the Committee on Appropriations do? We are criticized for these increases. We are criticized for making this appropriation. We are criticized for spending so much money. But the Interstate Commerce Commission has spoken, and we have no choice but to provide the money.

Under the employees' compensation fund, the proposition here is merely a question of how much is due under the law. The report indicates that the amount provided in the regular bill for the payment of employees' compensation is \$2,200,000 short. So, we have necessarily recommended the full amount.

Then on the provision for fighting forest fires. When a fire starts in a stand of valuable timber, one of our most valuable national resources, we have to put

it out. And it costs us \$3,000,000 to do it. It is a bargain at that price. We save billions of dollars worth of timber. We have no choice in the matter but to allow the full amount, and again we recommend the comparatively small appropriation of \$3,000,000.

With reference to the Veterans' Administration, here are items for the benefit of veterans and their dependents such as pensions, readjustments, indemnities, and indicating that the regular appropriations are \$285,800,000 short of what the law requires. Again, we have no choice but to provide the full amount required by law.

Under increased pay costs carried in the last chapter of the bill, we must meet statutory raises. Accordingly we provide the money required by law.

That totals \$906,793,943, an amount over which we have practically no control whatever.

In the rest of the bill, where reductions were possible, we have made substantial reductions. These reductions have been concurred in by a majority of the committee on both sides of the table. We do not believe they will interfere with the service and we trust they will have the approval of all Members of the House who believe in an economical administration of Government funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, when we are considering the bill under the 5-minute rule, it is my intention to offer an amendment to cut out from this bill the language relative to what is known as the Burke Airport, which you will find on page 4 of the bill.

In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, spending any further money upon this particular airport is worse than a waste of money. It is endangering the lives of a great many people in the most rapidly growing area in the Washington general vicinity. I refer to Fairfax County, which is fast becoming known as the bedroom of Washington. They say that because of all of those great apartment installations and homes that are found in that community. I say it is worse than a waste of the \$50,000,000 which it will ultimately cost. I say it is a waste not only of the \$50,000,000, but we are trying to foist upon the people of Fairfax County, most of whom, through their trade associations, board of county supervisors, and school district organizations, oppose this particular airport. Why, in the name of common sense, should we spend \$50,000,000—and some people say this will run more than that amount—when just 30 miles from this Capitol we have the great new airport at Friendship, which is begging for the surplus traffic? Friendship is not being used more than 30 percent of its capacity, if that much, yet here is a story in Life magazine stating that it is proposed, in order to salvage the pride of the Washington Board of Trade, or

something of that nature, to put in another \$50,000,000 of the taxpayers' money in cold cash, toward establishing an auxiliary airport for Washington.

What have you got out there in those rocky hills in that community which has been selected as the site by the Civil Aeronautics Authority? They did not even make drill tests as to whether or not there might be considerable rock underlying that place. They made no such tests, yet they ask us in this bill today to give them a further million dollars, and more, for the acquisition of more land for that site.

Now, remember it will be said that we have already put up a million dollars for this purpose. Yes; we did that last year, but today we can kill this proposal and it will only cost the taxpayers of America \$132,000, or thereabouts, in money which has been expended. That is less than one-third of 1 percent of what is proposed to be expended upon this absolutely unnecessary airport.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. In just a moment, if you please.

I am personally interested in this from two viewpoints. First, I am looking at this \$50,000,000 which, in my opinion, will be absolutely wasted, when you have Andrews Field, 14 miles or so from Washington; and you have Friendship Airport, 10 miles this side of Baltimore, connected with Washington by an all-land route, 30 miles from the Capitol. I am interested personally in the fact that I have some of my relations living in that vicinity who, along with thousands of other people, do not like the idea of these runways pointing directly at one of the most heavily settled sections of Fairfax County. They remember Newark too well.

If we follow up this proposal we may reenact what happened at Newark airport. I do not think you want to do that. I think the Members of this House want to give this whole proposition another thorough looking into.

Let me recall to you first, every organization in that particular county that I know of is opposed to this expenditure. They are opposed not only from the viewpoint of the waste of taxpayers' funds, but because of the fact that it would create a blight upon the area immediately surrounding this proposed 4,000-acre site. The FHA just announced a month or so ago that they would not insure property located within a certain distance of airports.

Why should we place another airport 14 miles airline from the Washington National Airport? Why should we expend \$50,000,000 if not more when we have this great 4,500-acre site at Baltimore already constructed? And I think you will find today that the people of Baltimore are more than willing to permit this surplus air traffic from the National Airport to use their field; they want it.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. DINGELL. When I fly from Detroit to Washington does the gentleman

expect me to land somewhere near Baltimore and then drive all the way to Washington?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I am glad the gentleman brought that up, for it calls back to my mind that I have not brought out a very salient fact. Friendship Airport when the present road under construction is completed will be within 40 minutes' driving time from the Statler Hotel by an all-land route. Burke airport, according to certificates of the police department of that county, is from 19 to 34 minutes' driving time on clear dry days from the Statler Hotel to the cloverleaf intersection 6 miles from Burke. You will have to add 10 minutes to that time to traverse the 6-mile access road, so the driving time between the airport and the Statler Hotel would be from 25 to 44 minutes. Just to save 8 minutes' driving time we are asked to spend about \$50,000,000. It might be more convenient, but it would be a mighty expensive convenience.

Mr. DINGELL. I am talking about 19 minutes as against 45, and no amount of explaining will eliminate the difference.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Perhaps the gentleman knows more than the local people about it.

Mr. DINGELL. I know where Friendship Airport is, and I know where this Burke airport is going to be.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Let me read from these official records of the police department of that county on a number of different occasions when they made trial trips and took the time: 21 minutes from the cloverleaf which is at the end of the 6-mile access road to the Statler Hotel, 21 minutes on one trial, 23 on another, 34 on a third, 25 minutes on a fourth; here is one at 22 minutes, another one at 24 minutes, one at 30 minutes. Add to that 10 minutes and you will have the driving time required from the Burke Airport to the Statler Hotel—about 6 minutes less than the time it takes to go to the Friendship Airport from the Statler Hotel.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. ROONEY. I wish to ask the gentleman if there is any question in his mind but what the Washington National Airport traffic reached the saturation point as far back as 1948 and that there must be an additional Washington airport.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The first part of the gentleman's question I agree with; we do need additional space, but we do not need an additional airport when we have Friendship Airport 30 miles from here ready and anxious to take care of this surplus air traffic.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. MASON. I wonder if the gentleman knows how far it is from the downtown area of Detroit to the Willow Run Airport?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The answer is an average of 55 minutes driving time.

Mr. TABER. It would be a long way from 40 miles.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I do know that from LaGuardia Field, for example, it takes much longer than from Friendship to get downtown and with almost no exception to get from any large airport in the Nation would require from 30 to 50 minutes to get downtown in our larger cities.

Let me give you one more point. Remember that in case of war, the first object of the enemy is to knock out bridges. If the Potomac River Bridge over here were knocked out, what good would Burke Field be? But Friendship will still be there. Think that over. Is it not foolish to spend \$50,000,000 more down there at Burke where nobody wants it, where the entire county is opposed to it, when the delegation from Virginia is very lukewarm, when Senator BYRD says he is very much opposed to it? Why inflict it upon those people when for \$8,000,000 we could put Andrews Field into operation as a first-class auxiliary to the National Airport, if that line of thought would be followed.

Of course, these Army officers want to live here in comfortable surroundings. They perhaps do not want to go and establish themselves some place else.

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Assuming that a few minutes were saved or gained in getting from the airport, considering the condition of the Federal Treasury and the high taxes we are paying, what justification is there to load on to the taxpayers such a tremendous cost as the Burke Airport would involve?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Absolutely none.

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. When we have one reasonably close to handle the traffic.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. There is no justification at all. Here is one of these things we can pull out of now with only an expenditure of about \$150,000 at the most. We have acquired land over there. The money is on deposit in the Federal court in Alexandria. The Government may own up to \$800,000 worth of that land, but it can dispose of it and get out from under.

Appropriate this additional \$1,400,000 as requested here and next year they will be in here for another \$2,000,000 because they have again estimated wrongly as they have previously.

The question occurs to me, Mr. Chairman, just who does want this airport?

Nobody out there seems to want it. I think we should look into that, I think we should look into a lot of things before we put further money into this matter.

These are my reasons, Mr. Chairman, for asking the committee to cut this out of the bill.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to discuss at this time an appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration. Last year the Congress passed unanimously an amendment to the defense-production bill setting up the Small Defense Plants Administration which was patterned after the most successful agency that was set up during World War II to help and otherwise assist the smaller concerns in the United States.

We drew from the experience and the trials and errors of that fine organization and developed the best set-up that it was possible for us to develop to help the smaller concerns in this present emergency. The Small Defense Plants Administration has already been in operation. The President selected Gen. Telford Taylor as Administrator. The President could not have selected a better man than Mr. Taylor for this position. His background and experience are ideal for a position of this kind. He is doing a wonderful job and will be doing a better job if given the power that Congress said last year would be given to him.

Briefly, the larger corporations do not need an agency to assist them. They have all kinds of people here in Washington at all times; they do not need any agency. I am told that one of the large corporations of the country has 70 representatives here in Washington, D. C., just one concern daily contacting the Members of the House and the Senate and the different administrative agencies. That is just one large corporation. You can multiply that not only 25 times but 50 times to arrive at the number of representatives here representing the larger concerns.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will the gentleman from Texas give us the name of the concern that has 70 representatives here?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; General Motors. Check up for yourself and find out.

Mr. BUSBEY. I just wanted it for information.

Mr. PATMAN. It is not an overstatement; it is possibly an understatement.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. I am informed by the UAW, in its relationship with plants in the United States, that 80 percent of the plants have less than 500 men; 64 percent have less than 200.

Now, if you want to talk about being for small business and throw this out the window, you are certainly doing some double talking in this House.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. This is small-business day in the House of Representatives. Will the gentleman tell us how the members of this committee, Democrats and Republicans, feel about the approach of this agency?

Mr. PATMAN. The Committee on Small Business of the House, 11 members, voted unanimously for it. This bill has bipartisan support. It is not a bill of the Democrats nor the Republicans; it is a bill supported by both Democrats and Republicans on the floor of this House. There is no difference of opinion between us on this particular bill, and certainly we should not fail to carry through what we have already voted.

Now, concerning the larger organizations, I have never known an organization—this is a broad statement, but I say it deliberately after much careful consideration—I have never known a big national organization, and I will name a couple of them, I do not mind that, like the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers—they have representatives who are very fine, outstanding people; they have got to be or they would not have those positions. They are able, they are sincere, they are honorable. They want to do the right thing all the time. And as long as there is no conflict of interest between big business and little business they get along fine. But I challenge any Member of this House to stand up and ask me to yield to him and say that he has ever known of a time when there was a conflict of interest between big business and little business that they failed to take the side of the big man. I yield to anyone who knows of any statement of fact that will contradict that. Their membership is composed of probably 90 percent smaller concerns.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman contradicts it, I will yield to him. I am yielding to those who say they know of such a case.

Mr. BUSBEY. The way the gentleman puts it, he would put an onus on every Member of this House.

Mr. PATMAN. No.

Mr. BUSBEY. Since I have been here, I have never received any information that would verify your statement.

Mr. PATMAN. I will construe my words. I have that right and I am going to exercise it. I am not going to leave it to the gentleman to construe what I said. I said I have never known a Nation-wide organization composed of little fellows and big fellows where, in the case of a conflict of interest between big business and little business, they failed to take the side of the big man; or I will change it and say, that they ever took the side of the little man in case of such a conflict. That will make it easier on the gentleman, that they ever took the side of the little man. I do not believe anyone has ever heard of a case that will contradict that. That shows the necessity for an organization like this to help the little man. As the gentleman from New Jersey said, this is the small-business man's day in the House of Representatives. Let us go through and do something to help him, as we promised to do last year.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an observation?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. DINGELL. I believe the gentleman brought out here once before that some of the so-called small-business men's organizations are even financed and controlled by big business.

Mr. PATMAN. We have a bunch of fakes like that. There are a lot of fake small-business groups. I do not say all of them are. There are some of them that are good, fine small-business groups, but there are more fakes in proportion than any other proposals that I know of in the country. A lot of them are backed by big-business concerns, get their money from big-business concerns, and come to the Members of Congress and claim they represent little business. "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing." You have heard that. That is exactly what they do when it comes down to the point of doing something. They do it for the big man. The SDPA is not giving the little fellow an advantage, it is giving him an equal opportunity. This is a bill calling for equality of opportunity. That is all it does, it gives equality of opportunity. Who is opposed to that?

This organization can do a wonderful job in procuring supplies for the benefit of the armed services and in our national defense effort, and can use to the maximum extent these smaller concerns all over the United States that we badly need in the defense effort at this time.

This bill was not sent out from the executive offices downtown. It was not sent out from any agency downtown. It is not the creation of any bureaucrat. This is a product of the minds of the Members of the House and Senate of the United States. This is our own creation. It came out of our own committees without suggestion from anybody. It was developed from the experience of World War II, when a similar agency was used. So this is our own baby and we should support our own baby and do what we promised last year to do, by giving it the money and the support it is entitled to receive.

This act gives the Administrator five broad, fundamental functional areas: First, procurement, including assistance in obtaining prime and subcontracts, and acting itself as prime contractor whenever we give the agency a part of the revolving fund. It will be proposed here by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] I understand, to give them \$10,000,000 in that fund. That fund will not be wasted. It will be used to good advantage. Not a penny of it will be lost. It will be paid back, and it will be a revolving fund. During World War II the Smaller War Plants Corporation only took a few prime contracts. But the fact that they had the power to take a prime contract meant that they would not have to take them. They could go ahead and negotiate with the large concerns, and get agreements on national defense work as to where they would put those contracts if the Smaller War Plants Corporation, which stay out, and let them have the contract. That was what was done. In the whole war, the Smaller War Plants Corporation spent only about \$33,000,000 compared to an expenditure of about three

or four hundred billion dollars during that time—an insignificant amount. The amount we spent here will be insignificant compared to the good that it will do in our national defense effort in strengthening the backbone of the small business institutions of the country. The small business institutions are the backbone of the country. So prime contracts are fundamental and we must have that \$10,000,000 to put them into effect.

Second, assistance in obtaining scarce materials.

Third, financial assistance—loans from the RFC.

Fourth, consulting other agencies and formulating regulations on materials and other matters.

Fifth, provisions for technical and managerial information.

That is the point 4 part of this program domestically for small business. We believe in point 4 internationally—yes, and we believe in point 4 for the small business concerns here at home.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. CANFIELD. Will the gentleman discuss what the Joint Committee on the Economic Report says about this agency?

Mr. PATMAN. The Joint Committee on the Economic Report said it should be continued, and that same joint committee recommended \$10,000,000,000 be cut from the budget, but they will not discontinue the SDPA. Here is a way, I will say to my friend, the gentleman from Missouri, that he can save more money that he is spending here. There are a great number of organizations—small-business agencies that you are appropriating money for, which would be worth a great deal more if they were connected with this organization. In other words, build this organization up, and make it strong. Reduce the others where they will not be so effective. The Joint Economic Committee recommended that the other small-business agencies be transferred to the SDPA.

In that way, you will save a great deal of money, and you will save much more than the SDPA will cost. I recommend for the consideration of this great Committee on Appropriations that they make this organization a strong organization because it is a genuine small-business group to help genuine small-business organizations, and where any cutting is to be done, cut the others.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY].

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I am just as much interested in small business as the gentleman from Texas who preceded me. The question before the House is: How can we best help small business? As a guide to the answer of that question let us consider what we are doing now for small business. May I say at the beginning, that with the exception of one or two subsidiary plants, I do not have anything except small business in my district. As a matter of fact, there is practically nothing but small business in the entire State of Virginia.

Now, what are we doing for small business? We have in the Department of Commerce, several divisions engaged in helping small business. First we have the National Production Authority, with 77 employees, engaged solely in helping small business. Then, we have the Office of Field Services of the Department of Commerce, with 135 engaged in helping small business.

Then, we have in the Department of Commerce, the Office of Technical Services, with four employees engaged in helping small business.

Do you know what is proposed? In the city of Richmond we have an office of the Department of Commerce which is doing the very same thing that the Small Defense Plants Administration contemplates doing, and yet they propose to open another office in the city of Richmond to duplicate the work that the Department of Commerce is already doing. I say to you, if the Department of Commerce is not helping small business in the city of Richmond, then close it up, because we do not have anything else there, with the exception of one or two plants of some of the larger corporations. There is nothing in Virginia except small business. Therefore, if the office of the Department of Commerce is not serving small business, it is not doing anything at all.

I have had numerous communications from small business people in my district wanting to know how they can get contracts under the Defense Production Act, and requesting other information. In every instance I have referred them to the Department of Commerce, and in every single instance they have gotten the service that they required. There is, therefore, no need for this agency.

But that is not all. In the Department of Defense we have in the Munitions Board 10 personnel set up for the Department of Defense. In the Air Force we have 45 personnel, whose duty it is to look after the interests of small business. In the Navy we have 76 personnel assigned to that task. In the Army, 364. That makes a total of 495 in the Defense Department who are engaged in helping small business.

In the General Services Administration we have 10 persons assigned to small business. In the Mutual Security Administration we have 14 assigned to that task. In the Atomic Energy Commission we have 10 assigned to that task. In the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—and there is an agency set up to help small business. If they are not helping small business, then let us abolish it. That was the purpose of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. They have 12 people just to look after the interests of the small-business man.

That makes 757 people, all told, that we already have set up in the Government today for the aid of small business.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. In just a moment, please.

If you want to help small business, the best aid you can give it today is to reduce Government expenditures, and cut the taxes on the small-business man.

That is what small business wants. To date I have received one telegram from my district asking me to support this appropriation. I have received hundreds of letters and telegrams and telephone calls and personal interviews from constituents of mine asking me to cut the budget of the United States; to cut our Federal expenditures and to see that at least at this session we do not impose more taxes; and, if possible, to reduce the taxes already authorized.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. If they get this \$825,000, they could not operate more than 2 months anyway in the fiscal year. That would be 400 employees up from nothing, at \$2,000 each for 2 months. It is terrific.

Mr. GARY. Three hundred and fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for this agency for the second and third quarters. They have only obligated thus far \$270,000, and now they are asking for \$875,000 just for the balance of this fiscal year.

If the organization is continued after June 30, nobody knows what they will ask for next year; the sky will be the limit. Here is an opportunity to cut Federal expenditures and to save money. I now yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. I know the gentleman well, and I know how fair he is. Is it not true that last year the gentleman from Virginia supported the bill authorizing the building of this agency and later supported a bill appropriating funds to start this agency into operation?

Mr. GARY. If I did and, frankly, I will say to the gentleman I do not recall how I voted on this measure; I may have done so, but if I did it was with the understanding that the activities in behalf of the small-business man were going to be coordinated and centered in one agency. That has not been done. What we are doing is superimposing another agency on top of a number of other agencies that are already operating in this field. Nobody thought that it was to be a duplication of effort or a triplication of effort. Had I thought that, I would not have supported it.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. It was intended that this would be the agency that would coordinate the others and that the other agencies would be transferred to it.

Mr. GARY. Then I ask why that has not been done?

Mr. PATMAN. We have not had the money; that is, the agency has not; they are asking for it right now. It will be done if this appropriation is allowed.

Mr. GARY. Certainly there is no assurance that anything of the kind will be done, because in the time the agency has been operating nothing has been done in that direction. I think it is the Book of all Books that says: "By their works ye shall know them."

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Assuming that this agency were given the \$10,000,000, that does not guarantee the coordination of the agencies referred to, does it?

Mr. GARY. Absolutely not. There is no provision to compel coordination at all. This just asks for \$10,875,000 for the balance of this fiscal year. Ten million dollars, of course, is a revolving fund that will be used as previously stated, but \$875,000 of it is for expenses just for the balance of this fiscal year.

Mr. PATMAN. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman is on the Appropriations Committee and is a very able and diligent member of that committee. I congratulate him on the fine service he has rendered. His committee is in a position to compel coordination of these agencies, for the power of the purse string is sufficient to accomplish it.

Mr. GARY. I differ with the gentleman on that point. That is not the duty of the Committee on Appropriations; that is the duty of the Congress. There should have been a provision in the law establishing the Small Defense Plants Administration to require coordination. I think small business ought to be taken care of; but it does not take 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, or 14 agencies to do it.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. In support of the recollection of the gentleman from Virginia in answer to a question that was asked him about voting for funds for this thing, my recollection is exactly the same as that of the gentleman from Virginia, that no funds have been appropriated by Congress at any time for this agency; that the last time it came before the Congress they refused to give them any money but said: "First, develop a program." The only money they have had has been transferred by the President from other funds.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER].

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the position taken by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN], a member of the Committee on Appropriations, in opposing the Burke Airport. As far as this particular item is concerned it is threshing old straw for me, because the authorization for this airport originated in the committee of which I am a member. I opposed it in the committee, and I opposed it when it came up for consideration on the floor. The authorization made by the committee and by the Congress was imprudent in my opinion. This, to me, is the final opportunity I will have to express my continued opposition to the enterprise.

As an interpolation, I would like to answer the inquiry made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] as to the time required from Detroit, Mich., to the Willow Run Airport. According

to the information given in the hearings it is 55 minutes.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DINGELL. I want the gentleman to understand very definitely that I am no party to the continuance of the Willow Run Airport. I want an airport just north of Detroit, about 10 minutes from the heart of town.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I am trying to give that information the gentleman inquired about.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. Has the gentleman ever been to the Willow Run Airport?

Mr. DOLLIVER. No.

Mr. RABAUT. If the gentleman had been he would know how much his 55 minutes are off.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I am glad the gentleman brought out this point about Detroit being 55 minutes away from the Willow Run Airport.

Mr. RABAUT. It is not 55 minutes away.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Most big cities are at least from 45 to 65 minutes away from their main airport. The substitute that we suggest being used here for this Burke Airport, 34 minutes distant, is Friendship which will be only 40 minutes distant. I maintain, as the gentleman from Iowa does, that it is mighty expensive to expend \$50,000,000 for a convenience involving only 6 minutes.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I agree entirely with the gentleman from Minnesota. I want to continue now with this Burke Airport and why I express my opposition to it.

Here is an opportunity for an economy-minded Congress, and this is what we are told the Eighty-second Congress is, to save about \$50,000,000 of the taxpayers' money. That is the first reason for opposing the Burke Airport. That is actually what it is going to cost before we get through with it. The original estimate was \$14,000,000 for acquisition of land and surveys and another \$10,000,000 for appurtenances and buildings out there.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. JENSEN. Does not the gentleman feel that the people of Elizabeth, N. J., are going to see to it that the airport there is taken quite a ways out of town, probably 20 or 30 miles?

Mr. DOLLIVER. Of course, an investigation is going on at the present time of those accidents at the Newark Airport. There is probably some great pressure being put on at that particular point.

The second reason for opposing the airport is this: As was pointed out by the gentleman from Minnesota, this area

is entirely unsuited for an airport. There has been no adequate survey made of the terrain out there. I am told on reliable information, from people who actually live in the area, that there is a tremendous amount of hard granite rock out there that will have to be moved at tremendous expense in order to put this airport in that area.

The third reason is that the people who live out at Burke and in that vicinity do not want it. They are living a quiet life out there and they are almost to a man opposed to this airport coming. Not only that, but the united delegations in Congress from Virginia and from Maryland, and likewise the cities in the vicinity, are also opposed to the airport.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I want to quote from a letter by Senator BYRD, of Virginia, dated January 24, 1952. Senator BYRD wrote Mr. David L. Walter, 120 East George Mason Road, Falls Church, Va., as follows:

MY DEAR MR. WALTER: Answering your letter, I am very much opposed to the construction of the second national airport in Fairfax County and will oppose the additional appropriation that will be requested this year for that project.

With best wishes, I am,
Faithfully yours,

HARRY F. BYRD.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Of course, the delegation from Maryland does not want this airport because they have invested Maryland taxpayers' money in the Friendship Airport between Baltimore and Washington under the airport program that was passed by the Congress. The taxpayers of Baltimore and the State of Maryland were encouraged to spend their money for the Friendship port by some Federal money. Also they were led to believe that its facilities would be used to supplement the Washington National Airport. I would like to see it used instead of going into Virginia and imprudently and uselessly buying another airport at a cost of \$50,000,000. I would much prefer to have the Friendship Airport used.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Not only that, but the Federal Government, and therefore the taxpayers of this Nation, have around \$15,000,000 invested in an expressway from Washington through the Fort Meade reservation to near Baltimore.

Mr. DOLLIVER. That is precisely true, and when that expressway is finished, the Friendship Airport at Baltimore will be nearly, if not quite, as accessible as the airport proposed to be built now at Burke.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman will recall 4 years ago, when we had the proposal before us for Friendship, it was then advanced to us that it should be an overflow airport for the Washington National Airport.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Precisely so.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. And that it should be utilized by both communities, Baltimore and Washington.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Precisely so.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. And as a result the taxpayers of the Nation put \$3,000,000 toward that end.

Mr. DOLLIVER. True.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Here we are leaving Baltimore in this plight: They have put in \$12,000,000 of their own money on the basis that it should be an auxiliary airport to help not only Baltimore and Annapolis and that region, but Washington, and I do not think we in the Congress are being fair to that large community by even thinking of putting in another airport 14 miles out here in the sticks.

Mr. DOLLIVER. The gentleman is exactly correct.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PHILLIPS. If we were to say that the Friendship Airport was far away, which I do not think it is, but even if it were, there is an airport only 9 miles out here, the Andrews Field, now used by the Army, which could very easily be used for this purpose, and the Army, with no inconvenience to themselves, could use one farther out. That would save us mileage, that would save us a great deal of money; \$2,000,000 alone for the road we have to build.

Mr. DOLLIVER. There is a great deal to what the gentleman from California says.

Mr. Chairman, finally, because my position is so perfectly clear on this, who is it that is after this airport over here in Virginia? Well, without casting any aspersions, I think it is the people who are trying to build up an airport domain down here in one of these Federal agencies.

Now what is the fundamental pattern of our airport development in the United States? It has been a sharing of responsibility by the local community with the Federal Government. Under the Airport Act, nearly any community in the country that wants an airport can get Federal aid. But this Burke Airport is not that kind of an enterprise. It is an enterprise that is backed up and promoted by some people who want to build up an airport empire of their own, regardless of State control or State contribution.

Mr. Chairman, this is a chance to save about \$50,000,000 for the taxpayers of this country. When the amendment is offered by the gentleman from Minnesota, I sincerely hope that it will have unanimous support.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] in whose district this airport is located.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, as has been stated by the chairman of the committee, the Burke Airport is located in my district. I am in a rather peculiar position about it. I undertook, when the bill was before the legislative committee, to put a restriction on that this airport could not be built in any place without the assent

of the governing body of that county. I think that is a sound principle. I was defeated on that. I was successful, however, in securing an amendment to the bill that required consultation with the local authorities before the airport could be located.

We are in this situation in my county of Fairfax, that the Government has made serious encroachments upon the tax-paying values of that county. It is a serious problem. I am constantly having to oppose the acquisition of property by the Federal Government.

I was defeated in my efforts. After that the act was passed and an appropriation of I believe \$1,000,000 was made to begin the construction of the airport. A large part of that money was paid into court, which passed the title of the property to the United States. You are stuck with the land.

I have taken this position with my constituents, and I have been, I hope, very frank with them, that while I opposed the thing in the beginning, Congress having established a policy and having appropriated the money I did not feel it was proper for me to undertake by this method to defeat a proposition where Congress had adopted a policy, even though I did not agree with the policy.

That is one side of the proposition, but there is a great deal of objection to this by individual citizens in the locality of that airport. I am the only voice they have here to express their opposition. I want to say to you just how they feel about it. I think they are entitled to have that position stated on the floor of the House.

I have had the governing body of that county come to my office in a body, the board of supervisors, objecting most strenuously to this appropriation. They feel that if this appropriation is defeated then their problem is solved. It is partly solved, but still the Government will own their homes and their land because that has already been done, because the law is that the Government, having put its hand upon it and deposited the money in the court, the title has passed to the United States Government.

However, there are people out there whose families have lived there for generations, who have their homes there, some of them, to which they are attached, to which they have a family attachment. The Government reaches out its hand and wrests from them a thing that is very dear to them. I think they are entitled to have you people know just how they feel about that, and to have you, maybe, meditate a little bit about how you would feel, let us say, if your ancestral home, if you have one, were ruthlessly taken from you by your Government.

I had every county officer, I think, in that county call me and ask me to take a position against the continued purchase of this land for that purpose.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I appreciate very much the very fair statement

of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH]. He knows, of course, I am sure, that only 1,040 acres have been acquired of the four thousand-odd-acre tract by the Government. There are still 3,475 acres for which the Government must come in and put up money. Is not that a fact, that acquisition has proceeded only about one-fourth as far as area is concerned?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. If the gentleman will wait, I will answer his question. Although I have no personal knowledge myself, I have understood that condemnation for this whole area has been filed, and that the appraised value of it has been deposited with the court. If that is true, the title has passed. I am not sure, and the information of the gentleman on it may be better than mine.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Would the gentleman say whether he considers the airport at Burke a satisfactory terrain or a satisfactory piece of ground for an airport? I drove out to see it, and it impresses me as being a very rolling piece of ground, and not nearly as good as other locations.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. I would not be able to express any opinion on it. If the gentleman has been over the ground, he probably knows about it better than I do. I have not traveled over the area. I just wanted to state my position to the House—not my position, but the position of the people who are suffering by reason of having their homes taken away from them.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. HARRIS. It is a fact though that whether the airport is constructed at Burke or not, the situation is such with reference to air service in and around Washington, that an additional commercial airport is going to have to be provided?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I am glad that my good friend, the gentleman from Arkansas, asked me that question because I think it brings up a matter which ought to be considered. That is, if you are not going to build it at Burke, certainly you ought to proceed very rapidly to construct an airport somewhere else. Personally, I have always felt that the armed services, and the protection of the Capitol, and the furnishing of a civilian airport would be better if they shoved the Army out of Andrews Field, which is right here close to Washington, and put them a little further away from Washington so that if a bomb was ever dropped on this city, we would still have an airport and some planes left.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I think the gentleman from Virginia is absolutely correct there. Andrews Field so far as defending Washington is concerned is too close to the Capital.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Yes; you try to pry anything loose from the Army. I have tried to pry things loose from the Army before, and you never get any-

where with them. But, I want to state in answer to the gentleman from Arkansas, that I do think it is very desirable that the Congress act with speed in providing another airport because this Washington Airport has become dangerous, and has become a public nuisance to the people who live within 3 or 4 or 5 miles of it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. With the Burke Airport only 14 miles away, would it still not leave a dangerous situation when it is only 14 airline miles from the National Airport?

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Oh, no; I do not think there is anything in that argument.

Mr. GROSS. It would be still following the same pattern.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. No; I do not think so. The gentleman asked me a question, and I have answered according to what I believe.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I think the gentleman from Virginia is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the chairman of the subcommittee, which has jurisdiction of this matter and which has reported out this item, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] for his very fair and forthright statement with regard to this situation. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS] just made an inquiry with regard to the necessity for this additional airport. As I see it, that is the first of two steps you should consider. The Washington National Airport traffic reached the saturation point as far back as 1948. We must have an additional airport. Now, the second question is, where is it going to be located? You are not going to pick any site for its location where the citizens living on that site are going to relish having their land condemned. The Congress has already appropriated a million dollars, a great part of which is on deposit down here in court in Alexandria and part of which has been spent for preliminary plans and surveys. This is already a going concern. This is a matter which was passed upon here in the House 2 years ago. Mention has been made of a cost of \$50,000,000. That is utterly inaccurate. If you will read the testimony, you will find that the contemplated cost of the present plans for the additional airport amount to \$14,000,000.

Mr. Chairman, the Friendship International Airport is one of the best airports in the United States. It is certainly a credit to Baltimore and puts that city in the very favorable position of being one of the few communities in the United States that has airport facilities adequate to provide for its own normal aviation expansion, but Friendship Air-

port is not a facility that can logically serve Washington. Let me cite reasons.

First of all, surveys show that about 60 percent of the airline traffic originating in the Washington area comes from the downtown district. Therefore, any airport that is to serve Washington must have reasonable access to the downtown area. By road, the distance from downtown Washington to Friendship Airport is over 36 miles and the average off-peak driving time is 56 minutes. This average time was determined as a result of test runs made jointly by representatives of the city of Baltimore and the Civil Aeronautics Administration. The Washington-Baltimore expressway now under construction will provide a much better and somewhat shorter route between Friendship Airport and the District line. The net reduction in driving time, however, based on driving at the maximum legal limit, will be only 6 or 7 minutes. This makes 50 minutes a reasonable estimate of the average time required to drive from downtown Washington to the airport when the expressway is completed. Fifty minutes is well beyond the acceptable limits for ground transportation time to an airport. The site near Burke can now be reached in 28 minutes driving time from downtown Washington during off-peak periods. With the completion of the access road which is proposed as a part of the development the Burke site can be reached in about 25 minutes driving time.

Second, when planning to handle air traffic from two major air terminals in one area, adequate provision must be made for the interchange of passengers made necessary by the separation of air carriers. The test runs showed that the average driving time for the 42 miles between Friendship Airport and Washington National Airport was over 68 minutes. The completion of the Washington-Baltimore expressway can reduce this time to about 62 minutes or a little over an hour. Requiring airline passengers transferring from one plane to another to spend more than an hour in ground transportation time is unreasonable. The airport at Burke will require only about 20 minutes ground transportation time for the interchange of passengers.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. ROONEY. The third reason that can be cited is that Baltimore will need all of the present capacity of Friendship Airport to take care of its aviation needs. Air traffic is constantly increasing throughout the country and Baltimore is going to get its share of this increase. Although the present facilities at Friendship are not now being used at anywhere near capacity, they are going to be required by Baltimore's own air traffic. Even with a major expenditure for the construction of dual runways at Friendship Airport the increased capacity would not be sufficient for all of Baltimore's air traffic, plus the traffic increases which are forecast for Washington.

The arguments in favor of using Friendship Airport have all been heard before. They were presented in 1950 when Congress passed Public Law 762, Eighty-first Congress, which authorized the construction of a new airport to serve Washington. At that time Congress determined that such a new airport was required and that Friendship Airport at Baltimore was not the answer to Washington's needs.

I now yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. What the gentleman had to say in his last statement is entirely correct, but the Congress surrendered its authority as far as selecting the actual site is concerned. That is where they made a mistake. The Burke site has been selected—

Mr. ROONEY. I did not yield to the gentleman from Minnesota for a speech. I yielded to him for a question. The gentleman may get his own time for his speeches.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Is that not correct? The Congress had nothing to say definitely about the Burke site itself.

Mr. ROONEY. That is not so at all. The Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 for acquisition of land at Burke airport and \$1,000,000 has been spent upon Burke airport.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] for a consent request.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the RECORD at that point in the reading of the bill dealing with immigration and naturalization under "Salaries and expenses and claims of persons of Japanese ancestry."

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, I just wish to call attention to a slight inaccuracy which I am sure was not meant on the part of the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY]. The gentleman from New York stated that after this 6-mile access road had been constructed to the Burke Airport the driving time between the airport and the Statler Hotel, I believe he said, was 25 minutes. I ask who knows better than these policemen from Fairfax County who made trial trips from the cloverleaf on the Shirley Highway which is 10 minutes from the Burke Airport; these particular police found, as I stated before, that it took 23 minutes for one trip, 21 minutes for another trip, 30 minutes for one, 24 and 22 for others, an average of approximately 24 minutes. Add 10 minutes as the time necessary to drive the 6 miles of new road and you have 34 minutes to do it and stay within the law.

Mr. ROONEY. Surely the gentleman does not claim that these Fairfax policemen are not interested witnesses.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Surely the gentleman from New York does not question their integrity.

As for the gentleman's statement of 60 minutes being required to drive from the Friendship Airport to the Statler Hotel, the CAA estimates that when the new highway is constructed the driving time between the Friendship International Airport and the Statler Hotel in Washington will be not more than 40 minutes. That is quite a bit less than the gentleman's statement of 60 minutes.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON].

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Chairman, of course this problem is nothing new with me; I appeared before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce opposing the building of a new airport in close proximity to Washington. The people of Baltimore and Maryland offered the facilities, paid for by the taxpayers of Baltimore City, to the overcrowded Washington Airport traffic, thereby saving the Government the expense of building one.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] said that in 1948 the Washington Airport traffic had reached the saturation point. The attention of the CAA has been called to that fact and they were asked if an airport reaches its saturation point it is not hazardous to passengers to continue such operation, but to date they have not answered and they have not done anything about transferring any traffic to the Baltimore Friendship Airport, which is one of the finest airports in the country.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FALLON. I yield.

Mr. ROONEY. Surely the distinguished gentleman from Maryland would not expect a New York passenger bound for Washington to land in Baltimore and then have to drive by automobile to Washington?

Mr. FALLON. I do not know why the gentleman always speaks about their landing in Baltimore, for the field is 10 miles outside of Baltimore and 30 miles from Washington. They can get to that airfield as quickly as they can from Lough Guarda Airfield to the center of New York City, so the time element is not much of a factor.

Coming from the south the other night we had to reduce speed 500 miles outside of Washington slowing down the flight three-quarters of an hour. Fifteen or twenty minutes is the difference in time between the Burke Airport and Washington and the Friendship Airport and Washington.

Mr. ROONEY. That is another very good reason why we need additional airport facilities here in Washington.

Mr. FALLON. But would you rather spend three-quarters of an hour extra in the air or 10 minutes extra driving on a new highway.

That is not the question; that was argued out a long time ago. The question is one of wasting money, requiring the taxpayers of Baltimore to build an airport not only for their use but to contribute to one for Washington out of

their own tax dollars. In other words, dual dollars for airport facilities for which they will have no use. If it were to be built under some formula as every other airport is built, that would be another problem; but this is being built by the Federal Government out of State taxpayers' money.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FALLON. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. May I say that I have confirmed the statement I made to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] when I remarked that scarcely over 1,000 acres have already been condemned and the money put up for it. We have still about 3,500 acres that have not been touched.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Maryland has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, if this situation really bothers the gentleman from Minnesota, if he will turn to page 61 of the committee's hearings, he will find that the entire site comprises 4,520 acres. The total valuation of that is \$1,703,250 and the status of the land acquisition has been under a declaration of taking filed on 63 plots totaling 1,050 acres. You have already spent a million dollars on this project. Are you going to throw that down the drain pipe?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. May I answer the gentleman?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The gentleman knows, of course, that the larger plots are less. There are large and substantial holdings to the extent of 20 or 25 homes costing anywhere from \$16,000 to \$40,000 that are yet to be taken in.

Mr. ROONEY. That is not so.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. That is the information I have.

Mr. ROONEY. I fully appreciate the position of my good friend, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON].

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. FALLON. Does the gentleman know that in testimony before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce back in 1949 the Airport Commission of Baltimore City and some of the Members from the State of Maryland offered to the Washington Airport the facilities of the Baltimore Airport and said they could take care of any overflow traffic for a number of years to come?

Mr. ROONEY. I fully appreciate the position of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON], and his colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SASSER], the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. DEVEREUX], and all the Members of the Maryland delegation with regard to Friendship Airport. But let us look at this from the position of the taxpayer of the Nation. Having spent \$1,000,000 with the full approval of both

Houses of Congress, we must not abandon the development of Burke Airport.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. DEVEREUX].

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Chairman, I wish to address myself to the same question, the Burke Airport. I regret that some of my remarks may be repetitious, but I think it is worth while going into. When the amendment is offered I intend to support the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN], and these are my reasons:

First. The ultimate cost will be fantastically out of proportion to the airport's value in handling Washington air traffic.

Second. The airport will menace the safety of a heavily populated area on its perimeter; and

Third. Adequate facilities for handling Washington's overflow traffic are presently available at a fraction of the cost of the Burke Airport.

By the CAA's own estimate the \$14,000,000 it has requested represents little more than one-third of the final cost. Emphasis has been placed on this sum, presumably in the hope that the Congress, once committed to the project, will be more likely to approve further costs.

According to a CAA estimate, dated June 13, 1951, \$14,000,000 is the cost of only the first stage. There are three more stages that bring the final total to \$38,000,000. Even these CAA figures are grossly underestimated in certain visible details.

I think the figure of \$50,000,000 is probably much closer to the estimate. If you will bear with me a minute I would like to give you one of the details that was not properly considered.

Earth-moving costs are fixed by the CAA at 44 cents per cubic yard, or about \$7,000,000 in all. State highway commissions estimate such costs at from 40 cents for overburden up to \$3 per cubic yard for rock. CAA's tacit assumption that only overburden will have to be moved at the Burke tract is ridiculous. The terrain is extremely hilly and, according to Government geologists, a considerable portion is underlain by hard granite rock which can be moved only by the costly process of drilling, blasting, and excavating.

In assessing the availability of the Burke site to Washington the CAA has ignored the fact that the Potomac bridges already are inadequate to handle the daily rush-hour motor traffic. Additional traffic to and from the airport will place the Burke site still farther distant in time during those hours.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVEREUX. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The gentleman probably knows, as most every Member of this House today knows who has ever driven on Shirley Highway and tried to get into Washington from that region, that section, that corner of the District is the most conglomeraled as far as traffic is concerned of any section in this area, and we are

just making a bad matter worse to put another installation in at that point.

Mr. DEVEREUX. The gentleman is correct.

Destruction of or major damage to even one of the principal bridges would isolate the airport from Washington.

The main runway at Burke points directly to the most thickly populated areas of northern Virginia. The tragic implications of this fact are exemplified by recent disasters on the outskirts of the Newark (N. J.) Airport, and others elsewhere in the country.

Within easy driving distance of Washington the Friendship Airport, as an alternative to the Burke project, offers accessibility, safety, economy, and room for further expansion.

The State of Maryland is eager to have Washington's overflow air traffic handled through Friendship.

To set the committee straight, in that I may be accused of self-interest, I would like to report that I do not represent the district in which the Friendship Airport is located and that I will not represent the city of Baltimore, as I do presently, next year.

I would like also to bring your attention to another fact. The city of Baltimore put up \$12,000,000 for this project. The State of Maryland put up \$1,000,000, and they were encouraged in this project by an appropriation of \$3,000,000 from the Federal Government. Now, I suggest to you Members of the House that the Federal Government encouraged this political subdivision to go ahead and do something on its own. If we go ahead and enact this legislation, we will be in fact, discouraging the enterprise as shown by the city of Baltimore. I wonder whether or not this may be an avenue to drive all of our local enterprise to come to Washington with hat in hand and wait for a hand-out by the Federal Government.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVEREUX. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I back the gentleman up in his statement. I quote from the hearings on S. 456, as follows:

Friendship Airport was developed with the encouragement and assistance of CAA as a second terminal airport to serve the growing air traffic of the Washington-Baltimore area.

To this end, the Federal Government appropriated \$3,000,000.

Mr. DEVEREUX. In conclusion, I urge that the House refuse to approve funds for the Burke Airport because the project is highly uneconomical, because it will create a public hazard, and because a better means of handling the increased volume of Washington's air traffic is ready at hand.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, together with my colleague from New Jersey [Mr. CANFIELD] and my colleague from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] I am interested in the appropriation for the Small Defense

Plants Administration. I am convinced that the House should put these appropriation facts into the bill, and I take this time only to give certain facts to the House as I believe the situation has not been very clearly put forward here and understood.

It was our intention in authorizing this new Small Defense Plants Administration to provide an agency which would have more effectiveness and, indeed, more resources than did the Office of Small Business in the NPA in the Department of Commerce. Therefore, all of the arguments that the Small Defense Plants Administration which we authorized has not yet taken over all the functions of the other agencies it seems to me misses the main point. It was our desire to have a new agency which would have financing and which would have the capability for doing the job.

Mr. Telford Taylor, a very distinguished lawyer who was our chief counsel at the Nuremberg trials, and who is the head of this new organization, testified—hearings, page 460:

All the responsibilities on procurement and finance have been transferred from the Office of Small Business of NPA to the Small Defense Plants Administration under the Executive order. My understanding is that the size of the Office of Small Business over there is now about one-third of its former size.

In other words, in the last 5 months this new agency has been in the process of accomplishing exactly what the Congress intended it should accomplish. But this move being proposed today is to cut it off a-borning. That certainly runs counter to the unanimous desire expressed by this House, in addition to the personal convictions of practically every small-business man in the country.

It seems to me shocking that we would take that 5 months experience in the transitional phase and say, "This is the final experience. This shows the two are in business together. Therefore, let us eliminate one. But which one? Not the former—the Office of Small Business of NPA—no, the latter—the Small Defense Plants Administration—which we ourselves decided we needed to organize to assist small business in this country to participate in the defense effort.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. The question has arisen as to whether the Congress has appropriated any funds for this organization. I hold in my hand Public Law 253 of the first session of the Eighty-second Congress, approved November 1, 1951, "Small Business Plants Administration, salaries and expenditures, \$350,000"—a direct appropriation by this Congress.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EVINS].

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] made a statement a few moments ago concerning the numerous small-business functions and services in the various departments of the Government. He is correct in saying that there are small-business services in the Department of Defense, the Department of Commerce,

the General Services Administration, the various defense agencies, and others. However, it was the specific purpose of Congress in setting up the Small Defense Plants Administration that all these small-business functions might be consolidated and merged into one service.

Throughout our testimony throughout the country the small-business people stated that when they came to Washington they were given the run-around into various departments of the Government. With the SDPA we now have a central agency—a clearinghouse—which acts for all segments of small business. Small-business problems are now being solved more effectively. This agency is doing a good job. They are settling many of these problems and rendering a valued service and I think this service should be continued.

It is unthinkable to me that within the period of a few months the House would reverse itself and today vote to kill the Small Defense Plants Administration which the Congress only last year established.

This agency to aid small business was created as the result of public demand and after it was determined that something should be done to assist the small-business enterprises of the Nation during this period of mobilization and emergency.

We all know its functions: to see to it that the small businesses of the Nation receive their fair and proportionate share of critical materials, such as copper, aluminum, and steel; and, second, to assist small business in obtaining defense contracts and subcontracts; and, third, to encourage the widest possible participation by small business in the defense and mobilization effort. In other words, to broaden the base by utilizing the small businesses of the Nation in the defense program.

I am sure it is obvious to all that many of the small-business concerns of the Nation need help; many are being forced to shut down because of their inability to obtain materials or to obtain a Government contract.

Small business has found itself, when dealing with the Government, to be operating in a vicious cycle—they cannot get a defense contract or subcontract unless they have proper financing; they cannot obtain proper financing because they do not have a defense contract. All of this, however, is being alleviated by the Small Defense Plants Administration.

Today small business is beginning to share and participate in the defense program. Much has been accomplished. Much more remains to be done in this direction.

The Small Defense Plants Administration has just gotten organized under the direction of Mr. Telford Taylor, the Administrator. This agency has worked out a method of procedure with the Defense Production Administration, the National Production Authority, and various procurement agencies of our Defense Department.

There has been a coordination and a consolidation of many overlapping small business functions and services of the various departments of the Federal

Government—these being consolidated with the Small Defense Plants Administration which is the center or clearing-house for all small business functions and services of the Government.

Here, however, is the rub. Herein lies the difficulty which the Small Defense Plants Administration is today experiencing.

The Congress is setting up this independent small business agency provided that the SDPA "shall not be affiliated with or be within any other agency or department of the Federal Government." In addition to this independence of other agencies; by executive order, small business functions have been transferred to the Small Defense Plants Administration and some few officials of other agencies—have been sniping at the Small Defense Plants Administration. They did not want it created in the first place and certainly not outside and independent of their particular agency.

They opposed its creation—and failing in this—they now snipe at its existence by trying to cut out funds for its operation.

The members of the Appropriations Committee should not be the ones—the sole judge—to determine whether or not the will of the House and the Congress as expressed in this legislation last year shall, in effect, today be repealed.

I say that the Congress should not permit this to happen. The House should restore the needed funds to continue the very vital services of the Small Defense Plants Administration.

By Executive order there has already been transferred to the Small Defense Plants Administration various functions relating to small business from other agencies of the Government. We are consolidating these services into one agency, and certainly the Committee on Appropriations should not be the sole judge here as to whether this arm of the Congress is to be continued or discontinued. Congress unanimously created this agency, and now the Committee on Appropriations and certain agencies of the Government are attempting to kill SDPA because it may be usurping some function of an existing agency. We should not permit this to happen.

Let us take a look at the procurement picture and see whether or not this service is needed. Since the outbreak of the Korean conflict the quarterly rate of deliveries on military contracts has quadrupled, reaching a level of \$5,000,000,000 during 1951. During October of last year, the Director of Mobilization, Mr. Wilson, estimated that the use of materials for military production was at a rate of \$8,000,000,000 per quarter.

To meet mobilization schedules, according to Mr. Wilson, military deliveries must rise to a rate of more than \$10,000,000,000 per quarter, reaching a peak in 1953. During the World War II period, 67 percent of contract awards, totaling \$175,000,000,000, went to 100 large corporations. Obviously, with such huge military expenditures, every protection should be provided to insure that the small-business enterprises of the Nation are permitted to participate and to

receive their fair and proportionate share of Government contracts and Government awards.

As of September 1950, less than 10 percent of Air Force procurement went to small business. Twenty percent of Navy procurement, as of September 1950, went to small business, and approximately 40 percent of Army procurement. The average over-all picture discloses that only 20 percent of the dollar volume of Government contracts were awarded to small-business interests during 1951, while more than 80 percent of the dollar volume of our tremendous defense-procurement program went into the hands of large corporations and big business. I say that the Congress should take every step to insure that small-business concerns are permitted to share to the fullest extent possible and make the greatest contribution to the defense-mobilization effort. Progress in this direction is being made. We should take no action here today which would be adverse to this objective.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. BEALL].

Mr. BEALL. Mr. Chairman, about 2 years ago the Congress appropriated over \$13,000,000 to build the bridge over the Anacostia River. When this bridge is finished it will tie in directly with the new Baltimore freeway, and it will make an access road or highway to the Friendship Airport, and will cut down very materially on the time between even the present National Airport and Friendship Airport. If we will just give that a little thought when we are thinking of spending \$50,000,000—if we are really thinking about economy—let us wait and see what we are going to do when this new freeway is completed. The new freeway should be finished very shortly, long before this new airport can be built. Then we can see just where we are, and we will also be able to see better if we cannot save \$50,000,000 and utilize the present facilities at Friendship Airport, which I think are only being used to the extent of 20 percent of its capacity at this time.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEALL. I yield.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Does the gentleman state that Friendship Airport is being used only about 20 percent at this time?

Mr. BEALL. That is my understanding. It is being used about 20 percent of capacity.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Certainly that adds more fuel to the fire we are trying to put under this Burke Airport proposition, does it not? Is it not a shame to waste the facilities of that great airport at Friendship, an airport which is already there, and then to spend \$50,000,000 here, out in the woods somewhere, 13 miles by airline from the National Airport, and create a hazard for everybody concerned? I am sure the gentleman agrees with me—I just wanted to bring that point out.

Mr. BEALL. I certainly agree with the gentleman. I think if we just wait until we have the facility of this new bridge, and the new highway, to see just

how much time and distance that will save.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland whose district is directly and immediately concerned with the site of this airport.

Mr. SASSCER. Mr. Chairman, in addition to the reasons advanced, I approach this subject matter from another angle, and that is that the Civil Aeronautics Administration, an administrative body, should not be in the business of operating airfields.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration has been charged with the primary function of fostering the development of civil aeronautics and air commerce.

Running an airport is just something extra which they have taken on as an expanding Federal bureau.

And running an airport is the type of business it would be best for the CAA to discontinue.

In Airport Design, a publication issued by the CAA in 1949, the CAA makes this recommendation:

Safety of aircraft operations is of primary importance in the selection of an airport site. On this point there can be no compromise in favor of other considerations.

I thoroughly agree with this CAA pronouncement.

To extend it just a trifle I am convinced that on the entire question "safety of aircraft operations is of primary importance," and "on this point there can be no compromise in favor of other considerations."

I am convinced that the CAA would stick to its knitting much better and take a realistic view of the critical situation now existing in Washington, if the CAA, itself, were not operating Washington National Airport.

So, therefore, I propose to introduce legislation that the CAA and other Government agencies charged with regulatory powers to assure safety in the field of aviation be prohibited from operating airports, or other facilities subject to their own regulations.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I asked the gentleman from New York to yield to me in order to correct a previous statement I made in a colloquy with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] in which I stated my recollection as to what the House had done with respect to the previous requests for appropriations for the Small Defense Plants Corporation. My recollection as to what the House had done was correct, that the House had refused to grant any funds for this small-business plants operation, but I regret to have to correct the actual fact by stating that the other body did put in \$350,000, and the House conferees were compelled to agree with that action.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER].

(Mr. MEADER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

marks and to include two communications.)

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, in speaking about the appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration, I find myself in a somewhat unusual position. I have usually concurred in all efforts to cut appropriations. I have done so in the belief that Federal agencies generally can very well get along and do a good job, even a better job, on less money, if they will use the money we give them more efficiently and economically.

In this instance, however, I am compelled to take the position that something needs to be done for small business under the emergency situation we face in this country today. I wish it were not necessary to have all of the red tape and controls that have been set up, but we have them.

The fact is that those controls weigh most heavily upon the small-business man. The large corporation can afford to hire experts to deal with the numerous complicated Government regulations and procedures involved in the administration of emergency controls, but the small-business man finds himself in a maze of red tape with which he cannot cope.

The Government created that situation. It seems to me only fair that the Government do all within its power to ease those burdens on the small-business men. We should provide assistance in dealing with the Government under the controls we have today, in obtaining their fair share of scarce materials, and in getting fair consideration on defense business, to replace the civilian business which materials controls have taken away from them.

I also seem to be in an anomalous position because I find myself on the same side of a question as the Governor of our State, a Democrat, and also Walter Reuther, the president of the UAW-CIO.

I want to read to the Members of the House a telegram I sent to Governor Williams, of the State of Michigan, today:

This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of March 12 concerning the small defense plants administration.

I congratulate you on taking an interest in the problems and obstacles which confront small business enterprises today. A controlled economy, which of necessity must be shaped to the pattern of entire industries, inevitably emphasizes the advantages of the larger business enterprise and adds to the burdens of the small, independent concern. Large concerns can better afford to maintain staffs to deal with the red tape and regulations inherent in Government economic controls. Big business can cope with big Government, while small business is smothered by a plethora of bureaucratic red tape, procrastination and arbitrary edicts.

I hope you agree with me that the long-range cure for this unnatural, man-made blight on the free competitive system is to remove these Government controls at the earliest possible moment, and that we bring an end to the long-standing period of crisis and emergency, the intensity and duration of which is partly the result of human mismanagement and stupidity.

Meanwhile, I concur with those who believe it is necessary for the Government, through an agency such as the small defense plants administration, to give assistance to

small business in coping with Government controls and regulation and in seeking to obtain fair consideration in the award of defense contracts.

GEORGE MEADER,
Member of Congress.

I enclosed a copy of that telegram in a letter I wrote to Mr. Walter Reuther, president of UAW-CIO, and said this:

As you will observe from the enclosed copy of a wire to Governor Williams, I am very much concerned about the plight of small business enterprises in this country. If a free competitive enterprise system is to be maintained, our economy must be such as to preserve real equality of opportunity so that small enterprisers with courage, initiative and willingness to work can advance and grow, limited only by their ability.

Recent trends toward big Government and big business have impaired this equality of opportunity which must be restored if we are to have the kind of country that both you and I want to live in.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MEADER.

I hope both Governor Williams and Walter Reuther, will see fit to concur with me in this desire to do something in the future for small businesses to grow and advance on a basis of competitive merit which has been the essence of the American system of free enterprise.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 7 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this bill comes to the House with slightly less than a 10 percent cut. It contains some items that I feel are a little liberal, and I hope that as the bill progresses we may be able to save a few dollars for the taxpayer. I am glad the bill does show a \$99,349,000 cut. It was my privilege to participate in some of those cuts. Frankly, I hope those cuts that have been made by the committee will be sustained by the House, because we are in a very serious situation in this country from the standpoint of our financial stability and we are going to need to save all the committee has recommended, and any reasonable suggestions for further cuts that can be offered.

I do feel at this time I should say a word about this so-called small-business set-up. I shall not say very much at this point, because I hope that when the bill is read it will be possible to have more Members present, and I will say more then. But to show you what a ridiculous situation they presented, they did not have any substantial program. It was what we might call ephemeral rather than lasting. It was in the nature of a trip-around-the-lot proposition. There was no indication but what there was another agency prepared to do just as much of a job as these people might do.

The great accomplishment that Mr. Taylor indicated he had made was to submit to the RFC 29 suggested loans of which the RFC has passed on 6. He did not even say in his testimony whether they had approved any of them and whether they did or not I do not know and there is not any evidence before the committee that they had actually accomplished anything.

They have asked here for \$825,000 additional. The set-up was such that they already have 129 on their payroll, part

of them in the field and part of them in the District of Columbia. On top of that, if they were given \$800,000 more it would pay 250 or a little better for 3 months at \$1,000 a month. It would seem to me as though they were jumping up too fast.

We might better get some kind of a statement out of that group. If they really need anything, if they are really going to accomplish anything, we should have a constructive statement submitted as to what they possibly could do.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. With reference to loans, I am advised that the Small Defense Plants Administration has had 277 loan applications from 37 States. Twenty-two are being favorably recommended to the RFC and ten have been granted. That is the information I have.

Mr. TABER. Well, Mr. Taylor on page 464 or 465 said that they had presented 29 applications to the RFC and that 6 had been passed on. He did not say whether any had been granted. That is all I know about it. I cannot go any deeper than that.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. The gentleman used the name of Gen. Telford Taylor. I heard him eulogized on the floor here today. There is something dubious about this man and particularly his record. I find in examining the record that on February 27, 1948, I had something to say regarding this individual. I called attention to the machinations of a Communist clique in the American zone of occupation in Germany having to do with the Nuremberg trials. You remember, General Taylor took the place of Justice Jackson as prosecutor. On his staff he had two people, one by the name of Josiah E. Dubois and another by the name of Belle Mayer, both of them on the Nuremberg prosecuting staff under Taylor.

Mr. Dubois' record is not what a good American would like to have, and Belle Mayer has refused to answer questions either before the McCarran committee or the Kilgore subcommittee as to her political beliefs, which also raises a large question mark as to her.

Mr. TABER. The gentleman means as to whether or not she was a Communist.

Mr. DONDERO. That is exactly what I mean. At the time Judge Wennerstrum—from the State of Iowa who was the presiding judge at the trial—voiced scathing criticisms of the trial procedure and the distortion of justice at the trials, by a staff penetrated by left wingers.

The statement that was made by General Taylor against the judge was termed by the Pentagon as "baseless slander." This is the man who is at the head of this small business organization.

Mr. TABER. Is this what the judge said about it?

Mr. DONDERO. That is what the Pentagon said about the statement

against the judge, made by General Taylor.

Mr. TABER. Well, I do not know, but it sounds rather difficult for me to entrust an \$825,000 item and allot \$10,000,000 as a revolving fund to a fellow who has no more sense of responsibility than that, and who cannot tell intelligently what he proposes to do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. BUSBEY. Outside of the remarks that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO] just made, what are the qualifications of General Taylor for handling this administrative job in the Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. TABER. I do not know.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. The gentleman has already told what he thought about him.

Mr. PATMAN. I want to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. When Mr. Taylor was before your committee, did you ask him anything about this?

Mr. TABER. No; but I suppose when he was asked to tell what these things were all about, that he would tell what the story was.

Mr. PATMAN. Does not the gentleman think it is rather late to bring it up now, in the consideration of this particular proposal?

Mr. TABER. No. I do not think it is late to bring anything up that is the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to direct my questions to the airfield proposition. As I understand, we have something like \$25,500,000 invested in the National Airport, which is now serving the city of Washington. If that is not correct, I wish some member of the committee would correct me.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Michigan will yield to me, I should like to say that the correct figure is \$23,000,000.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The figure which I have come from the Senate report, whether it be \$23,000,000 or \$25,500,000 is somewhat immaterial at the moment, and that the CAA estimates the new airport to serve the city of Washington would cost about \$37,721,000 not including hangars; \$8,000,000 for the hangars; additional land cost of about \$999,250; that the National Airport has about 729 acres in it, and the new Burke Airport would, if carried out according to present plans, have about 4,520 acres. On this question of the \$1,000,000 which has been appropriated, I understand that approximately \$832,000 of the million has been deposited with the United States district court at Alexandria in connection with the proposed lands deals, and if this project is not completed, that \$832,500 could be recovered. Now, if that is not

correct, I wish someone would straighten me out on that.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I am not positive but what the eight-hundred-and-some-odd-thousand dollars is committed; nevertheless, the Government could recover that through the sale of the property.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Suppose the commitment is really made and the deal must go through. You would obtain, in consideration of the \$832,500, acreage which could probably be sold for a 25- or 50-percent mark-up, and make money on the deal, because the way land is being sold around here, I think, based on figures I have seen, that could be done.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. JOHNSON. That \$1,000,000, or whatever the amount is, is a deposit made by the United States Government when a condemnation suit is filed, guaranteeing the payment for land that is taken. We do not know if all the land has been taken. However, all that can be recovered, because I understand a very small portion of the land has actually been acquired.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The only reason I am raising this point is so that we will not be misled into spending additional moneys unnecessarily simply because we have already put \$1,000,000 into the deal, because I understand that could be recaptured in one way or another.

May I ask the committee, the gentlemen who are familiar with this proposition and who are handling it, this question: Assuming that the new airport is built, what do you propose to do with the National Airport, where we now have twenty-three to twenty-five million dollars invested?

Mr. ROONEY. Its use would certainly be continued.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The idea is to continue the present airport?

Mr. ROONEY. Absolutely.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Irrespective of what happens to Burke or to Friendship as far as the Washington area is concerned? Would that mean that the traffic would be split between the National and the Burke Airports?

Mr. ROONEY. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then we would have the problem, as I think somebody explained here, of transferring passengers as between Burke, National, and Friendship. Is that correct?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Naturally, as the gentleman will understand, the major airlines would try to use the National Airport as far as possible, it being built up with facilities as it is, and all that we would have going over to Burke would be merely the spillover. They are apt to have an airfield out there at Burke which would be used very little if any.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time on this side and the remainder of all time for gen-

eral debate to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has given me these 2 minutes in order that I might call the attention of my colleagues to a serious omission in this pending deficiency appropriation bill that has to do with the present Federal program of assisting impacted school districts that are having trouble meeting their school facility needs due to Government activity in the defense areas.

Time will not permit me to put all the facts in the RECORD that I think my colleagues are entitled to, but I want to announce to the committee at this time that when we read this bill for amendment I shall offer an amendment in order at least that I may get the facts in the case in the RECORD, whether I get any money out of it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired. All time for general debate has expired.

The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry," \$14,800,000.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, included in the pending appropriation bill is the item in the sum of \$14,800,000 for the payment of claims of persons of Japanese ancestry. These claims grow out of the evacuation and relocation of Japanese people during World War II. There has been considerable delay in the settlement of these claims. Much of the delay, in my opinion, was unnecessary. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I strongly urge the House of Representatives to approve the full sum. I trust that the balance of claims will be acted upon just as soon as possible so that the people of Japanese ancestry who are rightfully entitled to their claims for damages will receive prompt payment.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it would be helpful for the Members of the House to have placed in the RECORD the following letter which I have received from Mr. Mike Masaoka, national legislative director, Japanese-American Citizens League. The Japanese-American Citizens League has been most helpful in presenting this problem to the Congress. The letter is as follows:

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1952.
Hon. HENRY M. JACKSON,
Congressman from Washington,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JACKSON: This is in reply to your recent request for our views, as the organization most concerned with the interests of persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States, on the administration of the Japanese-American evacuation claims program by the Department of Justice.

Frankly, we feel that the Department of Justice is now doing a remarkably able job

with this difficult subject and is entitled to commendation for its efforts to liquidate its responsibility in this regard at the earliest opportunity. We are, therefore, in hearty accord with its request for \$14,800,000 in supplemental appropriations for the payment of compromise settlement claims.

Eighteen months ago, however, we were not so favorably impressed with the Department's handling of evacuation claims. We believed that it was overly technical and legalistic in its approach to the human problems involved in the mass movement of over 100,000 individuals from their west-coast homes 10 years ago and that its narrow construction and interpretation of the statute of July 2, 1948, was contrary to congressional intent in enacting that remedial act.

In addition, the Department was adjudicating claims so slowly that, according to estimates based upon the report to Congress of the attorney general on the progress of the program in 1950, it would have taken more than a century to complete the processing of claims. And, because of limited administrative funds, it opened up just two field offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and practically all of the claims being adjudicated at that time were limited to those filed in California.

In the calendar year 1950 the Department of Justice adjudicated only 211 claims, of which 73 were dismissals. \$62,595.16 was paid out as awards in the 137 claims for which payment was authorized. \$141,373.83 was the total originally claimed by these same 137 claimants.

In 1949 only 21 claims were adjudicated, one of which was dismissed. Of the total of \$13,543.99 originally claimed, \$6,882.20 was paid in awards.

In these 2 years almost every adjudicated claim except those dismissed were from areas in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

More important, though, was the exorbitant cost of adjudicating these claims, all of which were small ones involving less than \$2,500 each. In 1950, we estimated that it was costing the Government an average of almost \$1,500 to adjudicate and pay an average award of less than \$450.

While the number of adjudications increased in 1951 to 344, of which 33 were dismissals, the program really began to move after Congress approved an amendment August 17, 1951, which authorized the Attorney General to compromise and settle all claims upon the basis of affidavits and available records up to three-fourths the amount of compensable items, or \$2,500, whichever is less.

Although we recognized no justice in waiving 25 percent of our compensable items claimed, in order to expedite the program so that the aged and the poor might receive their evacuation claims in time to aid in their rehabilitation and resettlement, we endorsed this compromise settlement formula and urged its passage last summer.

Beginning in October and continuing through November and December, the Department of Justice compromised and settled 1,813 claims.

In the last 3 months of 1951, claimants from 249 different communities in 30 States and the Territory of Hawaii, including 103 from Seattle, Wash., were listed as having accepted compromised settlements of their respective claims.

During this same period, the average administrative expense in compromising and settling the average award of \$773.65 was \$43.37 per claim.

The total amount originally claimed by these 1,813 evacuees who compromised and settled their claims was \$2,725,550.53, while the actual amount awarded by the Department was \$1,402,619.45. While so-called noncompensable items accounted for most of the difference between what was claimed

and what was finally authorized for payment, a substantial amount was for the 25 percent automatic and arbitrary deduction of compensable items in every claim which is required by law as the price of compromise settlement.

Since the beginning of the year, the Department has been able to increase its production to well over 1,000 claims a month, thereby reducing even more its administrative expenses per claim. We now understand that it hopes to compromise, settle, and pay 17,725 claims out of the 23,725 claims pending as of July 1, 1951, by the end of this fiscal year, June 30, 1952.

In the past several months, the Department of Justice has adopted what we consider a more humane and realistic approach to this whole problem. At the same time, it has perfected its machinery for processing claims to the point where it threatens to outstrip the speed of the claimants in submitting compromise offers of their evacuation claims. Indeed, we feel that Holmes Baldridge, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Claims Division, and his colleagues in this special section are to be praised for the manner in which they have developed this compromise settlement procedure which saves the Government substantial sums in administrative expenses while providing claimants with expeditious authorization of awards on as generous a basis as the Department believes possible under existing law.

Because Congress last year appropriated only half a million dollars for the payment of claims this fiscal year, the overwhelming majority of those who compromised and settled their evacuation claims have not yet been paid, and will not be paid until this supplemental appropriation is approved.

As noted previously, 10 years have passed since the wartime evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the west coast. This compromise settlement procedure was devised for the aged and the needy. And, since the original legislation authorized the appropriation of such funds as would be necessary for this program, it is our belief that Congress should reaffirm as speedily as possible its expressed intention to compensate in part for some of the economic losses suffered by those who were evacuated by the military in 1942 by approving this supplemental appropriation for the payment of these claims.

Although this may not be the appropriate place or time to suggest what we consider to be serious deficiencies in the basic legislation, at least as interpreted by the Department of Justice, we feel obliged to call at least a few of the more important ones to your attention. The Department of Justice, for example, has ruled that expenses involved in preparation for that wartime movement from long-established homes to desert wilderness camps are not "loss to real or personal property," and, therefore, not compensable. Another is the denial of transportation expenses incurred in returning from relocation centers to prewar homes. A few others illustrative of the Department's restricted interpretations include rejection of losses of rental, at least in certain cases; expenses of management of properties and businesses during the period of exclusion; and losses incurred by heads of families who were interned and later released or paroled and sent to evacuation centers.

We do not intend to press for any legislative amendments at this time because we realize that the program is far from being completed. After the compromise settlements of \$2,500 and less are processed and paid, there are several thousand larger claims remaining to be adjudicated.

When a substantial number of claims has been paid and we are able to review the program in the light of the actual record, we again may request Congress to amend this

measure to bring within the meaning of the statute some items which we sincerely believe should be included in this remedial legislation.

Sincerely,

MIKE MASAOKA,
National Legislative Director,
Japanese American Citizens League.

The Clerk read as follows:

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses," \$4,000,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159,900" to "\$33,117,250"; *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for the purchase of not to exceed 40 passenger motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided, and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct facilities for detention of aliens.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FISHER: On page 3, line 19, strike out "\$4,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,610,000."

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would reduce by \$1,390,000 this item provided in this particular section of the bill. The proposed \$4,000,000 item in the bill is over and above the present allotment for the operation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. There are three different items included in this proposed cut. One has to do with the addition of 335 additional employees who have not been employed previously. These 335 new employees would be continued on the payroll from year to year and the total cost would run into many millions of dollars. The second phase of it has to do with the construction of two detention centers along the Mexican border where illegal aliens would be concentrated for deportation. If those things are necessary that is very well and good. But, from reading the hearings, I do not find ample justification for that type of expenditure. It will be recalled that last year when this same proposal was before the House, there was a request for funds for these various additional purposes. When the attention of the House was called to the purposes for which they were designed, and when an amendment was offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS] the House promptly struck out that entire request. Now the procedure that is followed at the present time is that if illegal aliens are picked up anywhere, they are put in jail where they belong. They have jails all up and down the border from California clear down to the Gulf of Mexico. The work has been proceeding so far as I know very well under that arrangement. Last year when the House struck out the request, \$3,000,000 was restored in the Senate, and finally the conferees cut it to \$1,000,000. Out of that \$1,000,000 instead of building detention camps which they now claim they need, what was it used for? It was used principally, according to this hearing, on a gigantic airlift taking illegal aliens away into the interior of Mexico. Nearly \$1,000,000 was spent

for that purpose. Now of the items I propose to cut out, more than \$500,000 would be used for a similar purpose during May and June. It seems to me, if these people need free airplane rides down into the interior of Mexico—of course, they should be deported—but if they need these free rides, then why should not the Republic of Mexico pay that expense, and why should Uncle Sam bear the entire burden of transporting these Mexican nationals hundreds and hundreds of miles into the interior of their own country? Especially is that true when this country has already spent a million dollars or more on this one undertaking. It seems to me that expense could very easily be eliminated from this bill without doing any violence so far as the enforcement of the law with respect to illegal aliens is concerned. So it would seem that since there are over 700 permanent patrolmen already along the border area and enforcing that law, we can ill afford the cost of adding another 300 to that total.

The Department of Labor has a major part in the administration of this labor program along the border. It spent over \$1,000,000 during the past year. Something like \$500,000 is provided by this bill. If they need that, very well. I make no point about that. But, the total cost is pyramiding and to a certain extent being duplicated.

If under the new international labor agreement, which is pending with Mexico, it can be made more workable and much of the red tape and difficulties ironed out, which difficulties have existed in the past, then much of this problem itself will be eliminated, and this tremendous additional cost of putting more and more men on the public payroll can be eliminated.

Here is a chance to save the taxpayers many millions of dollars and hold the line against the pressure for more and more people to be added to the public payroll.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we all know the desperate, lawless situation on the Mexican border with regard to wetbacks, and how the border at the Rio Grande is just like a sieve. Either this is a Nation of law and order and people are going to recognize that we are going to have law and order, and that people who are illegal entrants into this country must be deported, or we do not want law and order.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I do not yield at this moment. Let me proceed. I will yield to the gentleman later.

Either we are going to have law and order or we are not. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has been forced to fly illegally entered aliens back hundreds of miles into Mexico. They find that that is the only way they can discourage their coming right back across the border. In these troublous times, when we are geared for war production, as we are, and with the international situation as it is, do you not think it short-sighted to permit our border at Mexico to be as open as a sieve?

You all know there is presently no adequate protection against smuggling narcotics, contraband, or the illegal entry of spies and foreign agents.

This money, which the pending amendment would cut out of the bill would provide facilities for detaining aliens, establishment and maintenance of two detention camps, \$878,000 to remove by air approximately 43,000 aliens during the coming months of May and June, and an increased staff and equipment for the border patrol to prevent illegal entries.

The committee asks that you vote down this amendment, if you believe in the preservation of law and order, and if you want to keep out of this country people who are not legally entitled to be in it.

I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Mr. FISHER. Does the gentleman know of anybody who is opposed to the application of law and order along any border in the United States, either New York or Texas or any other place?

Mr. ROONEY. I must say to the gentleman from Texas who is a distinguished and able Member of this body, that I interpret the opposition to this item in this bill for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to be a step toward abandonment of law and order.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, let me try to make clear to the Members of the House what the situation is. I think while this may add information it may also add some amusement.

Let us start by saying we are all for law enforcement. The border between the United States and Mexico is just about as definite as the border between Maryland and the District of Columbia. Suppose you were a person living in Chevy Chase or in Bethesda, and work was offered to you inside the District of Columbia. If you came down Wisconsin Avenue, you paid \$10 to the State of Maryland. If you came down Connecticut Avenue, you paid \$10 to the State of Maryland, but if you stepped over one block and came across the border between those entry points, you did not have to pay \$10 to the State of Maryland and perhaps you did not have to pay a little fee to the man who put the stamp upon your papers. The problem of the wetback, about which our friends in the North talk so eloquently, is a problem created just as much in Mexico as in the United States.

Let us talk about flying them back. I opposed that last year. I think that is one of the most extravagant ideas that any bureaucratic agency of the Government has thought up yet. Suppose, as I say, you were living in Bethesda or in Chevy Chase, and you came across the border into the District of Columbia, and then the Immigration Service of the District of Columbia picked you up.

The Immigration Service picks you up and at great expense, as you see in this bill from \$250,000 to \$300,000 a month, goes out and hires airplanes; it

is a very expensive method—perhaps they might better get them from the Army; I do not know; they could probably get them much cheaper, but they do not; they hire airplanes and then fly you way back beyond your home, they take you up to Hagerstown or over to Baltimore, dump you off, and then you have to walk home.

As I said facetiously last year when we were considering this bill, the reason the Immigration Service thought this up was so that the immigration official could get back to the United States before the Mexican got back. Whatever the reason, it is an extravagant program. It is creating a social and economic situation in Mexico which I said last year I thought would cause us to hear officially from the Republic of Mexico. The Mexican who does not live in the southern part of Mexico is taken to that part of Mexico, and set down farther away from the United States than where he belongs. It creates a real economic problem for the Republic of Mexico, the problem of feeding him, a police problem, and the problem of taking care of him.

I speak in support of the amendment, or to that part of it which has to do with the airlift. I think it is \$878,000 requested, for the rest of this year, to put people across the border. We are all for that; if they are illegal entrants, they are not supposed to be here. I do not see why we should spend money to hire airplanes to set people down in Mexico a long way from their homes, so it will take a longer time to come back.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I yield.

Mr. FISHER. I may point out to the gentleman from California that this is for 2 months; the proposed cost for 2 months would run something like \$1,000,000, according to the hearings.

Mr. PHILLIPS. That makes it worse; I thought it was for three instead of two.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I yield.

Mr. O'TOOLE. In a recent crime survey conducted in four Southwestern States, namely, southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, it is shown that 11½ percent of the crime committed in that area is committed by these wetbacks who are illegally in the country.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not know that. I wonder what the crime situation is in New York City.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Very little; most of the crooks have gone back to California. I still think that to get these people out of the country would save money for the people of the United States.

Mr. PHILLIPS. We will agree with the gentleman that we would like to have them sent back to their homes but not to take them several hundred miles south of where they live so they will have to walk back.

Mr. WIER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment comes to the floor now not entirely unexpected. I see no point in trying to compare the situation along the Mexican border with

New York City or the District of Columbia, Maryland, and other nearby suburbs. I think most of the Members of the House are thoroughly cognizant and aware of the situation that prevails and exists on the Rio Grande. I think most of us deplore the fact that the back door of the agreement arrived at between the Government of the United States and the Government of Mexico is evaded by permitting these thousands of wetbacks to come across the border in violation of the agreement and in violation of the law and then to be exploited by the large farm owners of that area which might be in my book actually called servitude. I do not think there is any question in the world but what actual servitude is taking place in that area of this Nation because of these wetbacks.

Mr. REGAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIER. I yield.

Mr. REGAN. Would it surprise the gentleman to know that these Mexican immigrants are paid wages equal to those paid American workmen in the same area? And that the amount paid to a Mexican farmhand in 1 day would be as much as a bricklayer could earn in Mexico City in 10 days or 2 weeks time? The money that they earn is cleared through our post offices along the border to the extent of thousands of dollars. They contribute to the economy and the good of Mexico and if they did not earn good money they would not come over here.

Mr. WIER. I would like to believe the statement of the gentleman from Texas. I have heard that statement made several times during the course of debate on wetback legislation now pending in the Congress, but it always generates from that area in which this problem is alive.

Mr. REGAN. That is where we know what the situation is.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PHILLIPS. The record shows that farm labor in the area the gentleman is talking about is paid more than farm labor in New York State.

Mr. WIER. Never mind New York State. Let us stay with the problem on the Rio Grande.

The fact of the matter is that the proponents of the continuation of this existence of servitude down there, and I refer reservedly to servitude, do not want any legislation and they have proven that time and time again in the last 2 years by their efforts to cripple any legislation on this subject.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Why does the gentleman say servitude?

Mr. WIER. I say servitude because the condition actually exists. Please do not try to convince me that with the agreement pending between Mexico and the United States Government relative to the importation of labor or to the relationship in transferring Mexican workers to this country under a properly arrived at contract, which means mutual agreement between the Governments, this method should not be

followed through. I agree with the gentleman on that. I have no quarrel with that.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Then what is the argument about?

Mr. WIER. We see here the proponents of these crippling amendments continually wanting to keep that back door of the Rio Grande open. They do not want it policed, as you saw a few days ago, neither do they today want the necessary finances to be appropriated so that that area can be properly policed and the agreement, if you please, protecting the Mexican citizens in their employment up here preserved.

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is not the argument. The argument is not about sending them back across the border, with which we agree, but whether we are to fly them back to the center of Mexico and create another problem down there in Mexico.

Mr. WIER. That is just mussing up the picture. I have no sympathy for the expense of flying, and I express no sympathy and do not defend that, but I am going to continue to take the floor here in reference to closing up that back door. I understand that in California you also have a great number of these wetbacks that the big-farm owners want to continue to use the services of.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 12 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, it is necessary to have Mexican agricultural labor in the States near Mexico and also some of the States north of Mexico. There are two ways of getting that labor.

One way is the legitimate way through agreements with the Mexican Government which have certain safeguards regarding the return of the labor to Mexico, the wages that are paid and other types of safeguards. I think every Member of the House can sustain that method.

The other method of getting this labor is by condoning the illegal entry of immigrants into this country. That is exactly what is happening on this wetback situation on the border of California and on the border of Texas. These people come across to get work because they can get higher wages, and if they come across under legal agreements,

they are protected. If they do not come across under legal agreement, then it is left up to the beneficence of the employer as to whether they are treated right or not. Many of them are treated right, and I must confess that many of them are treated wrong. Any cut in appropriations to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in patrolling these hundreds of miles of border is a condoning of illegal entry of aliens into this country, and this particular cut, in the name of economy, is to further cripple the return of wetbacks from this country, illegally entered aliens, back to their point of origin, or south of their point of origin.

Now, it is not silly, and it is not similar to the reference to people crossing the border of Maryland or Virginia, to send these people back across the border several hundred miles. Otherwise the experience is that the officials take them across one day and they come back across the following night, because it is an impossibility to patrol the unfenced and practically unguarded borders of Mexico and Texas, with their limited personnel of the border guards. From the standpoint of necessity therefore, the Immigration and Naturalization people are using these planes to drop them several hundred miles south of the border so that they will not have to catch the same wetbacks the following night.

Mr. Chairman, I support the committee appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I just want to call this fact to the attention of the committee: that last August—I am sure it was last August—a bill was before this House to bring in this immigrant labor. The proponents of that bill assured the House that it would not cost the taxpayers of America one single dime. Then, about 10 days later, a supplemental appropriation bill was brought to the floor which requested \$4,000,000 for this purpose of bringing into this country immigrant labor and also to transport the laborers back to Mexico. In that amount was requested 85 automobiles which were to be used to bring the laborers in and to take them back. I offered an amendment to strike out the full amount which was in that supplemental bill of \$4,000,000, and the amendment was adopted.

Now, here we have before us another request for funds to fly the immigrant laborers back home.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. FISHER. I wanted to correct a misunderstanding that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] apparently had about this amendment. He said it was an attempt to reduce the appropriation of the present set-up for the enforcement of the law along the Rio Grande. It does not do that at all. It simply prevents an increase, a part of which has indirectly to do with the enforcement of the law on the Rio Grande. It is simply to prevent the increase of the

Federal payroll by several hundred thousand dollars per year. It does not change the existing enforcement set-up at all. The gentleman from California apparently did not understand the amendment when it was read.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, here is a good place to save over a million dollars. I hope the amendment is adopted.

Certainly when the proponents told us last year that this would cost the taxpayers nothing, let us take them at their word and strike out this amount, which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER] has requested in his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas and supported by the gentleman from California brings forcibly to the minds of the Members of Congress the floor fight we had over the passage of wetback legislation in the last session of Congress.

I recall that the gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from California both supported this legislation. I also recall that I attacked that legislation on the floor of the House on the ground that it was filled with hidden Government subsidies which the Government would have to pay. I also recall that I attacked their proposal of charging the farmer \$10, which was in the House bill, and \$20 in the Senate bill, and I offered an amendment to put into the bill the actual cost on the basis of the experience up to that time, which was \$34.95. The bill was agreed on between the House and the Senate for a sum far less than that.

The Government is now being asked through this supplemental appropriation to put up money that rightfully should have been charged to the farmers down there who used these wetbacks on their farms. Instead of that, it comes up here now as a subsidy, and the inconsistency of it all is that the gentleman from Texas now proposes to cut out of the appropriation bill the necessary funds to carry out the law for which they were largely responsible.

Mr. REGAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. REGAN. Then the gentleman agrees that this appropriation should be reduced?

Mr. BAILEY. I do not. I think the charge should be transferred to the people who are using the wetbacks.

Mr. REGAN. Then the gentleman favors a reduction in this appropriation?

Mr. BAILEY. I do not. I want to kill the wetback legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. We ask for a vote, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROONEY) there were—ayes 105, noes 48.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

ADDITIONAL WASHINGTON AIRPORT

For expenses necessary for the acquisition of land, interests therein, and appurtenances thereto, for the site and appurtenant facilities for an additional public airport within or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia, as authorized by Public Law 762, approved September 7, 1950; plans, specifications, and surveys; and services as authorized by section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a); \$1,400,000, to remain available until expended.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN: On page 4, line 14, strike out all of lines 14 through 22, inclusive.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, so that I may explain this amendment to a certain degree, I ask unanimous consent for another 5 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I object. I am willing to settle this matter now, without any further debate. We have listened all afternoon to this.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard. (Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota will proceed.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, as I stated in general debate here, we have an opportunity here to do many things. First, we can save the taxpayers of America \$50,000,000 by eliminating this further appropriation for Burke Airport. Secondly, we can help a lot of people over in Fairfax County, which county is overwhelmingly, in fact, almost unanimously, opposed to the establishment of that particular airport. Let me quote from the hearings on page 107. The governing body of the county, the board of supervisors, said:

The establishment of such an airport in Fairfax County, Va., would be extremely detrimental to the general welfare, health, and safety of the residents, and practically ruinous to the future development of the entire community as a residential area.

As stated previously, my only interest first of all is the saving of these \$50,000,000. Through the establishment of such an airport as is proposed at Burke, we are creating a hazard in that heavily populated area similar to that which exists in Elizabeth and in Newark. We have Friendship Airport available as has been brought out, and as these half a dozen gentlemen who have backed me up today in my argument can testify. We have a splendid airport up there which is only being utilized to 20 percent of its capacity. That airport is only 40 minutes from the Statler Hotel. The testimony of police officers in Fairfax is to the effect that you will only save 6 minutes in time from Burke to the Statler as compared to the time from Friendship Airport, and even then you may have to break the legal speed limits to try to do that. Why should we inflict upon a community, and upon the State of Virginia such a situation as is proposed here. Why should we inflict upon them the establishment of a very expensive airport, as far as the Federal

Government is concerned? We can draw out of this mess with a loss of only \$150,000, one-third of 1 percent of the \$50,000,000 which it would ultimately cost. Do you not think it is good business to do so?

We are talking about economy. Here we can do something to help. We can save \$50,000,000. That may not be considered too much by some people, but it is still a lot of money to me. When are we going to start saving if we do not knock out nonessentials such as this?

Those of you who were present during general debate heard the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] practically admit that my amendment was justified. He certainly did not defend the Burke Airport site. I quote in the debate a letter from Senator BYRD to the effect that he would vote against any further appropriation for this particular item.

From a military viewpoint, are we going to put ourselves in a position where, in case of war, if the Potomac River bridges are knocked out, we will be out entirely as far as the National Airport and the Burke Airport are concerned, where as the Friendship Airport, only 40 miles from the Statler Hotel is available, along an all-land route?

I hope the House will see fit to accept this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that most of the 2 hours of general debate was spent on this item, I ask unanimous consent that the debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, a great bulk of the Membership of the House were not present during general debate. Certainly we are entitled to be heard on this \$50,000,000 project. I object.

Mr. CANNON. We have spent nearly 2 hours on this. How many desire to be heard?

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 20 minutes, the last 5 minutes to be reserved by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, that is going to leave only about 2½ minutes for each Member except the committee.

Mr. CANNON. They have had 2 hours' debate on it already.

Mr. POAGE. But we did not have any of it.

Mr. CANNON. That was because the gentleman was not present on the floor.

Mr. POAGE. I was present.

Mr. CANNON. But the gentleman did not ask for time. If he had it would have been granted him.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GARMATZ] is recognized.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, no one can argue the need for additional facilities to relieve the traffic congestion and hazards now existing at the Washington National Airport. However, I do not believe that the construction of an additional airport in the Washington area would relieve the traffic hazard, nor the congestion, as too many airports located in one area would make the air lanes more congested and more dangerous.

Before the sum of \$14,000,000 requested in S. 456 was appropriated by Congress, I strongly urged that the facilities at the new Friendship International Airport be utilized.

With the present need for elimination of all unnecessary expenditures, is it fair to the taxpayers to impose this additional burden on them for the Washington traffic, when the Government has already invested about three million in the Friendship Airport? This investment in that airport can only be justified on the use of it as a regional facility. Furthermore, it has been shown that the fourteen million was only the beginning of the cost of the new airport.

In testifying before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on this airport as late as June 30, 1950, the spokesman for the Department of Defense stated:

The Department contemplates no foreseeable military requirement for the utilization of the proposed new public airport. It is conceivable, however, that a future national emergency may require utilization of the airport by military aircraft operation in the interest of the national security. In view of this defense value in time of emergency, the Department of Defense recommends that the land acquisition and planning for the lay-out of the air-field facilities and the airport be such that it can readily be expanded in accordance with military standards and criteria.

A considerable length of time would be required for the construction of the airport to permit its use for defense or security purposes. Friendship Airport was planned and constructed to serve not only the growing Baltimore air traffic, but the overflow from the Washington National Airport as well. It has been estimated that Friendship, with the present National Airport, will be adequate to serve the needs of the capital area for at least 10 years. Should defense need require additional facilities, Friendship would provide that need, having been so constructed that it can be increased quickly to two or three times its present capacity at a cost of only five or six million dollars.

Furthermore, the physical location and the equipment at Friendship offer efficient and safe handling of aircraft during inclement weather conditions. The site was chosen because, from a meteorological standpoint, it is the best in the entire area. And with the completion of the Baltimore-Washington Expressway, already authorized by Congress, rapid transportation to Washington will be provided.

Therefore, I urge the Members to oppose the outlay of money for the additional airport as entirely unnecessary at this time.

(Mr. GARMATZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I shall support this amendment. I do not believe the Federal Government should pay the total cost for an airport for any community in the United States. The taxpayers of the country already pay a large part of the cost of air transportation: The control towers, the weather stations, and all the other facilities a plane requires when it takes off on its journey, for its guidance through the sky, and again to land, are at Federal cost. If the local people cannot pay a just portion of the cost they should not have an airport.

Another reason: Is this something we can get along without? There seems no dispute but what there are ample facilities at the Friendship Airport that should be used. With the present condition of the United States Treasury, the overburdened taxpayers, and our heavy tax load, there is no reason why the Federal taxpayers should further subsidize this community for its air transportation. There is no reason why the Federal taxpayers should pay the total cost of a Federal airport which is not used exclusively for governmental purposes. We have one federally built and supported airport here now. Why should we build another?

Still a further reason why I believe that this ought to be rejected and we should back up on this project is that the costs are very likely to exceed the original estimates. This Congress should speak up against bureaucratic domination of projects. These agencies advance them and suggest the costs will be much less than they eventually turn out to be and thus get the camel's nose under the tent, thus compelling the Congress to appropriate millions and millions of dollars to complete it or lose the original investment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON].

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Chairman, at the moment there is no need for an additional third airport in this immediate vicinity and the need undoubtedly will not arise for a number of years. Even though the money were appropriated for the Burke Airport, it will be a considerable time before it could be put into actual use.

While I am opposed to all unnecessary Government expenditures at this critical time, I have consistently worked for the development of the Friendship Airport. Let me say now if just one third of the money which is contemplated in this appropriation were applied to the immediate completion of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway, the development of the Burke Airport would be a complete nonessential expenditure. The Friend-

ship Airport is already in existence and capable of handling all air commerce which might overflow from any of the overcrowded fields. There is absolutely no necessity to spend the \$14,000,000 asked for in the initial appropriation—the ultimate investment of which, conservatively figured, would eventually exceed \$25,000,000.

I have been very active, as chairman of the Public Works Committee on Roads not only in developing Friendship but also in initiating and supporting legislation which authorized the construction of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway which connects with the airport. Further to sustain my position, I am quoting what the Civil Aeronautics Administration had to say, as recently as January, 1949, in its Washington and Baltimore regional study:

In order to prepare a sound analysis of existing and future airport requirements, it was considered necessary and desirable to include in a single study the metropolitan areas of Washington, D. C., and Baltimore, Md.

The total distance between the two cities is only 38 miles from center to center; the metropolitan district boundaries of the two are contiguous at one point and are continually expanding toward one another.

Therefore, it is logical when one considers the airplane as a long-distance carrier to study the two metropolitan districts as a single unit with respect to the air transportation problem.

The over-all master plan which guides the development provides for a satisfactory ultimate airport which will be capable of accommodating future air traffic peak loads for the entire Baltimore-Washington region, should such a need ever arise.

We now have Friendship International Airport operating. I have made a study of the figures to see if Friendship could handle with ease any overload from the Washington field and it most certainly can.

Recently, the Air Transport Association of America wrote to all its members throughout the country and abroad, advising them that "Baltimore now has one of the three finest airports in the world." One of the "shocking circumstances," revealed the letter, "is that generally airline personnel do not know that Baltimore now has one of the three finest airports in the world or that it is served as adequately as it is at present."

Surely, in view of the availability of this magnificent airport, if Congress approves this appropriation today for the construction of a third airport in Virginia which even the officials of that State say they "do not have need of and have not asked for," it will be another classic example whereby we are overruling the natural economic forces at work and eliminating the opportunity for Friendship, a new enterprise, to come into the field.

Further, is it logical to spend many million of dollars for a third regional airport at this time when it will require thousands of man-hours of labor which could properly be used in other fields? It will require thousands of tons of steel and other critical material which also could be used in other fields. For ex-

ample, at this very moment many automobile factories in our Western States are closed because of the shortage of steel.

When the hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1950 to authorize the construction of the Burke Airport, I vigorously voiced my opposition in committee and also protested the construction of this airport from the floor of the House. The statements that I made then are true now. Certainly it is common sense when taxpayers throughout the United States are seeking economy in Government not to increase their burden by spending a large sum of money for an airport which is not wanted, is not needed and will not be needed for a great many years to come.

The time has come when good hard American common sense in Government activities and spending must be applied. I am opposing this appropriation for the reasons I have stated. I sincerely believe, under the present conditions, any further expenditure of money here is wanton waste.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS].

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, when news about this site first appeared in the press I drove over to Burke station to inspect the site, and twice since then I have driven over the area. I express, now as I have expressed before, a great deal of surprise that an area of such rolling nature, so very expensive to prepare as an airport, has been selected for this particular airport. I have always been surprised, as I expressed this morning, that we should add to the traffic difficulties we face every morning and evening, and as I faced for 2½ years when living in Alexandria, in getting across the bridges; and, finally, the evidence before the committee has pointed out that there are several airports—Friendship is one of them, and I hold no brief for any—but Andrews is much nearer and the saving would be considerable. The construction of the highway to Andrews, for example, would save us a million. I do not know whether that is the right figure but we could certainly save money there. Even if we would lose a million at Burke, we would save two million on the road alone to Andrews, which is a better airport and saves time.

So I think we should adopt the amendment which would save us money. At the same time we should ask the friends of the airport, and those of us who believe we should have a second airport, in which class I belong, to reconsider this Burke situation as not being the most desirable spot.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The gentleman has brought out the rugged character of that part of the State of Virginia. It certainly is a fact that there has been no drill test that I know of taken as to the site to see how far the granite rock stretches throughout that area.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Virginia has always been rugged, for which I am very glad.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I want to talk to you just as one ordinary citizen to another about a proposition that has quite a lot of technical aspects about it. Everybody agrees that Washington needs a good airport, everybody agrees that there are four airports in Washington right now, all paid for by the United States Government, the National Airport, Bolling Field, the Navy Field, and Andrews Field. I think everybody will agree that Andrews Field was originally built for the defense of Washington at a time when we used low-speed planes, when the defense of our city required an airport very close to it. We now depend for defense upon high-speed jet planes that should be based a great distance from the city.

There is no justification in the world for maintaining Andrews Field as a military field that I know of, except it is more convenient for the officers who are located there to live in the city of Washington. They might just as well be moved, might much better be moved a substantial distance from Washington where they could serve their purpose of defense much better. But if you don't want to move them very far they might be transferred over to Friendship Field which has already been built and apparently is not being used to capacity. But why do we not use the thing we have? We have Andrews Field. It belongs to the United States Government. It is ideally located as a civilian airport. It is not well located for the defense of Washington. It is not needed as a military transport center. Bolling Field and the Navy field provide adequately for that need.

Are we afraid of the military? Is that not the reason that we are spending so many billions of dollars? We must be afraid of the brass and of the stars on somebody's shoulder and of the gold braid. Let us not be deterred by the fear that we are going to offend the military. Let us do what we need to do with the public property of the United States and let us make it serve the most pressing public need. In this case that public need at this particular point seems to be a new commercial airport.

Everyone knows that we need a field close to Washington, a good civilian field, one we can get to and from very quickly. We have an express highway to Andrews Field. We do not need a defense field right here on the target. The defense field should be a substantial distance away. So we will gain two things by using Andrews Field. We will help the civilians and the military at the same time, and we will save a large part of the 50 or 60 million dollars that would otherwise be poured into a new civilian field at a great distance from the city. Why should we spend \$50,000,000 or more to make the civilian field inconvenient and to make the air defense of Washington inefficient?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, a perusal of the hearings on this particular question, together with the debate that has been had, convinces me that here is an opportunity for me to help deter the spending of, another unnecessary \$50,000,000. I am obligated to my people to do that very thing.

The Federal Government has about \$3,000,000 invested in the Baltimore Friendship Field on the assumption and with the understanding that field would be used by both Baltimore and the people in the city of Washington area. The record shows that Friendship Field is occupied to about 25 to 28 percent capacity. To go out and further appropriate for the development of the Burke Field, in my opinion, is a mistake, and, therefore, I shall support the amendment.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I think the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] made a very good point when he brought out the facts about Andrews Field. Why should we not consider all possible angles of this matter? All my amendment would do would be to give the Congress an opportunity to determine what is the best thing to do to provide additional service for Washington through properly located air fields.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Well, that is true. We have all of these airfields here in this very congested area, and it seems to me that every time you build another field you increase the traffic hazard by reason of the concentration of planes within a given area.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, first I would like, in a friendly way, to admonish my good and long-time friend the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN] not to get excited and say things that he evidently does not mean. When he so loosely associates my name with spending a mythical \$50,000,000 of the taxpayers' money, let me remind him that scarcely 3 weeks ago he appeared before the Interior Subcommittee on Appropriations with a request for \$54,000,000 of the taxpayers' money for which there was not even a budget estimate or authorization, and went over to the Senate and did the same.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. The gentleman always loves to interrupt me.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a fairly simple matter. Our committee listened to the testimony of engineers in regard to this item. I have no personal interest in this and have never previously expressed a preference in regard to locating the airport at Burke. This has never previously been before our committee. The gentlemen who testified before our committee were qualified to talk on aviation and airports. They are admittedly experts in that special field, and I feel

that they are better experts than you or I, or any of the rest of us who talked here today. The fact is that the Washington National Airport traffic reached the saturation point in 1948, and it is rapidly becoming a dangerous situation. You must get started, and get started immediately on another airport. Now, where are we going to put the airport? The Civil Aeronautics Administration told us that they have spent a million dollars so far of the taxpayers' money on the Burke Airport, and with the approval of the Congress. I sympathize with the people who do not like to have their property condemned. No property owner likes condemnation of his property, and merely a fair and reasonable value for it as fixed by the Government and the court. But where else are you going to put your vitally needed airport. The experts went out to this rugged terrain in Virginia where they are getting land for about only \$375 an acre, to build an airport to cost not \$50,000,000, as has been suggested here, but \$12,000,000. Why the plans do not even contemplate a hangar.

This is primarily to build landing strips, fuel facilities and the like as a supplementary airport to Washington, and the total estimate, if you will read the testimony, is \$12,000,000. Suppose I lived in the South, do you think I would want to fly north across Washington, nearly up to Baltimore and have to ride all the way back from Baltimore to Washington to attend to my congressional duties?

Mr. Chairman, we have heard extended debate on this subject this afternoon. I am not going to burden you any further. You know what the story is: Do you want to abandon the \$1,000,000 that you have already spent, or do you not? Are you going to listen to the aviation experts, whose testimony is in the record, engineers, if you please, or are you going to listen to the engineers and aviation specialists you heard here today?

Mr. Chairman, I urge the defeat of the pending amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROONEY) there were: ayes 128, noes 41.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER
SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses," \$550,000.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KEATING: On page 6, line 6, strike out "\$550,000" and insert "\$450,000."

(Mr. KEATING asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, in this appropriation process we find that things become so complicated sometimes that it is a little hard to follow them.

Many of us have been trying very hard to reduce Federal expenditures and after a great deal of time and effort, amendments are offered and adopted on the floor of this House, only to learn later that supplemental items are brought in which completely negate the expressed will of Congress.

In this particular instance, in 1952, we provided \$20,600,000 for the Office of the Treasurer for an average employment of 1,262 people. As a 1953 request, they asked for \$21,500,000 to provide for 1,529 employees. The committee cut them \$500,000 to \$21,000,000. Then the bill came here on the floor a week or so ago and by a very substantial majority we reduced the figure another \$500,000. Now they are in here with this request for \$550,000 for the next few months of the current fiscal year.

It is time we taught these agencies that when we make a reduction in an appropriation as an economy move it is not just a gesture, that we mean what we say, and they cannot come in here with supplemental requests which set at naught the action we have taken in the interest of the taxpayers.

We have expressly provided by law on this subject, and the question I want to put to the chairman of the committee is whether in his judgment the law has not been violated by this agency in this instance. The law states:

All appropriations made for contingent expenses or other general purposes shall on or before the beginning of each fiscal year, be so apportioned by monthly or other allotments as to prevent expenditures in one portion of the year which may necessitate deficiency or additional appropriations to complete the service of the fiscal year for which said appropriations are made.

What do we find with regard to this agency? We find on page 395 of the hearings the program this Department laid out at the beginning of the year for their quarterly apportionment of appropriations. We find for the first quarter \$5,325,000. Now that is substantially more than one quarter of the total appropriation made for the fiscal year amounting to \$20,687,430. The same is true of the amount programed for the second and third quarters. Then they program a much smaller sum for the last quarter but actually plan to spend several hundred thousand dollars more than they have programed, relying on a request to Congress to take up the slack by a supplemental appropriation. That makes a mockery of the entire system and flies directly in the face of the statutory provision we have enacted to prevent that very practice of spending at any rate fixed by an agency rather than at the stated rate fixed by Congress.

There is only \$100,000 in money involved in this amendment but a fundamental principle is at stake. If we are going to demonstrate to the departments and agencies of Government that we will not tolerate such reckless disregard for action taken by Congress to limit their appropriations, we will adopt this amendment.

In all fairness, I think I should add that the Office of the Treasurer is only one of many, many offenders in this regard. Indeed, probably the amounts in-

involved here are modest compared to the expenditures made in many other agencies over and beyond the expressed will of Congress. But this amendment permits the House to go on record as condemning this practice. I hope they will maintain a firm position.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the gentleman that there has been no violation of the law, and there will be no violation of the law in this Department.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield with pleasure to my chairman.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, this Department will finish its appropriation year without a deficit, if the amount allowed in this bill is not appropriated. But, what will be the result? In an effort to avoid a terrific backlog in its workload, this agency has spent more than three-fourths of its annual appropriation in the first three-quarters of the appropriation year. Notwithstanding the fact that they have over-expended to some extent for the first three quarters, on January 1 they had a carry-over of 12,000,000 paper checks in their standing operation, as compared with a normal backlog of approximately 5,000,000. This backlog has increased in excess of 3,000,000 over the past month, and will undoubtedly continue to increase, at least at this rate, over the remainder of the fiscal year.

On January 18, the carry-over in Federal Reserve half notes, presented for redemption, totaled 42,500,000 notes, while the normal carry-over is 4,500,000. This figure had increased 9,000,000 notes since the end of December, and will continue to increase proportionately.

If the House does not allow the amount, which the committee has recommended, it will be necessary for the Treasurer to discharge 200 regular, trained employees between now and the end of the fiscal year in the face of a backlog which is already very large, is steadily increasing and will pyramid rapidly with the decrease in personnel. If that is what the House wants, then support this amendment. Our committee cut the amount requested, but we felt they did need the amount which we recommended to carry on for the rest of the year.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. CANFIELD. Is it not true that approval of this amendment today will be protested by the banks of the United States, because it will affect their clearances; and is it not also true that it will injuriously affect the audits of the Comptroller General's office of the United States?

Mr. GARY. I have talked to the Comptroller General's office today, and they said that a large backlog would be serious.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. The gentleman has addressed himself to the increased workload. I was raising the point of whether the law has been violated by the programming of these expenditures as they appear on page 395 at an amount in excess of the amount which they should have. It is not a question of the actual expenditures, but the program is set forth on page 395 and it shows they were programming at a rate which this agency was not permitted by law to program.

Mr. GARY. The law has not been violated because the law says that the work of the agency must not be programmed so that there will be a deficit, and there will be no deficit if this amount is not appropriated. They will discharge the necessary employees, and they will live within the amount that the Congress has allowed them. Therefore, there has been no violation of the law. But in order to do so they will have to permit the workloads to pyramid, and we will have a very serious condition in the office of the Treasury.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. The amounts programmed for the first three-quarters of this present fiscal year exceed three-fourths of the amount allowed to this agency for the entire fiscal year, and that seems to me to be contrary to what the Congress intended when it enacted this legislation.

Mr. GARY. That is not a violation of the law or contrary to what the Congress intended. All the Congress requires is that the agencies live within their appropriations. The Treasurer will live within her appropriation regardless of the action of the Congress on this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GARY) there were—ayes 100, noes 65.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. GARY and Mr. KEATING.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 115, noes 82.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, for "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance," by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952, is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to go back to page 8.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I think we have passed that point in the reading of the bill, but I hope the gentleman may have permission to offer his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does the gentleman desire to offer his amendment?

Mr. BAILEY. I had prepared the amendment to be offered at the bottom of page 12, but I see another item on page 8, line 16.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman desire to offer an amendment to that section of the bill?

Mr. BAILEY. I desire to offer the amendment where it will be germane and I presume following line 9 on page 8 would be the proper place.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BAILEY: Page 8, line 9, insert the following item:

"Office of Education: To supplement existing appropriations for schoolhouse construction under the provisions of Public Law 815, \$65,000,000."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, it is not my desire to unduly excite the members of the committee with an item of this size. In my discussion during general debate I said I wanted to get some facts in the Record for the information of the Members of the House. A majority of the Members, I know, are particularly interested in this item of Federal assistance to impacted school districts due to defense activities in the defense effort.

I want to give you a full and complete picture. I do not know that I shall press for a vote on this amendment, but I do want to give you a picture of the situation in the thought that we will have to meet it, if not at the present time, in the future.

The need for this item of \$65,000,000 in the authorized program for construction of school facilities in federally impacted areas is predicated on two important factors.

(a) Under the emergency housing legislation approved by the first session of the Eighty-second Congress, the President was given authority to declare certain defense areas as critical. To date he has set up so many of these critical areas—due to the Korean emergency and other defense needs—that it makes the provisions of Public Law 815 wholly inadequate to meet the situation.

(b) The President's veto of H. R. 5411, which passed on the closing day of the first session, has thrown this whole matter back into the lap of the Congress. To date no new legislation has been prepared to take the place of the vetoed bill. To meet this situation, let me state briefly what has been done:

First. Original request from Commissioner McGrath's office, \$215,000,000.

This would care for 900 school districts, in which there are 750,000 pupils, for which there are no housing facilities available.

Second. Bureau of the Budget in lieu of the \$215,000,000 granted contract authorizations in the amount of \$150,000,000 for advance spending. This will take care of only 600 of the 900 school districts and care for only 500,000 of the 750,000 pupils presently without housing.

The \$150,000,000 in contract authorization will take care of only those districts that have a priority rating above 35 percent on the basis of need. Unless the \$65,000,000 is included as an item in this appropriation many of my colleagues will have schools in their districts already qualified for aid that will be cut out of the program entirely. This will be rank discrimination.

What I want the Members of the House, who have school projects in their districts, to know that this \$150,000,000 construction authorization which the budget office is proposing is subject to whatever action the subcommittee and the general Committee on Appropriations might take in the appropriation bill for 1953. That \$150,000,000 will take care of only 600 of the 900 projects that need to be constructed. That leaves 300 projects that will have to be temporarily or permanently abandoned; and let me say to you that they represent projects in the smaller school districts that fall in the category of less than 35 percent priority set up by the Commissioner of Education.

I want to call your attention to that as the author of Public Law 815 and as the chairman of your subcommittee, who has been laboring to get you additional steel allocations. I want the Members of the House to understand how serious this situation is. Here are all these projects that you are proposing, under the budget procedure, to delay construction until after July. At the present time there are 750,000 children who will not have a schoolhouse roof over them on the first day of September unless this Congress acts and does something about it.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. LANHAM. Can we afford to wait until July?

Mr. BAILEY. That is the question.

Mr. LANHAM. It seems to me that the gentleman ought to insist on a vote on his amendment now, because if we wait until July for an appropriation, then it will take a year or 18 months to get the schools built.

Mr. BAILEY. I think the point made by the gentleman from Georgia is well taken.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Certainly we have a very real problem along the lines the gentleman is describing in my own district. It is my understanding that this item will be brought in in the regular appropriation bill probably within 2 weeks.

Mr. BAILEY. After I finish my statement the gentleman will understand. This contract authorization of \$150,000,000 is just part of the program. We would do two-thirds of the job that

needs to be done, and we have no assurance that we will get the \$150,000,000. In the meantime these projects are going to have no attention and cannot be processed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. BAILEY. The difference between what the Commissioner asks for, for the full program of the 900 school projects, and the proposal of the budget office, that it be a contract authorization of \$150,000,000, leaves a difference of \$65,000,000. My amendment would insert in this supplemental appropriation bill the difference between the needs for the whole program and the contract authorization which would be the sum of \$65,000,000.

Now, I do not want to be a party to discriminating against any Member of Congress, and I know that if this halfway proposal goes through there is going to be a score of Members in Congress who are going to have projects in their districts that this program will not reach, and I think it is grossly unfair that we jump into these large defense areas and do projects, because they are a little more emergent than they are in some other areas. Many of those other areas have been waiting for months and months for money to go ahead with their projects.

I sincerely hope this matter rests in the minds of the members of this committee and the Members of the House, because I am sure an appropriation item covering this need will be in the budget coming over from the other body, and I wanted you to have these facts to show the need for agreeing with the Senate item in the budget.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

For an additional amount for "Defense community facilities and services," \$9,375,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PHILLIPS: On page 14, line 11, strike out the period and insert a semicolon and the following: "*Provided further*, That \$543,975 of such amount shall be applied to the provision of library facilities and services in critical defense areas."

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment does not add any money to the bill. It does not propose to do any-

thing which is not already intended in the bill. It earmarks an item which has already been discussed as a part of the program.

If you will turn to page 14, line 8, you will see the figure of \$9,375,000. When that figure came to the subcommittee it was for twice that amount. It was reduced in the full committee to the present figure. In order that the smaller item to which I refer may be protected, I have asked that it be designated in the bill as calling for \$543,975.

The request came to the subcommittee too late for our hearings. It came to the subcommittee too late with the supporting evidence to permit analysis in our subcommittee, so I have made an analysis of the requests already presented to the subcommittee, and have broken the requests into headings of books and equipment and additions to existing buildings and new buildings, and new construction. I have struck out the requests for new construction, because I think that should have more discussion in the committee. My own feeling is that much of that is an obligation of the local community or the State. I do think we should protect the library facilities. As a salesman just out of college traveling over Ohio, and later when I was in two cantonments in World War I, I know that I personally, and my family, made use of the public libraries as a means of recreation and enjoyment.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it the gentleman's intention that these funds will not increase the total appropriation but will be a part of the over-all sum of \$50,000,000 altogether authorized?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is correct.

Mr. CANNON. In other words, it will not save a dollar.

Mr. PHILLIPS. This is not intended either to save or to spend, it is intended to earmark a sum already existing.

Mr. CANNON. No saving is proposed here at all?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No saving and no spending, other than already discussed.

Mr. Chairman, I hope I may have an affirmative vote on the amendment.

(Mr. PHILLIPS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, to those familiar with the bill, this amendment is decidedly puzzling.

We have here a limited emergency fund which is available for a number of community requirements. This money can be spent for hospitals or for water systems, school facilities, sewer systems, and purposes immediately and directly affecting the health of the community.

It is money which, if not properly spent, could mean contagion and death and lack of hospitalization.

The amendment proposes to take this emergency money away from hospitals and sewer systems; from facilities to supply pure water and local health administration, and give it to libraries. Libraries are wonderful institutions. We are all in favor of libraries. But when it comes to the point of whether we shall give a dollar to a library or give it to a hospital—of giving a dollar to a library or to a school—of spending a dollar for books or pure water and adequate sewage disposal, it presents a question on which there can be little difference of opinion. The amendment is puzzling, to say the least. What is the reason? Why should we take money away from fundamental necessities which directly affect the health of the community, and especially of its children, just to give somebody an opportunity to read a book?

Let us at least leave it to the authorities to say, after they have considered the matter, whether we ought to give libraries preference over hospitals and schools. Why should we single out libraries, of all the facilities needed, for preferential treatment. Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment will be voted down.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PHILLIPS) there were—ayes 46, noes 68.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses," \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses," Office of Defense Mobilization.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FOGARTY: On page 19, after line 11, insert:

"SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expense of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles, \$825,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for seven additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, we have before us an ill-considered recommendation to abolish an executive agency that was established only 7 months ago without a dissenting vote in either House of Congress. Two hundred and sixty-

one Members of this House were original sponsors of the legislation creating the Small Defense Plants Administration. Twenty-four of them are members of the Appropriations Committee. Now, just as the agency is in a position to carry out the mandate we gave it, the Appropriations Committee has decided it should be cut off without a further penny and be liquidated at once.

The reasons for continuing the Small Defense Plants Administration in existence with adequate appropriations are the same reasons Congress had for establishing the agency in the first place. The main purpose of the legislation was to centralize in one place the responsibility for handling small-business problems under the mobilization program. If you have ever tried—and I am sure many of you have—to get a constituent a little more copper or aluminum to keep his business going, or tried to arrange a loan for him, or tried to track down someone in the Pentagon who knows when bids are going to be opened on a particular procurement—if you have ever had to deal with the countless small-business offices in Government, you know why Congress decided to give one agency the sole duty of protecting small business, with no other functions to perform.

The simple fact is that until Congress created the Small Defense Plants Administration, the responsibility for assisting small-business men was scattered all over Washington—with no design, no coordination, and a great amount of duplication. We put an end to that duplication when we established SDPA and made it the single spokesman for small business. Yet the Appropriations Committee has decided that black is white—that SDPA is duplicating the work of other agencies.

I ask you to think back to the first year of the Defense Production Act, when the act contained only a noble expression of the principle of aid to small business. The proportion of defense contracts going to small business steadily decreased. The Munitions Board's own figures prove it: In fiscal 1950, the percentage of dollar volume going to small business was 24.5; in fiscal 1951 it was 20.9; and in the first half of fiscal 1952 it fell to 19.7. Precisely the same thing happened during World War II, until the Smaller War Plants Corporation got started and was able to throw its weight around on behalf of the small-business man.

In the 13 months from November 1942 to December 1943, small business got only 12.8 percent of the dollar volume of contracts awarded. During this time the Smaller War Plants Corporation had to spend a lot of its time overcoming organizational problems and making arrangements to do its work in the scores of procurement offices throughout the country. But after SWPC really got going, look what happened: From 12.8 percent in 1943, the figure rose to 20 percent in 1944, to 26.7 in the first half of 1945, and to 30.4 in the last half of 1945. Navy figures showed a similar increase.

Now, there is every reason to believe that if SDPA is given the relatively small

appropriation it is requesting, it can repeat the history of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. This is the most valid reason for reversing the action of the committee.

Let me list the other achievements of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. It assisted in the formation of some 250 small business production pools and got them over \$600,000,000 in war contracts. These pools represented 2,000 companies employing 140,000 workers. In other arrangements with the military services, the Smaller War Plants Corporation examined nearly 205,000 proposed procurements. With SWPC assistance, small firms got an estimated 60,000 prime contracts with a total value of \$6,000,000,000.

In addition, the Smaller War Plants Corporation, through persuasion, suggestion, by providing information to big plants, and assistance to small ones, helped in the awarding of more than 52,000 subcontracts valued at \$30,600,000,000.

In the vital area of loans the Small Defense Plants Administration's predecessor authorized nearly 6,000 loans and leases valued at more than a half-billion dollars.

I have given you the figures on small business' increasing share of defense contracts. Let me add only this fact: The official history of the Purchasing Division, Headquarters, Army Service Forces, credits the joint screening of procurement by SWPC and military representatives with playing a significant part in boosting this percentage. This joint screening process is precisely what SDPA is negotiating with the military to revive immediately.

These accomplishments by the Small Defense Plants Administration's predecessor can easily be duplicated and even surpassed if the new agency is given adequate funds with which to enlarge its staff and take other measures to assist small business. You cannot expect small business' battles to be fought by so-called small business specialists within the military procurement offices who are on the Defense Department's payroll. No subordinate is going to dispute his superior. Nor are the small business representatives in other agencies going to do anything about it. They have not so far, and that's sufficient reason to suspect they will not in the future.

The SDPA, in its request for additional funds, is seeking to eliminate this inefficient and unsound system. Obviously, Small Defense Plants Administration procurement specialists assigned to key military procurement centers will push vigorously for more contracts for small business. They have the freedom and authority to do so, backed by Congress and the proper legislative authority.

To attempt to do away with the Small Defense Plants Administration at this critical juncture in its program to assist small firms throughout the country, is to deny reason and cast sound Government practices out the window.

The House Member who denies small firms adequate representation in Washington and in the major military procurement centers throughout the country is subject to a charge of failure to

do his duty for an important segment of his constituency.

A little over 2 years ago, because of the emergency we were in at that time, and remembering the experience of small business in this country during the last World War, 261 Members of this House sponsored legislation that would create the Small Defense Plants Administration. Of those 261 Members, 24 were members of the Appropriations Committee of this House.

Everyone knows the reason that this Small Defense Plants Administration was established. Anyone who was here during the last world war knows very well that in 1940, 1941, and 1942 it was impossible for the small-business people of this country to get any relief whatsoever from the defense agencies, or any other then-existing agency of the Government that had to do with the letting of defense contracts. The Smaller War Plants Corporation was set up by the Congress to cure that deficiency. Those of us who had experience then with small-business concerns in our own States will not soon forget that when we went to the Smaller War Plants Corporation we at least got special treatment, and in many, many cases thousands of small businesses in this country did not have their doors closed because of the activity of this Smaller War Plants Corporation. The record of that Corporation speaks for itself. The percentage of contracts that was given out to small business increased every year from the time that Corporation was established by the Congress.

Now we find ourselves in a similar position. In 1951 this Congress passed legislation establishing this Small Defense Plants Administration. Not one Member of Congress spoke against the establishment of that agency. We voted to establish an independent agency for the sole purpose of helping small-business people of this country because we found by experience during the last war that the agencies of Government—and that goes for the Department of Commerce—never lifted their fingers in the interest of small business. Yet it has been stated on this floor today that the Department of Commerce is in a position to do exactly the same thing that the Small Defense Plants Administration is set up to do. That is not a true statement of fact, and the gentlemen who made those statements know they are not true statements of fact. The Department of Commerce does not have the authority that is vested in the Small Defense Plants Administration. When this legislation was before the House and Senate, Mr. Sawyer, head of the Department of Commerce, testified before the very committee that established this program that he was for this authority. He claimed that his department needed the authority in order to channel some of the defense contracts into the hands of small business. He was all for it. It was not until the Congress decided to give to an independent agency this authority that Mr. Sawyer testified he was not in favor of it. Since Congress set up this independent agency, Mr. Sawyer has been lobbying against it because he

lost it out of his own department. Further than that, only last month, by Executive order which is now law, the President took away certain powers of the Department of Commerce, and they are now powers of the Small Defense Plants Administration. So those of you who claim that the Department of Commerce, or any other agency of Government, has the same authority as the Small Defense Plants Administration today in helping the small-business firms of this country either do not know what the law is, do not know that the Executive order has just been issued, or are trying to becloud the issue before the House.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. GARY. Will the gentleman state to the House why the Department of Commerce cannot perform the duties that are performed by this Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. FOGARTY. Yes; and I can tell you why: Because this Congress by a vote including that of the gentleman from Virginia, if he was here when the Defense Production Act was passed, gave the authority to the Small Defense Plants Administration and refused to give the power to the Department of Commerce. Every small-business concern in this country knew it could not get consideration from the Department of Commerce, or from the Army or the Navy, or the Munitions Board, or the General Services Administration. That is the reason the Small Defense Plants Administration was set up.

Mr. GARY. Will the gentleman tell me what the Department of Commerce is doing in my State where we have only small business and do not have any big business except occasional subsidiary plants? They have agencies set up there and are operating very well.

Mr. FOGARTY. Apparently small business in the gentleman's State does not have any trouble getting some of these controlled materials; apparently they are on the "in" with some particular agency or are getting some contracts from the large contractors. But let me tell the gentleman that the Department of Commerce in the gentleman's area, Richmond, Va., does not have the authority that the Small Defense Plants Administration has to help small business; and the gentleman knows that as well as I. It is obvious that whatever is being done presently in the gentleman's district for small business would be greatly improved if SDPA were equipped with funds to do its job.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. CANFIELD. This Congress made this agency an independent agency answerable only to the Congress and not to any other bureau down town.

Mr. FOGARTY. And this agency has to report to the President and to the Congress every 90 days on the accomplishments they have made. The statement has already been made on this

floor that they have accomplished nothing. The question is asked: What have they accomplished? The gentleman knows as well as I that they have been in operation for only 4 months; and the gentleman knows as well as I do that the \$350,000 was given to them last fall for one purpose only: To develop a program and set up a staff. Despite the fact that they have been in operation for only 4 months they have not only set up their staff and prepared a program but they are now ready to go, and small business firms are already being helped by them. They have produced results even with the meager sum of \$350,000. Small business firms from all parts of the country have been helped already by this agency, and not a few have been rescued from failure by it.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I wish to point out to the gentleman that the Small Defense Plants Administration does have an authority which the Department of Commerce does not, and that is the authority to enter into prime contracts with small business firms for the purpose of furthering the security program.

Mr. FOGARTY. The gentleman is absolutely right.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. GARY. Could not that authority be given to the Department of Commerce by Congress without setting up a separate agency to administer it?

Mr. FOGARTY. I think the gentleman knows the answer to that question. This Congress last year had no confidence in the Department of Commerce. To the Members who have been attacking the bureaucratic agencies of Government at this time and seeking to reduce expenditures I may say there is no more bureaucratic agency in the Government than the Department of Commerce. If there is I would like to know what it is. The reason they did not give it to Commerce was for one reason only. It was because small business concerns could not get any consideration from the Department of Commerce. They have not yet, and the record shows it. Just about all of these defense contracts that are going out now are going to big business. The percentage of contracts given out by the defense people, up to this time, to small businesses is going down, down, and down. That is the record of the existing agencies at the present time. This is harmful to national security and weakens the national economy.

We are going to be faced with this issue today. Let us not make any mistake about it. You may defend the 800 or 900 people in all these other governmental agencies today who are operating supposedly in behalf of small business, but they themselves have not offered a plan of any kind. If you are looking for duplication, there is your duplicating in the existing agencies today. It was said on the floor of the House this afternoon that they had in the neighborhood of 800 or 900 men in these various agencies.

The basic issue facing us today is, Do you want to live up to what you voted for a year ago or do you want to allow the Appropriations Committee, of which I am a member, and I am very proud of it, to do your legislating? For the 6 or 7 years I have been a member of the Appropriations Committee I have never thought it was the responsibility of my committee to do the legislating for the Congress of the United States. When the Congress speaks by an overwhelming or by unanimous vote, I do not think any committee has the authority to deny the will and the vote of the overwhelming majority of the Members of this body. That is what this committee is doing at the present time. They are wiping out legislation which was passed unanimously by both Houses of the Congress by denying any funds whatsoever for this particular agency.

Those of you on the opposition side can talk all you want to, but the issue this afternoon and the resulting vote is going to be on one and one issue only. It is going to be on the issue of whether you really want to help small business or not. That is going to be the vote today. If you want to help small business, if you are sincere, if you are honest in your convictions, if you want to do something about it instead of talking about it, you will vote to restore these funds. But if you are not for small business, if you want them to continue to be kicked around as they have been in the past and will be in the future by existing agencies at the present time—I repeat, if you want them kicked around and deny them the opportunity to keep their doors open, you will vote against the amendment. And in so doing you will be voting against the best interests of your small-business constituents.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Rhode Island has expired.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. I want to commend the gentleman for the very fine statement he is making. I think it is quite clear that a much better job can be done in assisting small business in obtaining defense contracts. The Small Defense Plant Corporation is the best means devised thus far to accomplish that job. As one who served 8 years on the House Small Business Committee, I know first hand the fine work done by the Small War Plants Corporation during World War II. By making defense work available to small business we will aid our national defense in obtaining a more effective dispersal of our defense plants. It is the most effective way of dispersing our defense program.

We have learned from past experience that unless an agency is set up that has the authority to compel the defense agencies to make subcontracts and otherwise aid small business nothing will be done about it.

Mr. FOGARTY. The gentleman is absolutely right. The opponents of this legislation, and when I say "this legislation" I mean the pending appropriation bill, and this is practically legislating in an appropriation bill, that is what you are doing here today, let us not make any mistake about it, but what the gentleman said is exactly true, and the opponents of this legislation know very well that every small-business concern in this country that got any relief during the last war got it through the Smaller War Plants Corporation. They are writing to Members of Congress now because of that experience, and because of that record. That is because they know the need for the establishment of this Small Defense Plants Administration at the present time. They went through this thing once during the last World War, so they know what they are talking about.

Those of you who were here during the last World War, and had any experience with the Small War Plants Corporation, know very well that that was the only agency in the Government in the last World War that was created to help and keep in business some of these small plants. They would have gone out at that time because of the shortage of materials, and because of the failure to spread defense contracts. If you are for small business, you are going to vote for this amendment today; if not, you will vote against it. The issue is clear cut—now is the time to be counted.

Mr. Chairman, at this time, I would like to include a strong statement of endorsement of SDPA by Russell E. Maintain, president of the Smaller Business Association of New England, Inc.:

SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION
OF NEW ENGLAND, INC.,
Boston, Mass., March 10, 1952.

Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FOGARTY: Attached is confirmation of the telegram sent to you Saturday pointing out the importance of all Members being on the House floor on March 12 when the extension of the Small Defense Plants Administration comes up for action. Thousands of small and medium-size manufacturers are in business today solely because of the fine job that the Smaller War Plants Corporation did in World War II; but prior to the formation of SWPC most of them were on the verge of bankruptcy because they had not been permitted to participate in war production.

We learned from that experience that only a separate agency, with specialized personnel and supervision, can provide effectively the service needed by small business. SDPA provides one place instead of eight for small-business men to go for information, guidance, and certification. SDPA would not duplicate work of other agencies, because it would give expert directions to the effective performance of those functions—and at less cost.

Our association will gladly supply any number of small-business men who can testify from their own experience that only a

Small Defense Plants Administration can insure total industrial mobilization of small business for defense.

We have never gone to Washington asking for hand-outs. We do not intend to do so. We ask that the Government cut the appropriations of other agencies that are now supposedly acting for small business, and concentrate all small-business functions in SDPA. It will cut down government cost.

Yours very truly,

RUSSELL E. MAINTAIN,
President, Smaller Business Association
of New England, Inc.

Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Imperative all Congressmen regardless of appointments should be on floor of House on Wednesday 12 when extension of Small Defense Plants Administration comes up for action. No other organization can coordinate, centralize, unify, and adequately mobilize the industrial production of small business which accounts for 54 percent of Nation's production.

RUSSELL E. MAINTAIN,
President, Smaller Business Association
of New England, Inc.

I would also like, at this time, Mr. Chairman, to include another strong statement of support for SDPA by Mr. T. A. Monahan, chairman of the Governors' Commission on Small Business, Rhode Island, and director of the Smaller Business Men's Association of New England:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 11, 1952.

Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of hundreds of smaller manufacturers in Rhode Island, I respectfully request you use all influence to restore sufficient funds to the small defense plants administration to allow it to operate efficiently. This administration is no duplication of effort. To date with its limited funds it has done more for the little fellow in a few months than any other single or combination of Government agencies since the Korean emergency.

T. A. MONAHAN,
Chairman of Governors Commission
on Small Business and director of
Smaller Business Men's Association
of New England.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. COTTON to the amendment offered by Mr. FOGARTY: Strike out "\$825,000" and insert "\$300,000."

(Mr. COTTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations which handled this item for small defense plants, I am offering this amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island. I offer it to give the House the opportunity to continue until the end of this fiscal year, until next June, the Small Defense Plants Corporation, reasonably equipped, reasonably staffed, and with reasonable expansion so that at that time when we approach the next fiscal year the committee and the House can determine how fast and how far they want this agency to grow. It was indicated in the meeting of the subcommittee that this organization be-

gan to function by the appointment of the head of the organization some time last October; that \$350,000 had been largely spent or obligated; that they wanted \$825,000 more to continue the growth of their agency; to establish regional offices, to establish liaison officers in the various departments, and they also wanted \$10,000,000 for a revolving fund for the purpose of financing and taking Government contracts, and then redistributing them to small business.

It was felt by the majority of the committee, I believe by all of the members of the committee, that in view of the fact that they had only until next June to go, and that there was a question of duplication with some of the other established agencies of the Government, that this was rushing the growth of this agency in a headlong manner. Some of us suggested that we give them a reasonable amount so that they could continue through until June, and then we could determine just how far to go. I assume if this amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island is adopted, giving them the whole \$825,000, that shortly thereafter another amendment will be offered to give them the \$10,000,000 for their revolving fund, and you will immediately launch into a mushroomed growth of this agency. If, on the other hand, you choose to adopt the amendment that I have submitted, they will receive \$300,000, which considering the difficulties of recruitment, will give them ample funds to continue until next June. You will not have destroyed this agency, and the committee and the Congress can have full opportunity to determine where else they should prune in order to prevent duplication, what other departments should be restricted, and just how far and how fast they want this one to grow.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COTTON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. First I want to say that I much prefer the gentleman's amendment to the other one. Secondly, if we give them this \$300,000, in the gentleman's opinion will there be a chance for us to take out of the forthcoming appropriation bill for these other departments appropriations where similar work is provided for, Commerce or whatever those departments are, and throw the whole thing under one head and get it concentrated and do a job of it?

Mr. COTTON. The answer to that is an emphatic affirmative. That is one of the purpose of my amendment. The National Production Authority has a small-business organization. The Defense Department has a small-business organization over in the Munitions Board. As has already been commented, the Department of Commerce has a small-business organization. If we are going to proceed that way, let us proceed in a businesslike way. If we are going to support this agency, let us take away from some of these other agencies. My amendment simply means you do not give them a blank check, carte blanche, to go ahead and build and spend as rapidly as possible between now and next

June, but it does give them enough for a reasonable growth and development of their work, especially considering the difficulties of recruitment.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COTTON. I yield.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Does not the gentleman think it would be far more appropriate for the House to consider this not in an appropriation bill but where we could have full discussion of the problem, rather than bringing it up this way and letting the Appropriations Committee become the legislative body of this House?

Mr. COTTON. I will say to the gentleman that that is one of the purposes of my amendment, in view of the fact that this is a supplemental bill, when they started only last October, and that they are trying to rush ahead as rapidly as possible. My amendment gives the House the opportunity to decide just how far they want to go and to fix our policy as we start the next fiscal year.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COTTON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Knowing that the gentleman has given this matter great study, I should like to have him inform the House how he has reached this arbitrary figure of \$300,000.

Mr. COTTON. I reached the figure of \$300,000 based partly on the fact that they have had \$350,000, of which they have obligated \$270,000, and the \$300,000 more should give them, in my opinion, an ample amount to continue the legitimate growth and development of the agency to next June without cramping them and at the same time without advancing too rapidly. It is an arbitrary figure, based on my best judgment after the hearings. I think it is reasonable.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COTTON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I think the gentleman's amendment is a great improvement over the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island. However, I do not think this amendment should not pass without recognition here in this body of the signal victory the gentleman achieved yesterday in his New Hampshire primaries.

Mr. COTTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from New Hampshire; it would slash the appropriation called for in the Fogarty amendment. I am in support of the Fogarty amendment, because I favor giving small business the help it needs. In the defense effort and in our going economy, free enterprise is the salt of American life. Mr. Chairman, the Fogarty amendment will keep the big fellows on their toes and the little fellows in the game.

That it possibly hurts the pride of the Department of Commerce to see this small business defense agency jump out of Commerce's kangaroo pouch and go on its own, should not matter. Was not

the Federal Reserve Board miffed at the creation of the RFC? Where once we had only the Federal Reserve Board, today we have the Export-Import Bank, the RFC, the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, GI loans, and numerous other credit and lending agencies of the Federal Government to spur American production and consumption to higher levels. Because the Fogarty amendment will sharpen competition and serve to promote greater production, with an equal opportunity to all who are in the game, I am for it.

Likewise, the cost of putting the amendment into operation, the more than \$800,000 called for in the amendment, will more than be saved by the Government. At present, in the Department of Commerce, there are 14 agencies a small-business man might have to contact before negotiating a successful defense order. He can get 14 run-arounds. He is apt to give up after six and hire a 5-percenter, a contact man, whose fee can be reflected in the contract and be paid indirectly by the Government.

Under the Fogarty amendment, the small-business man makes one contact in one place and pays nothing for the contact, the advice, or the order. No run-arounds, no 5 percent, and no padded contact fees paid for by the Government.

Mr. Chairman, there are slightly more than 4,000,000 business concerns in this country. Over 90 percent of them are classified as small business. While we must not allow subversive elements ever to control this great proportion of America's economic life, neither can we allow selfish elements to choke it. Vigilance is needed. I trust the Fogarty amendment will pass.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin asked and received permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Fogarty amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the members of our subcommittee anticipated that this would be controversial. You do not have to be a member of the Committee on Appropriations for long to appreciate that any time you attempt to cut appropriations in order to stop the mushrooming of a Government agency, you are going to get into a controversial position. But I do want you to know that insofar as the membership of that subcommittee, who were present and active, are concerned, there was no controversy. It was a unanimous decision that this mushrooming should be stopped, and this money should be cut down. In the general debate, there was a great deal of time devoted to this particular question, and the whole thing seemed to boil down to this: One group of people support the theory that the only way you can help small business is to create a Government agency, and make more Government money available, and the other group, and I think the sound group, that believes the way to help small business is to cut the Government expendi-

tures and the Government burdens, and take Government off the back of small business. That was the way the gentleman from Virginia put it, and I think he put it well. Also, in the general debate, there was considerable discussion about Mr. Taylor who has been appointed as Administrator. His qualifications probably are not the real issue, but certainly we have heard enough here to question the statement which was made that a better man could not be found to do the job. Look at the hearings in which the chairman of the committee asked Mr. Taylor about his background. That background showed he may be a very competent Government lawyer, but it does not show any great broad experience in the field of small business which would justify the statements that a better man could not be found to do this job.

When this proposition was originally presented to the committee last year, the committee denied any funds. Then it went to the other body, and finally \$350,000 was appropriated. But, now comes this supplemental request for \$325,000 to provide, not for keeping this agency at its level until the end of the year, but to provide for a great mushrooming and great expansion during the course of this fiscal year. I think that is an issue which ought to be resolved at a later date. Certainly, we ought to cut it now so as to prevent this great mushrooming. Perhaps there is a basis for it, but we ought not to permit that in the face of great increases in expenditures at this time. They have something over 100 people.

This money they are asking for, if granted under the Fogarty amendment, would permit them to greatly expand the level of their personnel; a group of personnel, by the way, which has the highest average compensation of any emergency agencies of the Government at the present time. It looks to me as if permitting this agency to expand in accordance with its own program and in accordance with the program of the amendment of the gentleman from Rhode Island would make duplication in agencies of Government, which have been established to help small business. They have plans for establishing regional offices in all of the 13 regions of the country. They want to put a man or a staff in every field office of the Department of Commerce. They want to have a man sitting at the elbow of the men in the RFC who handle the loans; somebody looking over their shoulders. Certainly we do not want any more people watching other people in this particular area of Government at the present time.

In their plans for getting consideration for small business for Government contracts, they completely overlooked the fact that we have had a successful program of this kind in the National Production Authority.

In their programs for loans, in response to a question by the chairman of the committee, they acknowledged that they have no authority to make decisions. All they could do would be to recommend. Then it would be up to the RFC to make a decision on the grounds of security and credit and the other

things that have to be taken into consideration. In the field of claims agency, which they plan, there again it was acknowledged that all they could do would be to act as an intermediary; somebody in addition to the other people who are doing that same kind of work. They said in response to a question that they are coordinating.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. The testimony shows that they are a coordinating rather than an operating agency. It leads one to ask the question, What will they do if they are permitted to expand in the manner that they contemplate expanding?

We asked them, "What do you do if these Government agencies will not give these Government contracts to small business?"

The answer to that was, "Well, then we come and complain to Congress. Then we put a statement about it in our report that you told us we have to make every 90 days."

If that is all they can do about it, what in the world have we got the standing Committee on Small Business of the House for? What have we got this Committee on Small Business in the Senate for? Can they not do just as good a job of complaining to Congress as some group of paid hirelings in the executive department?

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. I think the gentleman from Wisconsin knows that the money originally given to this establishment was for planning and programing, and that is all. It was to develop plans. I read every word of the testimony, and it was testified that they did have a higher rate of personnel, but they have no clerical help to speak of. They had to get the top personnel in order to develop the plans, and that is the reason the average is higher than these other average departmental agencies. But on the question of expanding the program, I agree with the gentleman. The record shows that during the past war these existing agencies of Government absolutely refused to cooperate with small business, and it was not until the Congress established the Smaller War Plants Corporation that they came in and helped. That is the reason why Congress established this agency last year, and that is the only reason. Not because of the expanding program. I would be in favor of cutting this out entirely if we could force the military to channel the stuff down into the smaller defense plants.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have two additional minutes. I used up a lot of his time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOGARTY. I agree with you that we should do that if we could, but the last war showed that we could not do it until we gave them the authority. I know they do not have the authority. I know the RFC has to go over their recommendations, but the RFC cannot issue a loan unless they recommend it. We provided that in a statute.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. That is in a statute which will expire on the 30th of June, but my contention is that we ought not accept the amount of money involved in your amendment, because by so doing we are giving this group a vested interest in the mushrooming of their personnel, where they do not have that foothold in the door at the present time, and I do not want them to get that foothold until we review this at the end of the fiscal year.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. The testimony before the Small Business Committee indicated one thing in particular, and that is that the small-business men of this country wanted one place where they could go and present their story and have some action taken. That is exactly the function of this agency, to be a coordinator. I agree with the gentleman from Michigan who said earlier that as we increase the Small Defense Plants Administration we should be able to decrease other agencies. I am willing to go along on that basis.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman believe that if the only thing this agency can do is complain, if small business does not get the business this agency thinks it ought to get, that we ought to have an agency to do that? They could come before the gentleman's committee and do that; the gentleman is a Member of Congress and can do a better job of complaining to his colleagues than this group down here can.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Can this group not plan and coordinate?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. If my friend will again read the testimony, he will see that such planing and coordinating as are contemplated will not justify the mushrooming agency involved in this amendment. The Cotton amendment, if adopted, will hold the agency at its present level.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Cotton amendment and in favor of the Fogarty amendment and ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, it is perfectly clear to me now that this Congress is not going to kill this agency. I do not think this Congress is going to cripple it. I think I know, too, when I observe a retreat. Yesterday this subcommittee was for striking out all of the funds of this agency; today one of its members proposes that they be given 50 percent of the funds held to be necessary by the agency itself.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a brief question?

Mr. CANFIELD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. I made it clear that I was for this in the committee. This is not 50 percent; this is merely an amendment to save the agency without sending it ahead too fast; and that was my position in the committee.

Mr. CANFIELD. Am I mistaken in thinking that the committee stood 7 to 0 for absolutely eliminating the funds?

Mr. COTTON. But the gentleman, a member of the committee, knows that a member can make a reservation of an amendment he intends to offer on the floor.

Mr. CANFIELD. I am glad to hear that my good and able friend from New Hampshire made that reservation and that he is standing up today for small business, even though not in the amount that I think this agency ought to have.

I am a subscriber to Business Week. Business Week is a pretty good business magazine; its editors, and ownership, are not red, pink, or leftists in any way. I want to read an article that appeared in Business Week on February 16, 1952. It says in part:

Telford Taylor, the small-business man's champion in government, has leveled his lance at one of the toughest targets in Washington: the Pentagon, citadel of the military's top brass.

Taylor is determined to pry from the generals and admirals a real voice for his Small Defense Plants Administration in giving little companies their fair share of arms contracts. Taylor wants his representatives to sit with the services' contracting officers and screen every order. That plan has the brass gasping.

Betting in Government circles is that Taylor will have to fight for anything he gets.

And the odds are equally heavy that he won't win any such scrap with the Pentagon—not in a hurry, anyhow. Washington has had small-business crusaders many times before; few have accomplished much.

But Taylor already has pricked one of Washington's tougher bureaucratic hides, that of Commerce Secretary Charles Sawyer. Sawyer has been fighting SDPA ever since it was a mere gleam in the eye of congressional small-business committeemen. He argued that it would simply duplicate work already being done by the Commerce Department's National Production Authority. Last week—at Taylor's behest—President Truman ordered the transfer of most of the staff and functions of NPA's small-business office to SDPA.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANFIELD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS. Does not the gentleman admit that the difficulty which the Small Defense Plants Administration has encountered is due to the fact that it was made an arm of Congress rather than being turned over to the Department of Commerce?

Mr. CANFIELD. That is true. Far from simply duplicating work that is already being done, some time ago at President Truman's behest most of the staff and functions of the Small Business Office were transferred to SDPA.

Now, who is Telford Taylor? We have heard about him in many innuendos here today. I have never met him. I am told Taylor is a native of Schenectady, where he was born 44 years ago next February. His father was an engineer for General Electric. Taylor was educated at Williams College and took his law degree at Harvard in 1932. His first job was as private secretary to the revered judge of the New York Federal circuit court, Augustus Hand.

From 1935-39, Taylor was associate counsel of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee and ran its New York office. The chairman of that committee was Burton Wheeler, of Montana.

Taylor first moved to Washington in 1939 when he became special assistant to Attorney General Robert Jackson. The latter, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, swore Taylor into his present post, a few weeks ago.

From the Justice Department Taylor moved to the FCC and then into military intelligence when war came. In 1945, when Jackson became chief prosecutor of the Nuremberg war crimes trials, he chose Taylor as his top assistant.

Mrs. Taylor, the daughter of American missionaries, grew up in Shanghai.

He is always hatless, wears badly battered shoes, and an old Army raincoat.

Taylor carries this indifference to rank into his official activities, while other officials of the Federal bureaucracy ride around in Government-owned Cadillacs and Buicks, Taylor has ordered for his agency a 1947 Ford costing \$400.

As chief of the Small Defense Plants Administration, Taylor is what might be called the poor man's 5 percenter, but he does not look upon himself as running a relief agency for small business.

Our purpose is to strengthen and speed up the defense program by putting all the resources of small business to work for the country, not to use the defense effort to bail out small business.

In the few weeks he has been in office, Taylor and SDPA have already begun to have an impact on defense procurement. In the months ahead, the impact is certain to increase.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANFIELD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. I think that during the course of this debate some effort has been made to smear Mr. Taylor.

Mr. CANFIELD. That is true.

Mr. COOLEY. While I do not know the gentleman personally, I would like to ask if it is not a fact that during the time he was participating in the Nuremberg trials Russia did not have judges

conducting the trials and were actually participating at that time in the trials?

Mr. CANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Taylor had no right to fire any of those attorneys that had been assigned there by Russia?

Mr. CANFIELD. That is right.

Mr. COOLEY. Nor to dismiss any of the judges before whom he was required to appear. So it seems to me they have made a very laborious effort to slander, besmirch and smear a man who was there doing what he conceived to be an honest duty.

Mr. CANFIELD. And who today wears the Distinguished Service Cross for bravery in action.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, if there were a way to help small business by voting for this appropriation or for the amount that the gentleman from New Hampshire has suggested, I would do so, but I am afraid there is not.

Mr. Taylor, the head of this outfit, was before the committee, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] started the ball rolling when he asked Mr. Taylor, and this appears on page 456 of the hearings:

Will you give us a summary of your background?

I do not know how many Members were here and heard what the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO] said while I had the floor earlier today. But Mr. Taylor was a prosecutor at Nuremberg succeeding Justice Jackson. He had on his staff Josiah Dubois, a notorious left-winger, and Belle Mayer, another one, and their performances were such that they drew down upon the United States prosecuting counsel and themselves the wrath of the judge, a gentleman from Iowa, who was presiding.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. Well, it is a fact that Nuremberg was an international court. Is the gentleman suggesting that Mr. Taylor employed and hired these men and gave them their assignments?

Mr. TABER. They were a part of his staff.

Mr. COOLEY. Yes, and there were Russian judges sitting on the court, too.

Mr. TABER. Yes; there were; but he would not have somebody on his staff that he did not employ. Would the gentleman have somebody in his office that he did not have control over? Not for 1 minute; he would not. Now, do not try and apologize for Mr. Taylor in that way.

Mr. COOLEY. I am not apologizing.

Mr. TABER. That makes matters worse; that is all. But we have got to have a man in charge of that organization whose first loyalty is to the United States, if he is going to get anywhere.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. I note that Belle Mayer, at the time she was on the staff of the Kilgore committee, was praised by the Communist press, and it was said that the staff was hewing to the Communist Party line. That is the type of person Mr. Taylor had on his staff at the time of the Nuremberg trials.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman knows that Mr. Taylor did not employ that person and did not pay that person.

Mr. DONDERO. In addition to that, even the Red Star, the newspaper of the Russian Army, had much to say in eulogizing both Dubois and Belle Mayer. You can depend on it that if they were loyal Americans they would not eulogize them.

Mr. TABER. Let us get down a little further into the meat of this question. Then, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], tried to find out what this thing was all about and what they were doing. They had 129 on the payroll. In the 4 months that he had been operating he said they had recommended about 29 loans to the RFC, and the RFC had passed on 6. He did not even say that they had allowed a single one. I do not know. Is that a great record of accomplishment in 4 months? One good man would have done better at working out something that really might have been of some use.

Now, I cannot go along with that. It was absolutely impossible to find out if there was any definite program, if there was anything that would do any good for small business. Frankly, my experience with this former small-business corporation was not as good as those that some others have talked about.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Going directly to the testimony on page 458, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Chairman, asked Mr. Taylor this question:

You have not yet been able to get your program under way at this time?

Mr. TAYLOR. We have the loan program under way, Mr. Chairman.

Was he referring there to the loans made by the RFC, may I ask?

Mr. TABER. Yes, he was.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then the RFC was doing the job?

Mr. TABER. The RFC was doing the job, yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Now, continuing, Mr. Taylor said:

We have some of the matériels program under way in the set-up of this reserve pool.

What did he mean by "reserve pool"?

Mr. TABER. I do not know.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then he said this:

I guess it would be fair to say in the field of procurement it is mostly a matter of programs and proposals. To put those into

effect, we have to reach agreement with the Defense Department representatives.

How can this agency get any steel for the little businessman in my district unless he has the cooperation and agreement with the Defense Department? That is the job on this thing. And I have not yet been able to get any satisfaction out of this department or the one in World War II for a single firm in the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan.

Mr. TABER. That is one of the troubles with this whole situation, and that is one of the reasons why we should not embark upon this kind of a set-up.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. I think I stated before that the RFC has no authority under the statute as it exists today to make loans to these small businesses unless it is recommended by the Small Defense Plants Administration. They have to recommend it to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to get a loan. That is how it stands today.

I know what the work pool is that he talked about. That was established in the last World War, where several small business concerns would band together to take a prime contract where one could not do the work. Eight or ten might get together and take a prime contract and distribute the work.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York be permitted to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. I want to say two or three things more, not very much.

They had 129 persons on the roll when they were up here, according to the papers they brought up. If we adopt this amendment and give them \$825,000, even with their average payroll of a little over \$7,000 a year, which is about \$600 a month, that will let them build up a force of 450 or 500 people. That is perfectly and absolutely ridiculous.

Frankly, if they were going to be given anything under any circumstances, which I think is bad, the \$300,000 the gentleman from New Hampshire has proposed is a very liberal figure. They do not need it. They should not be allowed any \$10,000,000 to go into taking contracts and peddling them around, because I do not believe there is anybody connected with that set-up, including Mr. Taylor himself, who is competent to make any such arrangements or to do anything of that character. I do not believe he has the business experience. He has no positive, definite program. It was impossible for the committee to get anything out of him.

On the other hand, there is an agency in the Department of Commerce which is doing a great job of the things this outfit is supposed to do. The Defense Department all the way through it, the

Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, have set up agencies where they have from 50 to 60 or 70 men in each set-up that has the job of seeing that small business gets every opportunity. One big corporation that has \$500,000,000 of contracts in a year sublet to small business better than half of it. That would be the way it would work out if you would give them a chance.

Let us not be fooled, let us not do something that is going to leave us high and dry and leave us out where we are not going to be able to get any results for small business, because if you get started and go ahead with this kind of deal you will not have anything for small business. The way to get it is to make our regular departments do their work.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, we have debated this amendment exhaustively for 2 hours. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment and all amendments thereto close in 50 minutes, the last 7 minutes to be allotted to the committee.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I object, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard. Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer a preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HAYS of Ohio moves that the Committee do now rise, and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I make this motion for the purpose of asking unanimous consent later to withdraw it, so that I could get some time which I have been trying to do for about an hour to say a few words about this bill.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that under the gentleman's statement he is not entitled to recognition if his motion is merely made for purposes of delay.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, the point of order of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] is well taken. This motion should not be used as a subterfuge to secure time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized and will proceed in order.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I would not want to do anything that anyone else never did here.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, that is the reason why the gentleman should not continue.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I agree with the gentleman from Missouri as I usually do except in this instance.

Mr. Chairman, I have been a little concerned about the attack made on the chairman of this small-business group downtown. I do not know the gentleman, and I would not know him if he came in the door, but it seems to me a rather back-handed, nasty way to try to defeat a measure to attack a man like that. Why use unjustified character assassination. I suppose if you carried this thing out to its logical conclusion, you could say that because of the fact the Committee on Un-American Activities had been holding hearings in

the city of Detroit, and it was brought out that there were numerous Communists uncovered in the district of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO], and he representing that district in the House, then he is a Communist. Understand, I do not say that, and I do not like that kind of tactic, but if you want to carry this thing out to a logical conclusion, you could draw deductions like that.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am very glad to hear the gentleman speak the way he does. The gentleman is speaking about Mr. Taylor who happens to come from my district, and he is no more un-American than you or I.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word about this Small Defense Plants Administration. I judge things by their accomplishments. I have had two small business firms from my district that have been around in Washington for several months trying to get a hearing first from one organization and then the other. The only place they could get anyone to listen to their troubles was down at this Small Defense Plants Administration. They not only listened to them, they solved their problem and it was done expeditiously. I do not know if they have a full staff or not, but I do know that with the staff they have they are doing some good, and that is more than you can say about the Department of Commerce, and I am sorry to have to say that. I would like to see anyone who has had a small business from their district, or from any place else who has received any aid from the Department of Commerce. I do not want to get into personalities. The Secretary of Commerce is from my State. He is a man I have known for a long time. Probably it is not his fault, but the fact remains that the Department of Commerce is not doing anything for the small-business men who are the backbone of our American economy.

This is a good time to put first things first.

In these days of astronomical national budgets, economy is very much desired, and I am for it but I insist the place not to start is with the prostrate form of the American small-business man, while we hand out billions to improve things along the Nile.

The thing that enables America to bring help to our friends abroad is our dynamic American economy, and the foundation of that is our free enterprise system which has its first healthy beginnings in the small-business man. Let us neglect him, hamper him or penalize him and we pull down the whole structure and invite the success of communism.

Mr. Chairman, the small-business man and his welfare are the keys to our whole system of national prosperity and international strength, and if we give him as a hostage to fortune then we are gambling dangerously with America's safety and destiny.

Another thing I would like to get straight and that is this talk of duplication: the charge has been made in the eliminating of this total appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration that it is duplicating functions of other Government agencies. On the contrary, I insist the SDPA is the eliminator of duplication. It was set up for this very purpose. This agency was established only after this Congress had taken a long, hard look at the problems of the small-business man; it was established only after this Congress had learned from committee hearings in all parts of the country that small business was being fed large doses of lip-service, that the program of small-business aid was being carried on helter-skelter in various governmental agencies.

It was on the basis of its own findings that Congress then said: "We will put an end to this confusion; we will endeavor to assist the small-business man; not torment him; we will put the responsibility and focus for aid in one place, we will centralize the task"; and that is how the Small Defense Plants Administration came into being.

To arise now at this late date, in view of all that has happened and say the SDPA is a duplication of other governmental services to small business is only to scourge the record. Congress created this Agency, gave it certain specific, definite tasks; and I, for one, can say that I know for a certainty it is performing with efficiency and has won the confidence and respect of the small-business man.

If there are those who are persuaded there are duplicating functions going on in the name of small business then the thing for them to do is not to advocate the liquidation of SDPA but rather let them apply their talents to strengthening this young champion of small business so that it can expand and extend its already helpful program.

With the true instinct of those struggling for survival, businessmen throughout America have acclaimed the SDPA as their true spokesman in this emergency economy. Like an infant knows its mother by blessed instinct so do the small-business men of this country recognize the SDPA as their champion. They have been helped by it; they have been received with sympathy and aided with enthusiasm. In the scramble for financial aid and scarce materials and a fair share of defense contracts, considerations essential for the survival of small business, the people who have sought out SDPA have been given expert counsel and practical aid.

It would be a legislative blunder of the first magnitude, one fraught with grave consequences, if this Congress were to deal a death blow to the Small Defense Plants Administration, for the first victims would be the struggling small-business men of the Nation who are striving so valiantly to keep alive in these trying days of partial mobilization.

So much good can be accomplished with so little in this appropriation that I am amazed that there should be any serious thought of its denial.

In this critical year of 1952, let us send out word to the small-business men of America that we are going to stand by him and place at his disposal every constructive aid his Government can provide.

Small business is the first line of national defense—let us not only save it but strengthen it. Let us adopt the Fogarty amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the motion.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the motion.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I object, and I rise in opposition to the motion.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York, a member of the committee is recognized in opposition to the motion.

Mr. ROONEY. No. I do not rise in opposition to the motion.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think I was first to rise in opposition to the motion.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized in opposition to the motion.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for taking more time than I should on this matter, but one or two questions have been discussed that I think should be answered. One is that we have 14 agencies now to represent small concerns. That is the best reason for the enactment of this legislation, to make it possible to have one agency under one roof, where you can tell your constituents to go to that agency under that one roof and get everything that he wants, if it is possible to grant it. He can put his problems in the lap of the Small Defense Plants Administration representative, and he stops there. If there is any running around to be done, it will be done by the representative of the Small Defense Plants Administration. Now he has 14 agencies to go to, and that is really giving a man a royal runaround. We want to stop that.

This is an economy measure. When we set up this overall agency and stop this runaround for the small-business man, we can save money by eliminating many of the other agencies. That is the object of it. You will save more money that way than you will spend on this proposition. This is an economy measure. I am telling you, and it should have the support of this Congress, just as it had before.

I do not believe we can justify promising the small-business people of this country less than 6 months ago that they would have this agency where they could go to one place under one roof and get service, and then now, in less than 6 months, take it away from them. Is this Congress going to be an Indian-giver? Give it to them and then take it away?

It will be in the interest of economy; it will be in the interest of the defense

effort; it will save a lot of money to the Government, and will bring real service to the small-business people of this country. I hope the whole amount is granted.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. One of the most telling effects on this measure is the fact that in 1942 only 12 percent of the contracts were going to small business, but when they got into operation it got up to 30 percent. Under the figures from the Munitions Board today, in 1950 25 percent of the defense contracts were going to small business, and in 1951 it went down to 20 percent, and now it is down to 19. Unless we do this it will keep right on going down.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know of anything that a Member of this House could be more proud of then to go back to his constituents and say, "I voted for one agency where the small-business man can go, one stop, under one roof." He would not have to go to 14 different agencies as heretofore, and then get nothing. This is an agency that has the power to grant relief.

I hope the Members of this House will vote for the \$825,000, and not vote for a reduction of it.

The CHAIRMAN. All time on the pending motion has expired.

The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The motion was rejected.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have been close to small business all my life and fully realize its importance to our national economy. For the past 85 years my grandfather, my father, and now my brothers have been engaged in a small retail business in the district in Brooklyn which I have the honor to represent. I want to do the right thing to help small defense plants. I was a cosponsor of the legislation which set up the Small Defense Plants Administration. Recently when hearings were had before our committee with regard to this requested appropriation, at the time of the markup of this bill and when it was before our full committee, I had leave of absence because I could not be here in Washington due to certain personal circumstances at home. As chairman of the appropriations subcommittee which handles appropriations for the Department of Commerce, I feel that it is my duty and responsibility to advise you exactly what the position of the Department of Commerce is with regard to this requested appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration.

First, concerning the \$350,000, already appropriated, they say, "This money has gone down the drain with nothing to show for it." The Department claims that far-flung plans have been made by SDPA for setting up 14 regional offices which will duplicate offices already set up and in operation by the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce, and the Defense Mobilization Agencies; that each of the regional directors is to

receive a salary of \$10,800; and that in addition there will be 14 deputy directors at a salary of \$9,600 and 70 specialists in the field also at a salary of \$9,600.

They point out that there has existed for many years in the Department of Commerce a small-business advisory committee which has recommended strongly against new agencies and duplication of functions; that this committee is meeting next week in the city of Washington for 3 days; that every member of this committee pays his own expenses and that the committee meetings held by SDPA have had their expenses paid by the SDPA.

They claim that the Commerce Department, after many months of effort—including continued consultation with other agencies—has prepared and has issued a procurement manual. This is alleged to be an exhaustive study to provide methods and information in connection with procurement and the claim is made that it does not require the assistance of any new agency. The Commerce Department says that further activity in this regard would constitute pure and simple duplication.

The NPA in the Department of Commerce and the General Services Administration and the Military Establishment have within the last 4 months set up clinics all over the country to which were invited 2,500 businesses. This list of firms was based upon the probable effect of certain curtailment of use of critical materials. This is an example of action, says the Department of Commerce, as contrasted with talk. They advise that this action constituted the first step in the direction of planned procurement, which has been the desire of the Congress in assisting the small business effort; that when this suggestion was brought to the attention of Mr. Taylor he objected to the clinics because they did not include approximately 12,000 additional firms, regardless of the amount of materials which had been allocated to them. The Commerce Department says that the result of these clinics showed that in many cases firms were already fully occupied with Government contracts, that in many other cases it was impossible for them to take Government contracts, and in cases where they needed Government contracts and had facilities to perform them—approximately 70 percent of those who attended the meetings—arrangements were made promptly for them to negotiate for Government business, both prime and sub-contracts.

The Department points out that 3 weeks ago telegrams were sent to 11,000 manufacturers by NPA in an effort to find out the effect of the allotment of steel, copper, and aluminum upon their third-quarter operations; that as a result of this survey and other data available to the Department of Commerce, a policy adopted early in November was expanded to give additional materials to small firms in trouble; and that a Small Business Hardship Account has been set up within NPA and administered by its Office of Small Business to provide additional materials to small manufacturers faced with operating hardships

resulting from the initial amounts of material allotted to them.

The Department of Commerce contends that the new agency has leaned heavily upon the Department for personnel experienced in small-business matters and that they leave not tried to obstruct its activities; on the contrary, they say they have tried to assist them. The Department offered to transfer, and finally received word from the Administrator of SDPA that he would accept, nine employees who had been experienced in assisting small firms in obtaining defense contracts as an activity of NPA. These employees have been working for SDPA since November 19, 1951, but they have been paid by the Commerce Department. At the request of the Administrator of SDPA, four personnel technicians of the Department of Commerce were loaned to him for the purpose of helping organize his personnel office and to assist in performing the personnel functions of this temporary organization. Three of these employees are still working in SDPA and are being paid by the Commerce Department.

(Mr. RABAUT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, on July 20, 1951, my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] was able to place in this RECORD a list of 261 Members of this House, 60 percent of its membership, all of whom favored the establishment of a Small Defense Plants Administration through his proposed amendment to the Defense Production Act.

I am pleased to recall that my name was included on that list and I do not propose to reverse myself at this point and kill this agency by cutting out its rightful request for funds. Last year this Congress went overwhelmingly on record in favor of an independent agency whose function it would be, not merely to protect the interests of the thousands of small business concerns in the country, but also, and more importantly, to safeguard the long-term economic welfare of the Nation by preserving the potent productive strength of our small manufacturing establishments.

I pointed out in a press release on this subject last year, that reliance on large corporate enterprise in the early years of World War II forced the closing of one-sixth of the small businesses in the Nation. The reason for the truly deplorable situation was that there was no independent agency specifically charged with effecting the distribution of Government procurement contracts so as to draw the full measure of our economic strength and to preserve the free, competitive productive units which are the foundation of our national economic vitality.

We rectified that blunder by setting up the Small War Plants Corporation. To avoid the same blunder in this present mobilization effort, the Congress gave strong support to the establishment of SDPA. It is now proposed that we re-

verse our field in one of the most stupendous feats of backtracking ever asked of this body.

The reason? We are told that no need for the administration's activities are needed and that its functions duplicate those of other agencies of the Government.

Our procurement experiences in World War II should be proof enough that without such an agency as this, small business faces a grossly unequal fight for survival. They cannot afford the lush offices running over with contact men maintained in Washington by the powerful corporations. They cannot bargain over the allocation of materials like General Motors or du Pont. The staggering size of Government procurement activities makes it practically impossible for a small manufacturer—whose capital assets are usually a small building, a few milling machines and lathes—to find where he can fit into his rightful place in the picture. So there is a definite, established need for such an agency. Kill it and you must shoulder the responsibility for the extinction of small individual enterprise which can so easily result.

General Taylor, the head of SDPA, who has only been in office since the middle of last October, told the Appropriations Committee that the functions of the Office of Small Business in NPA were transferred, by Executive order, to his administration, and that there remained only the relatively minor small-business activities of the Munitions Board and the three military departments.

But the real solution to such problems of duplication as still exist is not to kill this agency. It is this office which Congress established to carry out its announced policy of encouraging small business to make the greatest possible contribution toward achieving the objectives of the Defense Production Act. Congress has recognized the need for an independent agency to meet the requirements of such a policy, an agency manned by personnel who do not have to answer to some higher procurement official who must find, in many cases, the quickest and easiest way to solve his procurement problems. SDPA is answerable to no one but Congress, for it is the policy of Congress which the agency was commissioned to carry out.

I ask you to be consistent and follow out in full detail the excellent plan laid down in the Defense Production Act of 1951. Let us have no reversals of field and no backtracking. The contest for the preservation of a sound and stable national economy is no place for legislative broken-field running.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FOGARTY) there were—ayes 128, noes 19.

So the motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL].

(Mr. HILL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I have been waiting all afternoon to say something, but there were so many members of the committee who wanted to speak, that I did not have a chance. That is all right with me, but I would just like to say a few words on the Fogarty amendment. I cannot see any reason in the world, when we are going along the way we are, why that is really and truly not economy. We set this agency up, and do you know that the director was not appointed until October 19? How can you expect a man to set up an organization across these United States in that short length of time? He has done a good job in spite of all the talk against him to the contrary, because as a member of the Small Business Committee, I happen to know some of the work he has done.

When this Small Business Committee was set up by this Congress, there were three things we were told to do. Small business was to get a fair share of the defense contracts. It has not been getting them; it is not getting them today. Secondly, they should receive a fair share of the critical materials. It has not been getting them. Now we are beginning to get them in my district, as far as we are away from the center of the United States, the Capitol here in Washington. Third, small business was to get financial assistance. That has been started, and is on its way, and it has nothing to do with RFC loans either. It is combining the small-business organizations in the local community into a solid group, or even corporations. They can go out and put their bids in in one name and be accepted as a bidder under the procurement agencies of the various organizations.

One other thing I would like to say, it is one thing to talk about getting contracts for the folks at home when you live down in Richmond, Va., but it is quite another thing if you live out in Colorado or out on the West coast, and if you do not think that is true, you try to help your folks and you will find out.

ECONOMY

Mr. Chairman, I have consistently been a firm advocate of economy in governmental expenditures and I feel that the tremendous budget presented to us for the coming year makes economy the scales on which we should weigh all-out actions in this body.

There are, however, several kinds of "economy"; one valid and legitimate, the other wholly false. In the case at issue here, I feel that it would be truly uneconomic to put an end to the Small Defense Plants Administration by cutting off its funds. Not only does the SDPA incorporate economies resulting from putting an end to duplications and overlapping, but it also brings a firm promise of other real economies.

I speak, Mr. Chairman, of economies which will result from a fuller utilization of the small manufacturers of the Nation in our defense effort. We are all aware of the vast expenditures of funds

by the military departments for war goods, many of which could be procured more cheaply from those smaller producers who are not yet integrated in the defense effort.

Further economies would result by cutting the amount of direct and indirect subsidies now being paid to large corporations for expanding their operations to fill military requirements when idle plant capacity exists among the smaller concerns of the Nation. The SDPA is directed to bring these forgotten firms into full production.

More economies will result from the operations of the Small Defense Plants Administration in channeling defense orders and scarce materials to smaller producers who are now forced to turn much of their work force over to the relief rolls of their communities. Such unemployment is certainly uneconomic in these days when every man and every square foot of plant space should be a weapon in our arsenal against the Communist threat.

For these reasons and many others, Mr. Chairman, I feel that we would not be fostering the cause of economy by ending the operations of the Small Defense Plants Administration. The direct and indirect costs and ramifications of such action would be manyfold the amount we would hope to save.

SDPA APPROPRIATION

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] mentioned small business in and around Richmond. Efforts were made at the beginning of this legislation to make mandatory the transfer of all other small-business offices and functions to the new centralized SDPA. We now see the great wisdom of this suggestion.

Under the pleas of several Cabinet heads, the transfer was made permissive to take care of a few specialists to maintain liaison. It was a great mistake to make the language permissive. It is not necessary to name the men who are fighting SDPA in order to retain their own empire. These men are hanging on to their own ineffective small-business offices. And the House Appropriations Committee now uses these illicit small-business operations as an excuse for liquidating the new Small Defense Plants Administration. If we pass this appropriation, I think it might be a good plan for Congress to take early action to insure that the appropriations of such other Departments as Commerce be cut by an amount equal to the SDPA appropriation. We do not need to stand for this wasteful duplication. Congress made very clear last year that it wanted SDPA to be the single agency to handle small-business problems in the Government. We should not permit other Government agencies to pad their payrolls with so-called small-business offices and then make the plea to Congress that they are prepared to carry out the work of the Small Defense Plants Administration. They have not done a job in the past; they will not in the future. Let us give the Small-Defense Plants Administration the money it needs and cut out the wasteful duplication of small-

business appropriations for seven or eight other Government departments.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY].

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is unfortunate that in the course of this debate Members have become so intemperate in the presentation of arguments that they have, without cause or justification, in subtle fashion, attempted to smear and to besmirch the good name and reputation of a public official who has only recently been appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The insinuations, innuendos, and implications of some of the remarks concerning Mr. Telford Taylor are utterly ridiculous. I am certain that most of you know something about the Nuremberg trials. I hold no brief for either the Nuremberg trials nor the Tokyo trials. In fact, I am afraid that they will some day rise up to haunt us. While I do not even know Mr. Telford Taylor, I did make inquiries concerning him before he was ever appointed, and upon the information which I have received I am convinced that he is a true, patriotic, and loyal American citizen and is devoted to the traditions and principles of our Government. We all know that the Nuremberg trials were conducted in an international court. Citizens of Russia participated in those very important trials. Russia was then considered a loyal ally, and representatives of our Government associated with Russians freely and without fear of some day being slandered and maligned because of such associations. We sent our representatives to Nuremberg and to Tokyo, knowing that citizens of Russia would meet them at both places. In the preparation and presentation of cases certainly it was necessary, and at that time considered advisable, that our representatives be associated with and work with the representatives of Russia and other countries. To accuse by innuendo or in other subtle fashion a citizen of this country of being a Communist or fellow traveler is a grave and important matter. All I ask you to do is to look at the record of Telford Taylor and reach your own conclusions concerning his loyalty, his ability, and his worthiness. I remind you, however, that Telford Taylor is not here on trial.

Now coming to the matter actually before us: My recollection is that this House, and perhaps both Houses, unanimously approved and authorized the creation of this agency of our Government, the Small Defense Plants Administration. Now, before the agency actually starts to really function, it is suggested by this committee that it should be put out of business and discontinued.

I believe that Mr. Taylor and his associates have been rendering good service. I believe that this agency of the Government has already been of great assistance to the small-business men of the country. I believe that the money which has heretofore been appropriated for the agency has been well and wisely spent and that the appropriations now proposed will be a good investment in the future welfare of the Nation.

Another ridiculous suggestion has been made to the effect that all the duties and functions which might be performed by the Small Defense Plants Administration could be very well performed by the Small Business Committee of the House. What could be more absurd? The Small Business Committee is composed of busy Congressmen who, of necessity, must give their time and attention to myriad and a multiplicity of duties, obligations, and responsibilities. The members of that committee have not the time to devote to the hundreds of applications for materials and loans which will be filed by the small-business men of the Nation, asking help at the hands of the Government and anxious to contribute to the defense of our country. If you are for small business, now is the time to stand up and be counted. Kill this agency and see what happens to the small-business men of America. The small-business men of the country do not want lip service. They want a fair share of critical materials, financial assistance, and defense contracts. If this agency is defeated, where will you go and where will I go to aid the small-business men of our districts who want to participate in our great program for the defense of the Nation. This is an agency to which our contribution may be directed—yes, an agency which we will have every right to expect will render services to those who are in need of advice and assistance. Do not forget, this agency, if given the necessary money and manpower, can lift a great burden off the offices of every Member of this Congress. I urge the adoption of the Fogarty amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the debate here this afternoon with respect to trying to help small business. I want to go on record as heartily endorsing the Fogarty amendment.

I happen to come from one of the most highly distressed areas in the country, in the anthracite-coal region, in which we have more unemployment than perhaps in any other section of the country. I have heard a lot here this afternoon about the Department of Commerce helping small business. I have heard a lot here about the Reconstruction Finance Corporation helping small business. I have heard a lot about the Defense Department helping small business. In my years of experience here, certainly in the past year or so, I have almost gotten down on my knees to try to help small business in my area by going to the heads of these various Departments. So I am heartily in favor of this Small Defense Plants Administration proposition.

Mr. Chairman, I am strongly opposed to any action which will deny an appropriation to the Small Defense Plants Administration.

How is such a contemplated death sentence to be explained?

In its report, the Appropriations Committee seeks to base its reason for cut-

ting off the Small Defense Plants Administration without a cent on the ground that it duplicates the activities of other agencies. If that is so, and I seriously question the premise, it is certainly contrary to the wishes of Congress. By its vote on the legislation only last July, and in the discussions preceding the vote, the House left little doubt that its primary interest in establishing a single independent agency to aid small business was to put an end to duplicate effort on the part of various other departments and bureaus which had been generally ineffective in their attempts to develop aggressive programs in behalf of small-business men.

Not to recognize this is to fail to understand the basic fact of the problem of aid to small enterprises.

Surely the House is aware that one important function of the Small Defense Plants Administration is to stimulate various executive departments so that they will bestir themselves and do more within their respective jurisdictions for small business that experience has shown they had been doing before the advent of a small-business agency. If this be duplication, then I am perfectly willing to let the Nation's small-business men make the most of it. They need all the help they can get.

The Department of Defense, the Department of Commerce, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have been proclaiming in loud tones of how much they are doing for small business. Is any Member so naive as not to see a direct causal relationship between this recent flurry of small-business activity and the entrance upon the scene of the Small Defense Plants Administration?

I can think of no better way for the House to open itself to the charge of insincerity, hurled by the small-business community of the Nation, than for it to reverse the position taken by it last July when legislation creating the Small Defense Plants Administration was passed without a dissenting vote.

If that action was right, and there is no doubt in my mind but that it was, then agreement with the present position taken by the Appropriations Committee cannot be anything but wrong.

(Mr. FENTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. SHELLEY].

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Fogarty amendment.

It has already been said by one of those who preceded me on the floor that it is one matter to come to Washington from a district closely adjacent to Washington to take care of the small business interests in your area. The one in that position is fortunate and can probably get some results. However, I come from the Pacific coast, approximately 3,000 miles away from this area. We on the Pacific coast certainly support the idea of a Small Defense Plants Administration. In the early part of World War II we saw our small businesses pushed up against the wall and put out of business.

This is a combination of several different situations and several factors.

You have the natural tendency of men in a government agency to be reluctant to give up any authority or power they have had over the years. There is a desire in every human being to extend his authority and to extend his power. Naturally the Department of Commerce does not want to give up that which they say they have had but which they have not used well and zealously on behalf of small business. Likewise, the armed services have not shown any great understanding of or sympathy for the problem of small business. To be fair, this is understandable—it is much easier for one of the contracting or procurement officers in the services to do business with one of the large national corporations who can take care of all the problem instead of spending time and energy trying to find small-business firms to whom contracts can be awarded. It helps keep the desk clear and cuts down the worry. As I say, Mr. Chairman, it is understandable. As a matter of fact, these things have been so well understood that they are the very reasons that Congress last year set up the Small Defense Plants Administration.

The fact is that until recently responsibility for small business was scattered among and diffused through a number of different Government agencies, none of which had the necessary breadth of authority to deal with the entire problem. It was precisely in order to end this state of diffusion and overlapping responsibilities that Congress set up the SDPA, and provided that the President could transfer to it the functions and powers of other agencies relating to small business. If we liquidate the SDPA now, matters will just go back to the old and unsatisfactory state of affairs which existed before this legislation was unanimously adopted last year.

Very soon after his appointment as Administrator, Mr. Taylor wrote to the President—December 1, 1951—and proposed that, in order to end duplication, the functions of the Department of Commerce relating to financial aid to small business, and getting an increased share of Government procurement for small business, should be transferred over to the SDPA. As a result of this letter, the President issued an Executive order—Executive Order No. 1023, dated February 5, 1952—transferring the financial, procurement, and certain other small-business responsibilities of the Department of Commerce to the SDPA. This was the first step in streamlining the Government's small-business activities. No doubt others will follow if we give Mr. Taylor a chance to work things out. But if we wipe out the SDPA now, matters will simply fall back into the same old state of confusion and duplication that Congress found them in last year, and that Congress unanimously determined to correct by the legislation establishing the SDPA.

Now, the most important things that SDPA is doing have never been done by the Department of Commerce, or by any other agency ever since the liquidation of the old Smaller War Plants Cor-

poration in 1946. Mr. Sawyer himself felt that these additional activities on behalf of small business were necessary and recommended that they be enacted into law. The Congress decided to put these new activities into an independent agency instead of in the Department of Commerce, because the Congress felt that there ought to be an agency whose sole purpose, unlike that of Commerce, would be to act as spokesman and claimant for small business in all phases of the Government's activities.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the only question before the House is whether we will vote to give small business this representation in the Government—this voice to speak for them and claim for them. That is what the SDPA is for, and that is what the small-business men want. The SDPA has been in existence only a little over 4 months, and already some 3,000 small-business men have written in to it or visited it to seek its assistance, whether in getting Government contracts, or for help on their metal allocations, or for financial assistance, or other reasons. If, as the Committee on Appropriations now tells us, the SDPA is just doing what other agencies do already, why have 3,000 small-business men come to it in the first 4 months of its existence? And bear in mind that this is just in Washington. There have been no field offices to help the small-business man out where he really does his business.

Mr. Chairman, I get a little impatient when I hear all these gentlemen talk about duplication under circumstances like these. If you ask the Department of Commerce whether they can help a small-business man get a loan from the RFC, they will have to tell you that they cannot do anything about it. They cannot help him get a contract either. We have given the SDPA that authority, and the President has transferred over to the SDPA those functions.

With all respect to the Committee on Appropriations, I do not think they have understood the situation at all clearly. I have been looking at the record of the hearings before the subcommittee, and I see that Mr. Taylor was asked to describe his plan for the future activities of his agency. After he had done that, the chairman of the subcommittee suggested to Mr. Taylor—hearings, page 460—that this was much too comprehensive a program to be accomplished in the 4 months remaining between now and June 30, when the legislation creating the SDPA will expire unless extended by Congress.

Mr. Chairman, if the SDPA program is too comprehensive, it certainly is not a duplication of what other people are doing already. And, of course, nobody ever expected the SDPA to accomplish its purpose in 4 months. Like the other agencies set up under the Defense Production Act, it was anticipated that the act would be extended for as long as the emergency lasts.

Mr. Chairman, there is abundant evidence to show that in the last war small business was struggling against a rising tide until there was established an independent agency whose only re-

sponsibility was to assist small business. A marvelous job was done in the last war by the Smaller War Plants Corporation. In this present emergency, small business was in exactly the plight it was in, in 1942, before SWPC was organized. Six months ago Congress showed that the experience of the last war had not been lost. It again set up by unanimous vote an independent agency whose only and primary responsibility was to assist small business. Just as that agency is starting active operations and getting to work on a desperately needed program, its very existence is threatened. Where does that leave small business?

The Congress of the United States set up this organization to do a job which was not being done. In the light of the experience had by Congress and the small-business people in World War II and the early days of the Korean conflict, small business had to have this assistance. I sincerely hope the Members of the House will support the Fogarty amendment.

(Mr. SHELLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, Congress should protect the small businessman. I rise in support of the Fogarty amendment to provide the appropriation of \$825,000 requested by the Small Defense Plants Administration, to insure that small business would be assured an opportunity to get a fair share of the contracts placed by Government departments. I believe the Small Defense Plants Administration should be continued, and should be allowed to have this small appropriation, because the work they are doing is the thing that is keeping a lot of these small defense plants going. In fact, this is a real time where the Members should recognize that both the chamber of commerce and the workers want this program continued. Industry, both management and labor, is united in this position. As one of the original Members of Congress sponsoring the legislation establishing the Small Defense Plants Administration, I believe this program is well worth while.

Mr. Davies, of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, the executive director of the Smaller Manufacturer's Council of that body, called today by long-distance phone urging the Congressmen from Pennsylvania to vote and support this appropriation so that this agency will not be discontinued. My constituent, Philip Murray, from Pittsburgh, has also written the Congressmen urging the importance of this agency to small business and those employed by it. So I am very pleased to be able to say that both sides in industry in this instance believe firmly that this agency should be continued.

Of course, we are always hearing about big labor and big business. It is the poorly equipped businessman, the small businessman who is more limited in his overhead budget and types of administrative personnel, that finds that he can-

not get these big agencies in the Government to stand up for him. He needs special advice and direction in the Government agencies to obtain fair treatment and justice for the problems that are so big to him, but so small in the total agency view. In this case we have the small businessman at a real disadvantage, and he is pushed from governmental pillar to governmental post. And we Congressmen have all seen the kicking around the small businessman takes in Washington—we need no examples.

I am sure where there are these other larger agencies that take care of the big business, that we in Congress ought equally to take care of the many little and medium businessmen and let them have just this few hundred thousand dollars to support the Small Defense Plants Administration as a particular agency for their own protection in the battle of the behemoths. The small businessman in the United States of America is entitled to his place in the sun—he has certainly earned it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROOSEVELT].

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask one simple question: What did Charlie Sawyer, whom I think my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] should have been referring to instead of the Department of Commerce—what did Charlie Sawyer and his department do for small business between the time that the Korean war started and the 16 months before we created this Small Defense Plants Administration last fall? The answer is nothing. It is the same Charlie Sawyer, and the same Department of Commerce who opposed setting up of the special emergency agencies such as the ODM, the DPA, and the NPA. Charlie Sawyer was saying at the beginning of the Korean conflict, "I can do it all." Well, we in the Congress overruled him because we knew that once he started to do it all we would have a terrible time stopping him from doing it all, and because we were not satisfied with what he was doing at the time. Small-business men were not satisfied with what Charlie Sawyer and the Department of Commerce was then doing for them, and that is why they came to the Congress and asked us to set up this administration for their benefit. These small-business men still want this administration to continue. The Congress wants this administration to continue. Charlie Sawyer and the Committee on Appropriations want to veto our will as expressed last fall. As between the Fogarty amendment and the Cotton amendment, I suggest to you that we wholeheartedly support the Fogarty amendment because if we are going to cut down, as the Cotton amendment would cut down, we are going to eliminate the efficiency of the Small Defense Plants Administration. Those of us who are economy-minded, and I have put in a bill on this subject, should seek to achieve our economy by transferring these duplicating efforts in NPA and in the Department of Commerce to the

Small Defense Plants Administration. In this way we should economize rather than by adopting the Cotton amendment. Therefore, I strongly support the Fogarty amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER].

(Mr. MEADER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Fogarty amendment.

In this debate, it seems to me too many questions have been raised. There are really three separate questions.

First, should the Federal Government do something for small business in a period where we have emergency controls?

Second, by what method should the Federal Government afford that assistance and relief?

Third, how much money should we give the Federal agency created to carry out that task?

The first two of those questions have already been decided by the Congress. In my judgment, they are not appropriately before the House in this debate on an appropriation bill. We passed a law which established the Small Defense Plants Administration as the means whereby the Federal Government would give aid and assistance to small business in the defense period to facilitate conversion from normal civilian production to defense production, and to minimize the disruption of production and employment resulting from the imposition of materials allocations and other economic controls.

If we want to change that method of assisting small business, now is not the time to do it. The time to do that is when we consider the extension of the Defense Production Act. That problem should go before the proper committee and that committee should study the action or the policy it thinks desirable and make its recommendations to the House. That is a matter of substantive legislative policy, which has been decided, and which should not be tampered with in this appropriation bill.

Now, with respect to the amount of money involved, we have heard a great deal about mushrooming. If we decide that we are going to help small business and we are going to do it through this agency, let us really help, not just make idle gestures. Do not tell me that 129 people can do much good. They want 500 people.

I hold no brief for the Administrator of this agency, for the job that the agency has done in the past, and I make no predictions about what it is going to do in the future. That is a problem of administration. We cannot do very much about that except to outline the policy, create the agency, and appropriate adequate funds. Later we can investigate to see whether the job is properly done, but it is too early to go into that now.

This agency is only 4 months old, and it is not too much to expect it to grow in the beginning. It will have to be of some size if it is going to afford any effective relief to the small-business men

of your district and mine who come down here needing copper, aluminum, or other scarce materials, or have other problems and who cannot get anywhere themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER].

(Mr. MULTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, the Small Defense Plants Administration is by law mandated to do the work which was supposed to be done, but which was not being performed by at least six other agencies.

The Department of Commerce least of all has any right to complain about this new agency because they had no less than 150 men and a budget of \$800,000 assigned to its Office of Small Business.

If you do not make this appropriation in accordance with the Fogarty amendment for this Small Defense Plants Administration, there will be nobody in the Department of Commerce to do the work because the duty to perform that work has already been transferred by Executive order from the Department of Commerce to this administration and the Department of Commerce has already let go of two-thirds of its staff, which was assigned to this job that they were not doing.

If you want this job done for small business, there is only one way to get it done, and that is through this agency.

We took thousands of pages of testimony, both the Small Business Committee of this House and the Small Business Committee in the other body, all through the country, and wherever we went we were told that the Commerce Department was not doing anything at all for them; the RFC was not doing anything for them; the Army was not doing anything for them; the Munitions Board was not doing anything for them; and until we got this agency on the job, after you authorized it a few months ago, then, for the first time, did small business begin to get some real help in connection with the defense effort. If you want that program carried on, you must support the Fogarty amendment and give them the money and the manpower with which to do the job.

You can show the small-business men of America today whether the House of Representatives is for them or against them. The issue is as simple as that.

Not to provide an appropriation for the Small Defense Plants Administration, as has been recommended by the appropriation subcommittee, is the same as saying to thousands upon thousands of small independent businessmen that we do not care whether they sink or swim.

The disruptions of the mobilization program demanded that an agency be created to safeguard the interests of small business. Congress responded to that demand only last July when it established the Small Defense Plants Administration without a dissenting vote. I repeat, without a dissenting vote.

Do not we know our own minds? Are we trying to establish a record for inconsistency? If we were right 8 months

ago in setting up this much-needed agency to assist the smaller producers of the Nation, how can we be anything but wrong—dead wrong—in abolishing it today.

It is an open secret that certain persons in Government do not want a single centralized point within Government where small and medium-size companies can go for help. No—that would be too sensible, too efficient. They prefer to see businessmen run around to a dozen different departments and bureaus with all the waste, delay, duplications, and red tape that that involves.

Why? Because before we established the Small Defense Plants Administration, these departments and bureaus each had a small-business unit of their own, albeit an inefficient one in almost every instance. It was because of this duplication and ineffectiveness, that a single agency was created.

But the empire builders have been busy. For months they have been lobbying against the Small Defense Plants Administration. The reason is clear. SDPA in a few short months, and with limited funds and personnel, has done such an outstanding job of aiding small-business men that the former efforts of some other bureaus appear pitiful in comparison.

Today, perhaps more than ever before, small business needs help from its Government. The way to give it that help is to keep alive the small business agency created by us for that very purpose. Not to do so will be more than merely a mistake, it will be a rank injustice to all of the small-business men who have come to look upon the Small Defense Plants Administration as the embodiment of their Government's desire and duty to help them over the rough spots of our presently dislocated economy.

The Small Defense Plants Administration must be continued as long as the present world emergency lasts.

[Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. CRAWFORD addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DURHAM].

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Chairman, I certainly hope this great Committee on Appropriations is not going to get itself in the position of marching up the hill and then down the hill again. Such a policy in my opinion is dangerous at this time. The issue here as I see it is not so much trying to take care of anyone, for I think American business can pretty well take care of itself, but is one of production so badly needed at present. I wish I had 30 minutes to go into detail as to the actual production and show you how far we are behind, and give you some of the reasons and opinions I be-

lieve are sound as to why I believe this Congress has got to tackle the problem with all means, efforts, and with everything we can possibly put to work in this effort.

I am deeply concerned; I am concerned because of the fact our boys are still in Korea. I do not want to sit here in this body and assume the responsibility of not being able to put planes, tanks, or guns anywhere in the world where we are involved and where needed. It is a deadly vicious thing that we are in, and we will be in it a long time. I am not concerned about the characters in the Small Defense Plants Corporation; this Congress can make it work; I know it has possibilities, and Americans, the American Government, and everybody else needs every ounce of production capacity we can secure from every and all agencies and sources.

Mr. Chairman, it is tragic, tragic. This program we are in for rearming America has been extended over a 3-year period instead of 2. Where are we now? Six months, 12 months, and 18 months behind on items that are needed and are presently short. Small business can throw into this program if properly advised and consulted and well planned a source of support we sorely need. We need to cut out this jealousy that exists in all Government agencies and get to work. This is no small task.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. WICKERSHAM].

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, one of the Members who spoke in opposition to the Fogarty amendment inadvertently stated that none of the employees of this Small Defense Plants Administration were competent. I happen to know some of those employees—one a respected lady from my home town, Mrs. Marie Moore Stewart. She has worked in some of the most important Government agencies over a period of several years. She is thoroughly competent, and far above the average. She had a son-in-law in World War II, and now in world war III, fighting for our country. Most all of you Members of the House and I are acquainted with John E. House who worked on the hill for many years. I know he, too, is thoroughly competent. He is typical of the high caliber of the Small Defense Plants Administration employees, and I know several others who are likewise competent, who are now employed by this agency, who are rendering a valuable service to small business in such capacity.

I think all of us should support this Fogarty amendment. I urge you to do so. If we fail to do it will be comparable to a parent bringing a child into this world and then failing to accept the responsibility of supporting that child. All of us voted for the Small Defense Plants Administration some months ago and now we should at least appropriate for its continuance. We are interested in economy. It will save us a lot of money in the long run, and will save a lot of small businesses.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. JAVITS addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON].

(Mr. COTTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, in the 2 minutes I have left I want to commend the remarks of my friend the gentleman from New York, and remind the members of the Committee of three facts: First, the Fogarty amendment involved \$825,000. Part of that \$825,000 is to be used to administer a revolving fund that would undoubtedly be presented to you in a later amendment, a \$10,000,000 revolving fund which involves making loans.

During World War I the agency which was the predecessor of this agency made in 5 years, according to the testimony before our committee, some \$30,000,000 of loans, and it must have cost the Government more than \$30,000,000.

Second. This \$825,000 is to be used, in part, to establish branch offices, 13 or 14 of them, throughout the United States where there are branch offices of the Department and the RFC at the present time. That in my book is duplication.

Third. Mr. Taylor testified himself that he had no teeth in the usual sense, he could only report to Congress if he did not have the cooperation of these agencies.

My amendment, Mr. Chairman, would preserve and keep alive your Bureau until we can avoid duplication and give it proper growth. It is not a matter of going up the hill and walking back; it is a matter of going up the hill reasonably and gradually. It is not a matter of not supporting your child; it is a matter of not trying to let your child become 21 years in 1 year. Therefore, I want to suggest that if you want to save this agency, and I believe the small-business people want it saved reasonably and with economy, vote for my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] to close debate.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations approached this question from a purely factual point of view. No one on the committee had any predisposition, or any preconceived opinions. We went into every phrase of the question solely on its merit and we were unable to find where this agency up to this time has done anything worth while or that they proposed to do anything that was not already being satisfactorily done by other and more experienced agencies.

For example, the Department of Defense agencies have taken steps to have their large contractors designate a top executive as a small business liaison officer. For example, over 2,000 have been so designated by various Air Force contractors. These men have the responsibilities of utilizing small firms in subcontracting work thus enlarging the in-

dustrial base. The effectiveness of the program can be gathered from two examples:

First. Wright Aeronautical-Curtiss-Wright are one of the largest contractors for jet engines. Over 38 percent of their prime contract dollars already committed have gone to small business by subcontracts in the first tier.

Second. Republic Aviation who has the new control for the F-84 plane has committed over 30 percent of their prime contract funds to small businesses in the first tier.

An analysis of 13 large prime Army contracts in the latter part of 1951 showed that 42 percent of the dollar volume went to small firms.

The maximum of small business potential in Air Force procurement in the first half of fiscal year 1952 was 10.8 percent of the total contract values. Of this amount small firms secured 61 percent. Through February 1952 this percentage has risen to 62 percent. This percentage is comparable to that of the Navy and the Army.

The latest Navy statistics show that small firms received over 25 percent of the \$657,240,943 awarded by the Navy in prime contracts in January 1952.

Prime contracts have been awarded by the Navy to small firms at an average of \$187,000,000 monthly during the present fiscal year, over three times larger than the average for the same period in fiscal year 1951.

An analysis is now being made of 91 prime contracts of the Army. Of this number, 19 of the 91 have been completed to date, and they show over 40 percent of the total prime-contract dollars were subcontracted to small firms.

In fiscal year 1951 over 58 percent of the value of contracts awarded by the General Services Administration were awarded to small firms. This increased to over 69 percent in the first quarter of 1952.

In fiscal year 1951 over 29 percent of the value of contracts awarded by the Department of the Army were awarded to small firms. This increased to 32 percent in the first quarter of 1952.

In fiscal year 1951 over 29 percent of the value of Atomic Energy Commission contracts reached small firms through either prime or subcontracts. In the second quarter of 1952 over 67 percent of the value of the contracts awarded reach small business.

This situation is fully appreciated and approved by small-business men themselves. Here is a telegram which came unsolicited this morning from one of the outstanding small manufacturers of St. Louis:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 12, 1952.

Congressman CANNON:

The stand of the Committee on Appropriations for discontinuing the separate Small Defense Plant agency is certainly correct. The Department of Commerce is set up to do this job. Why have a competing agency? Basically there is no difference in the activities of a small or large business. We small fellows must operate efficiently and within the price the customer is willing to pay; otherwise we have no right to be in business. I spoke on this very subject before the Nebraska Small Business Association and they agreed in toto.

WALTER SIEGERIST.

In that connection a great many people have been misled as to what constitutes small business. Grocers, confectioners, druggists, and drygoods men have been led to believe it will help them.

It does not include any of them. The most restrictive definition of small business which the committee could get was that it included business of less than 500 employees, and in the heavy-manufacturing business, such as steel, it included business of less than 2,500 employees. Still another definition—the definition which seemed most acceptable to the Agency—was any business the stock of which was not quoted on the stock exchange. And that would include the Ford Motor Co., as its stock is not quoted on the exchange. A lot of people selling shoestrings and popcorn consider themselves as benefited by this legislation. As a matter of fact, the proposed appropriation applies only to manufacturers. And, so far as the committee could find, it had not perceptibly provided anything they are not already getting.

When it comes to loans, a feature on which great emphasis is laid, it is apparent at a glance that the Agency is ineffectual. Someone here on the floor attempted to leave the impression that RFC could not grant a loan unless it was recommended by the Small Business Agency. RFC cannot only grant any such loan without a recommendation, but even when a recommendation is made RFC processes the application as if it had never been brought to their attention. So any work by the Agency is a duplication and is utterly wasted. It is not only a duplication; it is a triplication, a quadruplication, a quintuplication. It is lost motion and is an intermediate step for which there is no need or excuse. It slows down the processing of the application and delays the receipt of the money by the applicant. And it will cost the taxpayer more and more money every year of its useless existence.

The committee which recommends the discontinuation of this waste of time and money consists of 50 men. Among them are some of the most experienced men in the House. Not a one of them has any reason to oppose service to small business. On the contrary, all of them would prefer to serve small business. But after exhaustive consideration and on a cold statistical review of the whole situation we urgently recommend that this money be saved. And we at the same time assure the House and the country that small business will receive more adequate service and prompt service through existing agencies.

It should also be noted that the House is not committed to this provision of law or to support any appropriation proposed in support of it. Much has been said about the vote by which the original authorization passed the House when there was no contest. But they entirely overlook that fact that last session when the question of implementing the legislation was before us, the House did not appropriate a penny for it and sent it to the Senate without a dollar of the estimate. In short, the House thereby completely nullified its action in adopting the legislation. The only reason the \$350,000 was

provided was because the Senate put it on and we had to agree to it in conference.

Incidentally somebody here on the floor, indignant that a larger appropriation was not made, referred to the amount as a "paltry" \$350,000. If he will inquire in his district as to how many of his constituents had to come in and plank down their income taxes to make up that \$350,000, it will not seem quite so paltry.

If there was ever a time when any question of doubt should be resolved in favor of economy it is in this session of Congress. This is a fifth wheel to the wagon. If its unwarranted and unnecessary cost is saddled on the already overburdened taxpayer, the free-spending Congressmen who voted for it will not soon be forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. COTTON) there were—ayes 91, noes 123.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. FOGARTY and Mr. COTTON.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 113, noes 130.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FOGARTY: On page 19, after line 11, insert the following:

"SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION
REVOLVING FUND

"For the revolving fund authorized by paragraph 2 of subsection (a) of section 714 of the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, \$10,000,000."

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, pending the consideration of this amendment, if the gentleman will yield to me, I move that the Committee do now rise.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I did not yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Rhode Island yield for that purpose?

Mr. FOGARTY. No; I do not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Rhode Island does not yield for that purpose.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to take long on this amendment because I know each and every one of you wants to finish this bill early tonight and get home.

This amendment goes along with the one that was just offered and carried in the Committee of the Whole. As you know, when this legislation was offered by the House, the House authorized a

\$50,000,000 revolving fund under the same procedure that was used on the Smaller War Plants Corporation during the last war. The House authorized this fund but never matched that action with an implementing appropriation.

This revolving fund is not a drain on the Federal Treasury. This \$10,000,000 which is being asked for at this time is just for the purpose of being used as a revolving fund. There will be no money lost to the general funds of the Treasury of the United States. The revolving fund is for the purpose of helping the Small Defense Plants Administration force some of these defense agencies to hand out some of the defense contracts to small business. Maybe they will not use a dollar of it. There were only a few instances in the last war when a similar fund was invoked, but the Smaller War Plants Corporation used this revolving fund effectively. Then it was only to force some of the military agencies which refused to cooperate with small business to break up some of their contracts and force them into the channels of small business. That is the only reason for the authorization of this \$10,000,000. Perhaps none of it will be used. If some of it is used, it will be used in exactly the same manner as in the case of prime contracts. The money will be paid back into the general funds of the Treasury so there will be no loss to the Government of the United States at all. The money will be there for that purpose if they need it. They can use it if they need it, and then the money will be returned to the Treasury of the United States. In view of the fact that the other amendment was adopted, I hope you will adopt this companion amendment because it gives SDPA just that added weapon to bring to bear on defense agencies that have the authority to let these subcontracts and forces them to give at least a fair percentage of the contracts to small-business firms throughout the country.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. CANFIELD. This is the organization's big weapon. This is what makes the organization tick, and no money is lost by the taxpayers of the country.

Mr. FOGARTY. You are absolutely right. This will make the Small Plants Administration more effective. It gives them something to work with. Congress authorized a \$50,000,000 revolving fund, and all we are requesting here is a \$10,000,000 revolving fund. I repeat it is not a drain on the funds of the General Treasury. It is merely a working tool.

The best explanation I can make, Mr. Chairman, of this revolving fund, its purpose and efficacy is to say that in World War II it was the signal and the actual authority for the SWPC to say to the procurement agencies: Here is a contract that we say small business can perform; we certify to that effect. To make the proposition operative we will take the contract in our own name, serve as the prime contractor and then sublet it to small business.

Now it is worthy of note that the SWPC did not run hog wild with that

authority. They used it sparingly, they used it constructively, they used it fruitfully. In all, the SWPC invoked this authority to act as a prime contractor itself some 12 times. It was able to do so because of the revolving fund it had so that it could actually proceed along business lines to bring about the production of the item it had assumed responsibility for.

As I say, the Smaller War Plants Corporation used that authority 12 times and the contracts it took in this way amounted to between \$30,000,000 and \$35,000,000.

Now I want you to follow me closely on this: The very fact that the Smaller War Plants Corporation had the power to do all of this and had a revolving fund to make this idea operative, was the "cop on the beat" that soon compelled the procurement agencies to award many hundreds of other prime contracts to small business. In this way the war production effort was speeded, concentration of war contracts to big business was flouted and an equitable share of contracts was spread out to small business. This is how it worked out in World War II, and this was herein proposed. And again I wish to stress the fact that the funds used to finance these prime contracts taken in the name of SWPC were ultimately reclaimed to the United States Treasury.

I hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TABER) there were—ayes 102, noes 107.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. FOGARTY and Mr. TABER.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were—ayes 132, noes 103.

So the motion was agreed to.

Thereupon the Committee rose; and Mr. COOPER having assumed the Chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. Boggs of Louisiana, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 6947, the third supplemental appropriation bill, 1952, had come to no resolution thereon.

GENERAL PERMISSION TO REVISE AND EXTEND

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who have spoken on the bill today may have three legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

PROGRAM FOR REST OF WEEK

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make an announcement in relation to the program for tomorrow and

the rest of the week. Tomorrow there will be the consideration of the conference report on the Mexican labor wet-back bill and a continuation of consideration of the appropriation bill that has been before us today.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Can the gentleman from Massachusetts tell me which will be taken up first?

Mr. McCORMACK. The conference report will come up first.

On the program there is the Immigration and Naturalization Code. At the request of the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary that is being taken off the program and will not come up this week and it is not being programmed for next week.

The other bill relates to the jurisdiction of the United States Code in certain cases. The chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary informs me that when they were before the Rules Committee there was some suggestion by some of the members of the Rules Committee in relation to the reports, both majority and minority, being filed and the chairman of the committee either expressly or by implication promised that the reports would be filed. I was not aware of that when I programmed the bill. In view of the fact that the reports have not been filed as yet, so the chairman of the Judiciary Committee informed me this afternoon, that bill will not come up and will not be programmed for next week either.

MOTOR CARRIER CLAIMS COMMISSION

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 396, making an appropriation for the Motor Carrier Claims Commission for the fiscal year 1952 with Senate amendments, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 1, line 5, strike out "sum" and insert "sums".

Page 1 after line 5 insert:

"LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

"SENATE

"Salaries, officers, and employees

"The appropriation for salaries of officers and employees of the Senate contained in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1952, is made available for the employment of additional clerical assistants for each Senator from the State of Minnesota, so that the allowance for administrative and clerical assistants for such Senators will be equal to that allowed other Senators from States having a population of more than 3,000,000 but less than 5,000,000, the population of said State having exceeded 3,000,000 inhabitants.

"Contingent expenses of the Senate

"For an additional amount for 'Joint Committee on Atomic Energy,' \$15,000.

"For an additional amount for 'Expenses of inquiries and investigations,' \$400,000.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

"For an additional amount for expenses of 'Special and select committees,' \$400,000."

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution making additional appropriations for the legislative branch and the Motor Carrier

Claims Commission for the fiscal year 1952, and for other purposes."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, the changes that have been made in the resolution by the other body were all relative to the legislative establishment to take care of increased expense of certain committees.

Mr. McGRATH. That is correct.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] is recognized for 5 minutes.

IMMIGRATION, NATURALIZATION, AND NATIONALITY

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives will consider this week a very important bill, H. R. 5678, revising the laws relating to immigration, naturalization, and nationality.

A careful study of this bill will leave the reader with mixed emotions. Undoubtedly, many improvements have been included in this bill. However, there are certain provisions in the bill which, in my opinion, should be changed by amendment before its final passage.

I believe that section 212 (a), which transfers from Congress to the President the right to prohibit the immigration of any and all foreigners to the United States upon his own determination is a very unwise provision. I shall vote to eliminate it. I believe that Congress should retain this control, which is given it by the Constitution. In my opinion, were this provision ever tested in the courts it would be declared unconstitutional.

I do not like the feature which restricts future immigration, by in effect mortgaging future quotas, through charging against those quotas people who have entered the United States under the Displaced Persons Act.

While previous laws have not been free of racial discrimination, I regret that a new provision is contained in this bill which changes the principle of national origin by providing an additional restriction on those citizens of other countries who are descended from Asiatic ancestors. I fear that this provision will be capitalized upon by the Communists in their propaganda throughout the Asiatic world.

Another fault of the bill, in my opinion, is the omission of a provision which would allow the pooling of unused quotas. I realize that the 1924 law did not contain such a provision and it is a matter of policy, which, in my opinion, should be changed in this current legislation.

There are some other portions of the bill which I find objectionable. I sincerely hope that the House will give detailed attention to each section in reviewing the bill for amendment. We should take time to listen to members of the Committee on the Judiciary explain what effect is sought by each section, and all of us who question or disagree with the intent or language should have ample opportunity to be heard. Provisions in this bill have far-reaching effects upon human lives all over the world.

Among the provisions of the bill which I consider desirable is section 311 establishing the principle that race shall have no bearing on any person's eligibility for citizenship. In discussing this section which applies to Japanese and other Asiatics in the South Pacific area, I have conferred with Mr. Mike Masaoka, national legislative director of the anti-discrimination committee of the Japanese-American Citizens League. As my colleagues will remember, Mike was one of the heroes of the Four Hundred and Forty-second Regimental Combat Team and is a fine American citizen, known and respected by many Members of Congress. In reply to certain specific questions which I directed to him he has given me a letter dated today, March 12, 1952. In order to give my colleagues the benefit of the information contained therein, I include Mr. Masaoka's letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD before the debate opens on H. R. 5678:

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,
Washington, D. C., March 12, 1952.
Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Congressman from California,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLIFIELD: You have asked us specific questions about the Walter omnibus immigration and naturalization bill and for our answers to certain objections raised by various individuals and organizations against this measure.

In preparing our replies, we approached the omnibus bill not as technicians but as laymen interested and concerned with improving our immigration and naturalization policy as much as possible consistent with the security of our Nation and the promotion of our international relations.

We also appreciate that because of the personal nature of this problem to so many, emotionalism often overcomes reason and logic.

Appraisal of this legislation should not be piecemeal nor on the basis of what we believe to be the ideal in immigration and naturalization; it should be judged on its over-all impact in the field and whether taken as a whole it is better or worse than existing law.

As you are well aware, legislation of this magnitude and complexity is always a compromise, of trying to secure the greatest agreement of divergent opinions and interests. Because the omnibus bill is compromise legislation, it will not satisfy every individual in every respect. But the question is whether as new legislation it represents improvement over present statutes.

Consideration should also be given to the fact that more than 4 years of intensive and exhaustive study, first by a Senate subcommittee and later by a joint Senate and House subcommittee, with professional experts, were devoted to this complicated subject, including several months of public hearings, before the omnibus bill was drafted.

A 328 page report by the Judiciary Committee, which includes a section by section

comparison of the proposed bill with existing law, explains the background and the committee reasons for the various individual provisions.

Thus, our comments will be expositions of our own thinking, rather than a repetition of the committee report with possibly one or two exceptions.

THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

A major criticism is the charge that the Internal Security Act of 1950 is made a part of the permanent immigration and naturalization law and in a far more restrictive form.

In the first place, it must be remembered that this act is already on the statute books and that it affects immigration and naturalization practices. Even if the omnibus bill is not passed, the Internal Security Act remains as a serious factor in immigration and naturalization policies.

In the second place, the very fact that legislation so seriously affecting immigration and naturalization is not considered part and parcel of the basic laws creates confusion and misunderstanding, especially among aliens who may not understand the English language very well. By codifying such pertinent parts of the Internal Security Act as it relates to this field, a public service is rendered by making available in a single statute all the aspects of the subject.

Finally, and most important, except for simply restating the language of the pertinent sections of the 1950 Internal Security Act, all substantive changes are liberalizations rather than restrictions. Take for example the proviso relating to the so-called "redemption" clauses. Under the omnibus bill, discretionary authority is given the Attorney General to admit an alien who at least 5 years prior to applying for a visa has withdrawn from membership in a proscribed organization and who since that time has opposed that subversive doctrine. Under existing law, this principle of redemption is not recognized and these aliens are forever barred from admission into the United States unless their membership was involuntary, while under the age of 16, or for purpose of obtaining employment, food, or other essentials of living.

POOLING OF QUOTAS

Another major criticism is that the omnibus bill does not provide for the so-called pooling of unused quotas. "Pooling" means that the unused visas are assigned to a general immigration visa pool and issued to applicants under various conditions.

Without commenting on the desirability of such a provision, or on the validity of the national origins principle, it should, nevertheless, be pointed out that such promiscuous pooling of quotas is contrary to the spirit and the intent of the national origins principle which was adopted as basic in 1924. It should also be noted that in the present legislative atmosphere of the Congress, such a departure from established practices would, in our opinion, be overwhelmingly defeated. We believe, therefore, that insistence upon this ideal objective will prevent passage of any immigration and naturalization legislation, no matter how much improved such legislation may be over existing law.

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Still another criticism has been directed at the provisions limiting immigration quotas to 100 per year for colonies and dependencies. While we do not necessarily approve of the practical results of this new provision, we do recognize that, as the committee report declares, colonies or dependent areas should not have a greater preference than independent countries as, for example, India, Israel, and Australia, which have annual minimum quotas of 100.

BIRTHPLACE VERSUS ANCESTRY

A question may be raised that the omnibus bill continues the discrimination in im-

migration against persons of Asian ancestry born outside the Orient by making them chargeable to the quota of their ancestral land rather than their birthplace. While this is true, there is no denying that the proposed legislation marks a significant advance by eliminating complete exclusion.

We reluctantly acknowledge that the political realities which conceived this formula for the Chinese and East Indians remain today. Opening wide the doors of immigration to the hundreds of thousands of Orientals now residing in Canada and Central and South America would threaten to revive the now dead anti-orientalism of the west coast.

Insistence upon complete equality of immigration at this time means no legislation on this subject at all. We submit that the overriding considerations of extending annual quotas to all Asian and Pacific peoples are such that the United States should not fail to take the major forward step proposed in this bill.

While the matter of lifting immigration barriers is important to the nations involved, of even greater practical and personal concern to us, as an organization representing persons of Japanese ancestry presently residing in the United States, is the naturalization privilege which the omnibus bill extends to resident aliens.

Under the annual quotas for Japan, for example, 185 immigrants per year may be admitted into the United States. Korea and the others are authorized minimum quotas of 100 each annually. Less than 500 additional immigrants would be admitted under these new quotas every year.

Today, according to the most reliable census figures, approximately 88,000 resident aliens are ineligible for naturalization because of race, 85,000 of whom are Japanese. Accordingly, in terms of numbers alone, since it would take several centuries under the proposed quotas for as many aliens to enter this country as are now here who are ineligible to citizenship, this matter of naturalization transcends other considerations. We sincerely feel that it is far more important to secure naturalization privileges for our 85,000 aged parents now than to increase the risk of losing this opportunity for citizenship by demanding the politically impossible concession of substituting for immigration purposes place of birth for land of ancestry.

EXCLUSION AND DEPORTATION

Other criticisms relate to the exclusion and deportation of aliens and the denaturalization of naturalized citizens.

In the light of world conditions and in the interest of internal security, we can see the necessity for the careful screening of prospective immigrants. Intelligent self-interest dictates the barring of those individuals who may become economic liabilities to this Nation or who are hostile to the primary precepts on which this Government is founded. Neither can we quarrel with the desire of the Government to exclude those who are patently unfit to become useful members of the community, that is, dope peddlers, prostitutes, criminals, mental incompetents, sex deviates, and carriers of contagious diseases.

The proposed deportation procedures, though they may seem stringent, are designed to close the loopholes in existing law which, in too many cases, reward the unscrupulous and penalize the law abiding.

The committee report noted:

"The committee is aware, too, of the progressively increasing number of cases in which aliens are deliberately flouting our immigration laws by the processes of gaining admission into the United States illegally or ostensibly as nonimmigrants but with the intention of establishing themselves in a situation in which they may subsequently have access to some administrative remedy

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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For actions of March 13, 1952

82nd-2nd, No. 41

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

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Electric power.....19	Livestock production.....31	Rubber..... 4
Electrification.....29	Military training.....37	Soil conservation....6,9
Expenditures.....18	Minerals.....25	Tobacco marketing
Farm bankruptcy.....10	Monopolies..... 5	quotas.....33
Farm labor..... 2	Nomination.....11	TVA..... 6
Foreign aid.....6,21,28	Personnel.....1,22,39	Vegetables.....23
Foreign aid appropriations.38	Pork prices.....20	Water utilization.....34

HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to conference report on wetback-entry bill. Ready for President. House passed 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Reduced pay items 10%. Modified Whitten rider. House committee ordered reported bills to amend GSA Act and give GSA control over Government vehicles and furniture. Senate confirmed nomination of Essate to be Production Credit Commissioner.

HOUSE

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 2317-36).

Agreed, 141-58, to an amendment by Rep. Davis, Ga., to reduce by 10% the amounts carried in the bill for Pay Act costs except that those for the Post Office Department were reduced by only 1% (pp. 2328-9, 2336).

Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Whitten, Miss., to amend the so-called Whitten personnel rider as follows: Providing that "any agency may promote any employee permanently to a position if such promotion will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in such agency above the number in such grade in such agency prior to September 1, 1950: Provided further, That permanent promotions may be made to any position in a category for which the Civil Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments under the terms hereof." Also amendment of the limitations on the rapidity of promotions so that they do not apply to a person who "is eligible for appointment, in accordance with a regular appointment system or procedure established prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position outside the competitive civil service" or to a person "being advanced to a grade level not exceeding that for which he had previously established eligibility as required by the terms hereof: Provided further, That, notwithstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission, when requested by the head of the agency involved, may authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious nature." (pp. 2329-35.)

Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Meader, Mich., to provide that "No part of any appropriation contained in this act shall be used for publicity or

propaganda purposes not heretofore authorized by the Congress" (p. 2335).

Agreed, 158-70, to an amendment by Rep. Fogarty, R. I., (previously agreed to in Committee of the Whole), to restore the estimate of \$825,000 for the Small Defense Plants Administration (p. 2336).

Rejected, 115-127, an amendment by Rep. Fogarty to set up a \$10,000,000 revolving fund for this agency (pp. 2317-27).

2. FARM LABOR. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on S. 1851, to assist in preventing aliens from entering or remaining in the U. S. illegally (pp. 2303, 2314-6). This bill will now be sent to the President.
3. PROPERTY MANAGEMENT. The Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendments H. R. 4924, to authorize GSA to establish and operate motor-vehicle pools and systems and to provide office furniture and furnishings when agencies are moved to new locations to direct the Administrator to report the unauthorized use of Government motor vehicles, etc.; and H. R. 5350, amending the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (p. D208).
4. RUBBER. The Armed Services Committee reported without amendment H. R. 6787, to extend the Rubber Act of 1948 (H. Rept. 1513) (p. 2344).
5. MONOPOLIES. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendment H. R. 6925, to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 (H. Rept. 1516) (p. 2344).
6. SOIL CONSERVATION; FOREIGN AID; TVA. Rep. Hoffman, Mich., claimed PMA committee-men encourage farmers to take soil-conservation payments when the farmers are not interested, and criticized the foreign-aid program and the TVA's method of awarding contracts. (pp. 2335, 2339-40).
7. ADJOURNED until Mon., Mar. 17 (p. 2344).
8. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. The Appropriations Committee was authorized to file a report on the independent offices appropriation bill at any time until midnight tonight, and it was announced that the bill will be taken up on the floor of the House next Wed. Rep. Cannon said, "We expect to dispose of the bill next week, and we expect to dispose of two additional appropriation bills the following week." Majority Whip Priest announced that the consent calendar will be considered Mon and the private calendar Tues. Regarding the time of a congressional adjournment, he said: "...it is my hope and feeling that certainly we can finish by early July, if we keep on going along as well as we have." (pp. 2336, 2338.)

SENATE

9. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported with amendment S. 2569, to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act to provide for a 2 year continuation of this program (S. Rept. 1305) (p. 2260).
10. FARM BANKRUPTCY. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendment S. 25, to provide a farm bankruptcy title for the Bankruptcy Act (S. Rept. 1303) (p. 2260).
11. NOMINATION. Confirmed the nomination of Arthur T. Esgate to be Production Credit Commissioner (p. 2313).
12. REORGANIZATION. Rejected, 27 to 53, S. Res. 285, which would have disapproved Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1952, relating to the Bureau of Internal Revenue

order granted me today be canceled and that I may have permission to address the House for the same time on Monday next, after disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 10 minutes today and 10 minutes on tomorrow, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered.

Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 10 minutes on Monday next, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 24]

Aandahl	Halleck	O'Konski
Addonizio	Harden	Patterson
Armstrong	Harvey	Potter
Blatnik	Hedrick	Powell
Bolton	Heffernan	Reins
Boykin	Heller	Reams
Buchanan	Hope	Reed, III.
Buckley	Hull	Rivers
Burdick	Hunter	Roberts
Camp	Irving	Rogers, Mass.
Carrigg	Jackson, Calif.	Sabath
Chatham	Kennedy	Sadlak
Cole, Kans.	Kluczyński	Sheehan
Combs	Lanfair	Sikes
Coudert	Laycade	Simpson, Pa.
Cox	McConnell	Smith, Va.
Dempsey	McCormack	Stockman
Denny	McKinnon	Sutton
Dingell	Machrowicz	Tackett
Dollinger	Madden	Weichel
Doyle	Martin, Iowa	Welch
Flood	Miller, Calif.	Werdell
Furcolo	Mitchell	Widnall
Gamble	Morrison	Wolcott
Greenwood	Moulder	Wood, Ga.
Hall	Mumma	
Edwin Arthur Murray, Wis.		

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 349 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposal of all legislative business on the calendar today and all previous special orders, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes to give the membership a report of my inspection of all the American cemeteries in Europe this past summer.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the

Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 6947, with Mr. Boggs of Louisiana in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday there was pending the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY]. Without objection the Clerk will again report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FOGARTY: On page 19, after line 11, insert:

"Small Defense Plants Administration revolving fund: For the revolving fund authorized by paragraph 2 of subsection (a) of section 714 of the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, \$10,000,000."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I think the Members would like to know about how long this debate will continue. If the Members present will indicate their desire to be heard on this amendment perhaps we can reach some tentative agreement at this time fixing a limit of time for debate; so, tentatively, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 1 hour, the last 5 minutes to be reserved to the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I hope that I might have 10 minutes of that time, and I trust that the chairman can arrange that we get 10 minutes of that time.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, further reserving 10 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] and 10 minutes to the committee.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman tell us how many times the gentleman from Texas is going to speak on this? Not that I have any objection.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman knows that we listen always with pleasure and profit to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Oh, yes, sure.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 1 hour, with 10 minutes reserved to the committee and 10 minutes reserved to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I know the Members are all aware of the fine speech which the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] made on this subject last night. He covered the

complete territory and anything that I might say will be perhaps repetitious.

I supported the amendment which authorized this Small Defense Plants Administration to do the work because I know of some of the good work that has already been done in my district in California. I happen to have the downtown section of Los Angeles and the East Side industrial section in which we have thousands of small plants capable of doing defense work, as well as the largest nationally known manufacturing corporations in America.

Small-business men have come to my office for assistance, and I know from past experience that, if you do not have a special agency concerned solely with forwarding their interests, then the small-business man gets lost in the maze of Washington red tape.

The present amendment will provide this revolving fund and, in my opinion, is a very fine provision. It is not money that will be used needlessly but will stand in reserve for the use of the Administration to insure the letting of contracts to small businessmen. In other words, when these contracts come up which small defense plants can handle, in place of the contracting officials letting them to the big corporations, which is the natural thing for them to do, and it is the easiest thing from the administrative standpoint I admit, the Small Defense Plants Administration may come forward and say: We will let you take this contract if you will subdivide it and give the smaller defense plants a right to come in on the subcontract basis and do this job. In other words, it is a power that is held in reserve, and they can threaten at that time, if the large corporations will not let this work out on subcontracts, that they themselves can take it.

Now they must have this \$10,000,000 revolving fund in order to administer the taking of contracts and the necessary work of bringing in these small people, processing their bids, and inspecting their facilities and their qualifications to do the job. I consider that as long as the House has spoken on the initial authorization of this Small Defense Plants Administration, that they should also implement it by giving this \$10 million revolving fund, which possibly will never be used, but it will have a salutary effect on the contracting officials of the defense departments and cause them to know that unless they do subcontract defense work, that the Small Defense Plants Administration can take the contracts and do the actual job of administering the subcontracts themselves.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island will be adopted. I also call the attention of the Members to the facts that the small-business hardship program originated in the Office of Materials, SDPA for two purposes: First, to develop a method of channeling additional controlled materials to the small businesses which faced shutdown or bankruptcy; second, to break the mathematical distribution of materials by products that was in effect in NPA in favor of a program that would allow

distribution of materials in relation to the need of the individual companies.

This program was developed and issued as a joint program of SDPA and NPA and was covered in a joint release by Messrs. Fowler and Taylor.

The other area of protection to small business was the joint effort of SDPA and the staff of NPA to channel more material into the so-called "nonessential civilian goods" such as jewelry, aluminum windows, and similar products. NPA has now been able to equalize distribution to all types of consumer goods thereby spreading the load of sacrifice on a more equitable basis. This action, together with the small-business hardship program outlined above, has greatly improved the material situation in reference to small-business companies and specifically, the civilian type single-purpose companies.

Without these two actions, the small business area would be at least in dire distress if not faced with actual bankruptcy or liquidation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER].

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the Fogarty amendment to set up this revolving fund to appropriate \$10,000,000 for this Administration will prevail.

Mr. Chairman, let us understand precisely what it is. Even though we are appropriating \$10,000,000 in accordance with the authorization in the law which calls for \$50,000,000, this \$10,000,000 is not an expenditure.

Despite anything that may have been said in general debate, or thus far under the 5-minute rule, the \$825,000 which we appropriated yesterday by adopting the Fogarty amendment yesterday, is not to administer the \$10,000,000 fund we are now trying to set up.

The \$825,000 appropriation is for the operation of the agency.

The \$10,000,000 is to be used for the taking of contracts.

In other words, if the Small Defense Plants Administration goes in and makes a bid to take a contract from the armed services to make tooling machinery for \$1,000,000, and the Small Defense Plants Administration gets the contract, it then will take that contract and allocate all of the work under it to subcontractors who will be small-business men. They will then get paid by SDPA for that work as they make delivery, and the armed services will then pay the money to SDPA under the prime contract. That money will then go back into the revolving fund.

In World War II we had a similar revolving fund allocated to the Smaller War Plants Corporation. Not one dollar of that money was lost to the Government. Every dollar of money that was so used to take contracts in the name of the corporation, was used by it as a prime contractor who then subcontracted the work to small business. When the contracts were fulfilled—and every one of them was fulfilled—payment was made by the Armed Services and the money went back to the Smaller War Plants Corporation and then back into the United States Treasury at the end of the war. The

same thing will be done with this \$10,000,000 fund.

Not one dollar of that money will be used for administration of the agency, and not one dollar of it will be lost or wasted. It will be used merely to finance contracts which then can be sublet to small-business men.

In other words assume we have a tooling contract for \$1,000,000 if there are ten shops that can do tooling work for only \$100,000 each, the ten of them can get the contract by participating as subcontractors of the SDPA. The ten cannot come in and bid for that \$1,000,000 contract, but the Small Defense Plants Administration can take the contract and subdivide it.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. JONAS. I would like to ask the gentleman this question: How is the Government reimbursed after it spends this \$10,000,000? In other words, the contractor is going to get the use of it?

Mr. MULTER. The contractor will not get the use of it. What you do is this. You have the \$10,000,000 revolving fund. SDPA then can bid just as anybody else. If it is the low bidder, the Small Defense Plants Administration gets the contract. It is then the prime contractor. It sublets to ten small business subcontractors. If for example, the contract was for \$1,000,000, the agency then subdivides that among the ten—each of whom gets a \$100,000 contract. SDPA is responsible for the full prime contract. The subcontractors deliver the merchandise or the tools, whatever it may be, each of the ten, \$100,000 worth of equipment to the Small Defense Plants Administration in name only, but actually directly to the Armed Services, if that is where it is to go.

Mr. JONAS. In the first place, the money comes from the Government?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. JONAS. In the final analysis, how does the Government get the money back?

Mr. MULTER. At the end of the emergency or whenever the Small Defense Plants Administration is to be liquidated or wound up, the money goes back to the United States Treasury.

When the subcontractor makes delivery in accordance with his contract, and only then, SDPA pays him his money. When delivery is completed under the prime contract, the Armed Services pay SDPA, again, however, only in accordance with the contract. The money is then back in the revolving fund. When the agency authority expires as fixed in the law, the money reverts to the United States Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEARNEY].

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I listened with great interest to the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER]. I want to inform the House that in my district we have a very serious situation, with regard to small business, which will lead me to vote for the Fogarty amendment. Schenectady, N. Y., is a vital defense area and I would like

a survey made in the entire district, pertaining to small business and in particular the bus line in Schenectady and many glove concerns in Fulton County.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEARNEY. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman is speaking of small business. What is the gentleman's idea of what a small business firm is? Is it based on the number of employees or the volume of business or the financing effect on it?

Mr. KEARNEY. There seems to be quite a difference of opinion. As I understand, it is a question of not only the returns but also the number of employees involved.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEARNEY. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. As I understand the definition of small business, it depends upon whether or not that business is dominant in its particular field.

Mr. KEARNEY. The answer, I believe, is given here for the purpose of this section in the law:

A small business concern shall be deemed to be one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in the field of operations.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEARNEY. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Taylor, the Administrator, was asked by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations what his definition of a small business was, and his answer was:

In the past the procurement agencies have usually followed the blanket test of whether there are more or less than 500 employees. That is what the Defense Department uses. Recently Mr. Sawyer's Department of Commerce has come out with a very much more elaborate definition in which, for instance, in the field of steel you may have up to 2,500 employees and still be a small business. In other fields it is as low as 100. We endeavor to use all of these tests Congress has given us and come to the best conclusion in a particular case that we can.

Mr. KEARNEY. I understand the gentleman from Rhode Island has interpreted that statement of Mr. Taylor, then, to mean that the determining factor is the type of business one is engaged in?

Mr. FOGARTY. Yes.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEARNEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. I, too, live in an area which is distressed at this time. I have conditions something like those in Schenectady, N. Y. I have today a wire from the Paterson (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce stating its approval of this program.

Mr. HILL. If the gentleman will yield further, when Mr. Taylor gave the report of his organization he said something about financial assistance. All over this country from one end to the other we have a number of small business firms that can take contracts from the

procurement divisions of the armed services only if they have the proper information and the know-how to make the product and to make it financially worth while as far as the Armed Forces are concerned in allotting the contract.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL].

(Mr. HILL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to discuss this proposition further as brought out by the gentleman from New York, and discuss for a moment the report of our Small Business Committee on this matter when Mr. Taylor attempted and did a good job telling us what he was trying to do. These are his words:

One of the most pressing problems of small-business concerns in any mobilization program is that of obtaining the necessary financial assistance for full participation in defense efforts.

Full participation means you must have financial backing.

SDPA is empowered to recommend to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation small business loans for defense, and essential civilian production. Joint procedures were worked out by the RFC and SDPA for handling applications for those loans.

That is now going on.

Only last night was I called by a Colorado firm in my district, only a short way from my own home where we have a small manufacturing concern now employing 250 people in an area where unemployment is rather great at this time because of certain other conditions that prevail. This firm is shutting down, and it is shutting down because they cannot get the necessary brass to do the manufacturing that it has the contracts from the armed services to perform.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. PRIEST. In line with what the gentleman just said, I want to point out that today there are meeting in our home town of Nashville, Tenn., the representatives of about 100 small manufacturers. They are meeting in a clinic to decide what they can do to stay in business. They have with them a representative today of the SDPA to help guide them along. That is a situation similar to what the gentleman has described.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I hope every Member of the House realizes the conditions that exist, and the attempts of these little business firm to carry on with their manufacturing activities in a way acceptable to the procurement officers. If I had the time here, we could drop back and give you a history of what is the trouble with our small businesses. They have grown up independently, and they have been independent. That is what we want, and that is what we like. Believe it or not, most of our business is done by small-business concerns. But most of them are many, many miles removed from Washington, and it is really expecting

the impossible to expect a small-business firm to send people to Washington. I have another firm right in my own home town, which is now making a nice piece of farm equipment. It is a new revolutionary idea. I do not know how many times he phoned me, and we have helped him. That firm could no more send a man to Washington to meet with organizations here, conferring with these Federal agencies in these various offices than it could fly to the moon with a piece of the farm equipment that he expects to manufacture. The reason for that is he runs the firm. When he is gone, the top of the firm is away. The man that does the top jobs and all the engineering work. Of course, the plant would be closed while he was away. Then you sit here and argue over \$10,000,000 to help firms like that. I tell you there is something wrong with us, and really and truly we should not be arguing about anything of that sort.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman has given us a good practical definition of small business for the purposes of this legislation. I compliment him on the statement he has just made for it applies as well to small business in Iowa.

Mr. HILL. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my time may be given to the gentleman from Colorado who is now addressing us.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield, and thank the gentleman for giving me his time.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Is it not true that as a member of the Small Business Committee, you have attended many hearings where small-business men came before our committee and have said how desperately anxious they were to obtain subcontracts?

Mr. HILL. Certainly.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Is it not also true that this \$10,000,000 revolving fund will make it possible for many more of these small-business concerns to obtain subcontracts?

Mr. HILL. Exactly. And they cannot get the contract. They cannot get the contract without an understanding, and that understanding has to come from Washington, D. C. They do not have the opportunity to come to Washington. They do not have the manpower, and neither have the financial assistance.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'TOOLE. In my district I have 117 small plants, not one of whom can afford, as the gentleman said, to send a representative here for any period of time. Not one of those organizations has been able to get either a direct or a subcontract.

Mr. HILL. I agree with the gentleman. I know exactly what he is talking about. I noticed yesterday the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] talked about Richmond, Va. What a short space it is from Richmond to Washington, with a four-lane highway. It is very easy for a man there to attend to business in Washington, while it takes a man from the west coast—he has to spend two or three hundred dollars, in the first place, to get here, and if he drives it would take him a week. There are just as many firms in the condition the gentleman spoke about all over this country as there are near Washington. If a man lives in the gentleman's district, or in Connecticut or Rhode Island or Maine or California or Oregon, he cannot get this information at all. You want to take the money away from him that we are trying to provide in this bill to keep this organization going, which we set up ourselves only 8 or 9 months ago.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. I think it was made plain that this is not an appropriation of \$10,000,000. It is a revolving fund that will finally revert back to the Treasury, exactly as the revolving fund that was used in the Smaller War Plants Corporation during the last war. It will not cost a dime. It is the intention of this administration to charge enough on the prime contract to cover all costs of administration, and when the program is over this \$10,000,000 revolving fund will be returned to the Treasury of the United States, exactly as it was after the last World War. There was no opposition to the use of this revolving fund during the last World War. Not a Member of Congress raised his voice against it. It was only used on 12 occasions, and that revolving fund was returned to the Treasury of the United States. The Congress has already authorized \$50,000,000 for this fund. All we are asking today is \$10,000,000 revolving fund.

Mr. HILL. I might add that we passed this \$50,000,000 revolving fund less than 9 months ago. Certainly you have not changed your opinion entirely in that short time.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Does it not seem ridiculous to the gentleman that the Department of Justice is spending millions of dollars in antitrust suits, breaking up big business, when our Government will not give any business at all to the small-business concerns?

Mr. HILL. Certainly.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Does not the gentleman agree with me that the most "costly citizen" is he who wants to get a job and cannot find work? We must do all that we can to help our small-business firms so that our people may be given jobs.

Mr. HILL. Yes. And when you multiply that by the number of small firms there are all over the United States, you see what a problem you have.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. PHILBIN] is recognized.

(Mr. PHILBIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, first I would like to acknowledge the splendid contribution which has been made by my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY], in bringing this matter to the attention of the House and in so ably debating it.

I will not detain this House long because I believe that the Members are desirous of voting.

However, I desire to acknowledge the splendid contribution which has been made by my distinguished friend from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] in bringing this important matter to the floor of the House and so ably debating it.

After careful inquiry and investigation, the other body has confirmed the head of the Small Defense Plants Administration and that agency is now functioning. It awaits only the green light from Congress to go forward with a carefully planned program, which is not only needed, in my opinion, but which will be of inestimable value to small-business men throughout the country.

I will briefly enumerate parts of the program and some of the services, which the agency engages in, helpful to small business that the Department of Commerce has no authority to do, or is not equipped to do. I think the fact of the matter is that the Department of Commerce has not performed a great many of these functions which this Congress certainly intends should be performed in the interest of small-business men:

First. The SDPA recommends small business loans to RFC, which are made pursuant to a special \$100,000,000 fund which RFC may use only upon SDPA recommendation. Commerce has no authority or funds.

Second. SDPA certifies the competency of small concerns to perform specific contracts. Under the law these certifications must be taken as conclusive. Commerce has no such power.

Third. It has authority to determine jointly with procurement agencies which proposed contracts are to go to small business. Commerce has no authority in the procurement field since the executive order specifically transferred such authority to SDPA.

Fourth. There has never been a complete inventory of the facilities of small business available for defense production. Congress directed SDPA to make one, which it is now doing. All other Government agencies concerned have agreed that SDPA has full and sole responsibility for making it.

Fifth. SDPA has authority to subcontract prime contracts to small firms and no other agency has this authority.

Sixth. Under congressional mandate, SDPA ascertains and coordinates the means by which the productive capacity of small business can be most effectively used for defense and essential civilian production. No other agency holds this authority.

Seventh. The agency surveys and makes appropriate recommendations to NPA to insure a fair and equitable percentage of controlled materials to small concerns. This is very important because it provides small business with representation in decisions by NPA.

Eighth. Under executive order February 5, 1952, several specific functions of the Office of Small Business, NPA, Department of Commerce, were transferred to the SDPA to do away with duplication. These functions included among other things, aid to small business in procurement, financial assistance, the furnishing of technical and managerial aid, and the classification of manufacturing concerns according to size. All these functions are no longer performed by the Department of Commerce and, therefore, if they are to be performed at all, they must be performed by SDPA.

To my mind Congress clearly intended when it unanimously created this new agency that it should serve to furnish these invaluable aids to small business.

I think that even the distinguished Secretary of Commerce is in complete agreement with the objectives of this legislation because in a letter to our distinguished friend, Senator SPARKMAN, dated June 28, 1951, he wrote as follows:

I find myself wholeheartedly in accord with the objective in introducing the amendment to section 701 of the Defense Production Act of 1950. It is of utmost importance not only to mobilize the productive facilities of small business for effective use in this time of emergency so as to broaden the production base but also to preserve small business during this period of mobilization when it is impossible and difficult for small independent businessmen to obtain the materials that they require to maintain them as effective units in our civilian economy.

And I would call this especially to the attention of the House, the Secretary continues, and I quote:

Small business comprises nearly 90 percent of our business establishments, employs nearly half of our nonagricultural workers and handles over one-third of the total volume of business. I strongly believe that there is need for additional statutory provisions for assistance to small business at the present time. In my opinion, the need for additional legislation is immediate. I feel definitely that the statutory authority can be conferred best by an appropriate amendment to the Defense Production Act of 1950. There are many plans and worthy programs which could be undertaken immediately upon the passage of the proposed amendment. I would regret such further delay as would be required by the extensive hearings and other time-consuming aspects involved in the enactment of a separate bill.

I think that the Secretary has made out the strongest possible case for this new agency. The Congress has already authorized it. It is definitely under way. Its program is fully prepared and ready to go. I hope, therefore, that the House

will rally to the assistance of small business throughout the country and authorize all necessary funds to continue and expand this most important activity.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILBIN. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. On this same subject, in 1938 a provision was placed in the law—the Buy American Act—that if there were domestic bids in this country that exceeded foreign bids by 25 percent, the contract could be let to the foreign bidder. That is being done now. At least in one case with which I am familiar if the contract is awarded to the foreign bidder several hundred men will lose their jobs. Is there any sense in that?

Mr. PHILBIN. I know that is being done right now; I know of one case in my own district where a hearing is going on at the present time, and the matter under consideration has been whether they would let contracts to foreign producers rather than American producers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is recognized.

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, we have not pinpointed exactly what we are talking about and why we need this particular amendment for \$10,000,000 in addition to the amendment that we carried yesterday in the Committee of the Whole; and I would like to confine my statement to the need for this particular amendment.

Yesterday we decided that this agency would continue, and that it would then be able to give the technical assistance and marketing facilities which small business lacks. Let me emphasize that: Technical assistance, which is engineering and similar advice, and marketing facilities which means keeping in touch with the governmental procurement agencies and means to complete the procedural requirements those agencies have.

There are still other problems besetting small business; one is the problem of conversion to defense and even changing plants and changing methods. For this purpose we have provided \$100,000,000 to the RFC which can use this money for this purpose on recommendation of the Small Defense Plants Administration. That still leaves one area which is completely uncared for, that is the situation in which in order to get a contract it is necessary to pool the activities of many smaller business concerns, and it is this last area which we are dealing with today. The idea is to provide a \$10,000,000 revolving fund. It will enable the Small Defense Plants Administration to get together a group of small-business men to go into this pool and have the necessary financing for that purpose. That is exactly what the Smaller War Plants Corporation did in these 12 transactions during World War II which have been referred to by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. Fo-

GARTY]. We are all very worried about how small business fits into the defense effort because small business is an appreciable part of the defense effort of the United States.

I have copied off the news board outside here, and every Member should go and see it, a statement made this morning in some kind of a congressional hearing by James F. King, Deputy Administrator of the Defense Production Administration for resources expansion and he is quoted in eight very meaningful words:

All defense programs tend to favor big business.

Of course, it is very hard to get planes, ships and tanks made by small companies, yet the social structure of the country demands that small business be fitted into the defense effort. Those who favor this amendment and the amendment which preceded it come before you with a plan and program for small business in the defense effort, consisting of technical aid, marketing facilities, the opportunity to get loans for reconversion from the RFC, and now this very necessary amendment, the opportunity to finance a pooling of small concerns in order to get an order.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Does the gentleman know that the last report for January indicates that 25 percent of the \$657,000,000 of contracts went to small business in January?

Mr. JAVITS. But it is not also a fact that small business is falling by the wayside in many cities of the country, which is why Members like the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL], the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SEELY-BROWN], and gentlemen from other cities and States are here arguing for this amendment?

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. HILL. I would like to answer the question that the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] propounded by saying that under the definition which the Secretary of Commerce uses it includes every firm that hires up to 2,000 people. The companies I am talking about do not have 2,000 employees. They are lucky if they have 25.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER].

(Mr. MEADER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the pending amendment in this supplemental appropriation bill.

I call attention to the fact that I voted for the \$825,000 additional appropriation for this agency yesterday.

The reason I am opposed to this \$10,000,000 revolving fund is because I think this program needs closer scrutiny by the Congress. I do not believe that it will impair the setting up of this agency, which is only at its beginning. I think the work of the administration during

this fiscal year will be consumed in getting the agency staffed and organized. It will not have the opportunity to use a \$10,000,000 revolving fund before the Defense Production Act extension is acted upon by the Congress. That legislation is now pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency. This question, is a very difficult and important one. It ought to be gone over very carefully by the Banking and Currency Committee and all of its effects and implications should be intensively scrutinized.

This provision puts the Government in business. In general, I am opposed to the Government engaging in business. It may be necessary in order to aid small business to put the Government in business temporarily in this emergency through this Small Defense Plants Administration set-up.

The reason I have misgivings about this program is because of experiences I had while counsel for the War Investigating Committee of the Senate. At that time I had occasion to observe examples of operations of the Smaller War Plants Corporation in the last war, and they did not look too good to me.

I believe that safeguards should be put around this extraordinary authority putting the Government into the business of taking defense contracts before it is passed upon formally by the Congress and before we set it in full operation.

I have two specific examples in mind, one involving a lumber company in Maine. I would like to call this to the attention of those who have said that no money has been lost by the Government. The Government did lose money on that enterprise. I have in mind another case where the Smaller War Plants Corporation took a contract for rubber liferafts. All the other contractors were making them for \$70 a liferaft or less. The Smaller War Plants Corporation subcontracted its contract to one contractor for \$105 a lifeboat and the man who handled it for the Smaller War Plants Corporation resigned and went with this company at \$90,000 a year.

Now, that is the kind of thing that we do not want to encourage. When the Government goes into private enterprise it invites that kind of operation. I believe that adequate safeguards should be put around this extraordinary authority before it is actually put into operation. I am not opposed to it altogether. It may be necessary to grant this unusual authority to effectuate aid to small business, but let us take a better look at it and surround it with safeguards so that we can do it in the proper way, through the proper committee.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to recommend that the Committee on Banking and Currency obtain the confidential files of the Senate War Investigating Committee on these two instances. I ask that committee to go into the subject and see if something cannot be done to provide necessary aid to small business but, at the same time, prevent the Government going into business as we have authorized the Small Defense Plants Administration to do.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEADER. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. HILL. I was thinking of this question. With a great deal of the remarks the gentleman has made, I agree. But let me ask him this: A great number of, shall I say, big-business firms, have been able to enlarge their plants already by the Federal Government playing up a proposition whereby they could take the enlargement of the plant out of their income tax over a period of 5 years.

Mr. MEADER. I am familiar with that, and I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. HILL. Would the gentleman say the Government is not in business with the big-business firms today?

Mr. MEADER. I will say this: That the Hardy committee went into the matter of certificates of convenience and necessity, and we condemned the looseness of the administration of that authority. But that is not Government in business in the same sense as actually taking and performing production contracts. I fear loose controls and administration in a hastily set up agency. I do not want to see another case like that of the Hazelton Steel Co. The three stockholders had only a \$600 investment. But they got an authorization for an \$8,000,000 loan. They would have gotten the money if the Hardy committee had not blocked it.

Government personnel are not well equipped to make estimates and bids involving engineering knowledge and practical production experience. It is better for private enterprise to do this job, except as a last resort.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, it has already been mentioned here, but I think it is of sufficient importance to repeat what was said this morning at a congressional committee, that at a committee headed by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BURTON], a subcommittee of the Small Business Committee, attending Mr. SEELY-BROWN, Mr. EVINS, and Mr. MULTER, this significant statement was made by an official of the Defense Production Administration. I am going to quote it again. Notice what he said:

All defense programs tend to favor big business.

He has merely said what we have all known all the time, but we have not had that admission from that particular source before.

Mr. Chairman, with that knowledge, can we afford not to set up a special agency that will give special consideration to the group that does not have a fair chance and an equal opportunity in a preparedness program? I believe that we would be failing to do our duty were we to fail this appropriation. Now, this is not money that will be spent for salaries, or anything else; it is marked money, it is a fund; not the Government going into business, but the Government

staying out of business. It is used to help the private individuals and corporations to do this work, the ones that are too small or unable to get help otherwise. That is what the \$10,000,000 is for. It is to implement the Small Defense Plants Administration. It is a shotgun in the corner. It is possible that it will not be needed at all, but the fact that the shotgun is in the corner will give this organization tremendous bargaining power.

During the last World War the Smaller War Plants Corporation took prime contracts aggregating \$33,000,000 only; only 12 prime contracts. But by reason of having that power, by having the shotgun in the corner, that organization was able to force \$6,000,000,000 worth of contracts to small concerns. This is the way it operates in practice. The military authorities were told, "Now, there is a contract, and we have a large number of small concerns that can perform it. We can allocate it to 10, 25, or 50 different small concerns all over the Nation and they can assume this prime contract."

The military authorities were told further that if that contract was not given to these small fellows the Small War Plants Corporation would take it itself. They had the power to take it. By reason of having that power they channeled \$6,000,000,000 worth of contracts into the hands of the smaller concerns in this country.

So all we are doing here is placing a shotgun in the corner to be used in the event that it is needed. The money will not be wasted. It will come right back to the Treasury. I insist that the organization should have these regional offices. The gentleman from Virginia yesterday made a good argument stating that in Richmond they had a good organization and they could get help at Richmond. I do not doubt that. However, as the gentleman from Colorado mentioned this morning, there is a four-lane paved highway from Richmond and it is only about a 2-hour drive to Washington, D. C. Richmond has a fine representative here in Congress to look after it. He has the ear of the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Defense and all the rest of them. He can get something done. He can expedite. It is right here in the shadow of the Capitol of the United States. But what about San Francisco, Seattle, Wash., and Houston, Tex., and San Diego, Calif.? They are not so fortunate in that they are not so near the Capitol of the United States. So this organization is setting up agencies all over the Nation, as it should, regional offices, near enough so the little man can come from nearby and put his problems in the lap of a representative of the Small Defense Plants Administration. That is one stop, under one roof. There is no running around to Tom, Dick, and Harry, to 14 different agencies, as they have here now. It will just be a one-stop deal. That is what we want for the small people in this country.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. The gentleman said that people in California

and these other places could not get here like the gentleman from Virginia. We do not have any trouble.

Mr. PATMAN. They could come here if they were as close by, but they are not as close by. They have good Congressmen, too.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. We do not have any trouble. Michigan has Congressmen here, and they tend to their business, and we do not have trouble with that.

Mr. PATMAN. I know this will be very helpful to the country. I hope the gentleman realizes how much help it will be and how much it will benefit the people he represents. I know the gentleman is a good Representative, but he cannot do everything for them.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. That is right, but they tell me they do not need any help, and this agency is not helping them at all.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not believe they will be displeased with the gentleman's vote for this because they know this is in the direction of strengthening the economy of the entire Nation. Small business is the backbone of the Nation. This is helping the backbone of the Nation, and I believe the gentleman wants to help the backbone of the entire Nation. So I hope that the gentleman will consider the fact that this is a revolving fund and that it is needed. It will not be used except to help private individuals and corporations carry out contracts with the Government. It will be a means of distributing production. We need that production in the national defense effort. It will help the smaller concerns of America, and it is very much needed to implement this organization. I hope there is not a single vote against this amendment.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, does not the gentleman agree there is no such shortage of machine tools and factory capacity in this country as the Defense Department and the Defense Mobilizer and others seem to assume? In my district there are dozens of smaller plants with 100 to 500 employees, mostly highly skilled workmen. They were used in the last war to great advantage. Some have now had to reduce operations, but still they cannot get either prime or subcontracts. The Government planners never use them. They insist on going out somewhere and getting three, four or five thousand acres of land, cutting down trees, leveling the ground, building up a "big business" type of plant costing \$50,000,000 or so with 5,000 employees. Then they have to build houses, schools and theaters, and persuade or pay workers to move to it. They pass up the capacity that is already available to do the job at less cost and with greater speed and with greater efficiency.

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman is exactly right. One of the best things this organization will do will be to take an inventory of these facilities which the gentleman mentions. They will have them card indexed, and they can tell you

right off where they can produce and what they can produce. That is something which is very much needed.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. MEADER. May I ask the gentleman whether he would agree with me in deploring the general proposition of Government going into business?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not want the Government in business. This will keep the Government out of business. I appreciate the fact that the exceptions, which the gentleman mentioned, should not occur again. Our committee looked into that. Our legislative committee looked into it. The Committee on Appropriations is not the committee to do this. They have not looked into it. They have heard no witnesses. The Committee on Banking and Currency did not even know they were striking out this appropriation. This was not tried on its merits. It was tried in secret, and condemned without an adequate hearing. That is the truth of the matter.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, is it not true that the establishment of this \$10,000,000 revolving fund will go a long way toward solving the problem that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] raised?

Mr. PATMAN. Absolutely. And I think the gentleman asked the question for the purpose of bringing that point out. I know the gentleman is a good friend of the small business concerns. His whole life has been spent in small business. He is a valuable and able Member of the House. I hope he stays with us on this and makes this another big day for small business.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SCHWABE. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and forty-eight Members are present, a quorum.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I think it is about time we got up to date on this proposition. I am going to call attention to three or four things, which to me are of outstanding significance in connection with this proposition. In the first place, I want to call attention to page 10 of Public Law 96, the authorizing bill for this so-called small-business corporations law. Paragraph C, right in the middle of the page. It says:

To arrange for the performance of such contracts by letting subcontracts to small-business concerns or others for the manufacture of supplies or assembly of such articles, equipment, or materials, or parts thereof or for servicing or processing in connection therewith—

And now listen carefully and see where the sleeper is—

or such management service as may be necessary to enable the administration to perform such contracts.

Now, what does that mean? It means that they are going to take over the management of these small businesses, and you are going to have the whole thing regimented. It is going to cost the Government an enormous sum of money. It will work to the disadvantage of every one of these small-business concerns. I want you to see just for a moment what has happened.

Beginning in fiscal 1952, on July 1 last—this is the record of the Navy Department; I have not had time to get the others—for 1952, July, it showed a drop in small business of 5 percent. August showed a jump from 14 percent to 25 percent, an increase of 7 percent over the previous year, in contracts going to small business.

September showed an increase of 3.2 percent, or 19.7 percent over last year.

October, 23 percent, an increase of 4.1 percent.

November, 31.9, an increase of 17.7 percent.

December, 22 percent, an increase of 2.3 percent.

January, 25.4 percent, an increase of 12.4 percent.

The fact is that small business is getting a break, and you are beginning to get action on it. Now, let us not muss it up.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I do not yield. I only have 4 minutes.

Now, here is the picture. With this situation the old law made it mandatory that they could actually take a contract. Here it is only permissive and, in effect, requires approval of the contracting officer in each agency. Now, if you provide this \$10,000,000, you will see those fellows going into it and musing it all up. On the other hand, if you leave it alone and let these agencies do what they have been told to do, take care of small business, you have got a chance to help small business at home. You will not do it the other way, where you will be regimented completely, where they are going to go into the factories and take over the management and upset any private management at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to yield 2 minutes of my time to the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MEADER. When a contractor enters into a defense contract there is usually a penalty clause.

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. MEADER. When the Government, through the Small Business Plants Administration, enters into a contract and then fails to deliver and becomes subject to a penalty, does the Government sue itself to recover the penalty?

Mr. TABER. I expect so.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. I know the gentleman wants to be fair, as he always is, but when he referred to the sleeper in this particular revolving fund of management services, it is not for the purpose of going in and taking over management at all. It is only set up for one express purpose. If they want some advice as to change in their equipment in order to get a defense contract, then they will get that advice from some of the competent engineers that are in this managerial service.

Mr. TABER. I wonder why they did not say it that way in the law. They said it so that it can be done the other way. I would expect this outfit to go ahead and jump in and land on every contract in every factory that there is to deal with.

Mr. FOGARTY. That is not their purpose at all.

Mr. TABER. I am afraid of just that sort of situation. I think you are getting into a dangerous situation. Those who are voting to get into this kind of a deal are going to do their very best, although they do not realize it, to hurt small business. I think it is time for the people to wake up and realize what we are up against and what we are doing. I hope that we will not adopt this amendment; that we will leave it and let it be investigated just as thoroughly as possible, so that small business can have a chance, and not be taken over body and breeches by some governmental racketeer.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] for 2 minutes to close the debate.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the gentleman from Texas for the very kind remarks he made with reference to me just a few moments ago. I hope my constituents will remember them when they vote this fall. But he stated very effectively the reason why I stand before you today.

We do have a broad four-lane highway from Richmond to Washington, just as he said; the distance is only 110 miles; it can be covered in an automobile in little over 2 hours. In addition we do have a very effective office of the Department of Commerce which is now operating in the city of Richmond and which is helping small business. Notwithstanding those facts, I read in the paper just a few days ago that the Small Defense Plants Administration is contemplating opening a regional office in Richmond. You know what a regional office means. It operates in the several States within the region. Then, of course, we shall have to have a State office, and before we get through we shall have two or three more offices in Richmond trying to handle the work which one office is already handling satisfactorily.

I pointed out on this floor yesterday that there are today 14 agencies helping small business. I am in favor of small business, but certainly we do not need 14 agencies to handle the problem. If the gentleman will first coordinate the activities in behalf of small business in any one agency, I do not care what the agency is, then I will stand up here and fight for an appropriation for it. But when we are already making appropriations for 14 agencies for that purpose, I see no reason for creating a fifteenth.

On yesterday we voted the Small Defense Plants Administration \$825,000 with which to operate for 3 months, because it is only 3 months to the end of this fiscal year or rather, will be only 3 months by the time this act is adopted, for it cannot get through the Congress before April 1—so we will have only April, May, and June, and the law provides that the agency shall expire automatically on June 30; yet they now ask for \$10,000,000 as a revolving fund. A revolving fund is the dream of all bureaucrats—just give us a revolving fund to play with and then we can go to town, because we do not have to account to anybody; we can use the revolving fund to suit ourselves. This request is made in face of the fact that the Defense Production Act already authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend \$2,100,000,000 for defense purposes; and section 714 of that act authorizes the RFC to lend \$100,000,000 for small business for both defense and civilian purposes.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. MEADER. Did the gentleman from Virginia hear the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] explain that by giving this \$10,000,000 to the Defense Plants Administration and giving them authority to take and perform contracts was taking the Government out of business instead of putting the Government in business? If he heard it I would like to have him explain the rationalization of that statement.

Mr. GARY. I cannot explain it because what we are doing is putting up this money so that the Government can buy contracts. If that is not putting the Government in business I do not know what it is. The Government buys the contracts from the Government and then turns around and sells them to operators of small business. Why we should set up this agency for that intermediate step, I do not know. Why cannot the Government award the contracts to small business enterprises in the first place?

Here is the situation we are facing: This bill covers only 3 months. Since they have the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that can put up any funds that are necessary during that time, would it not be wise to postpone consideration of this \$10,000,000 item until the House considers the entire Defense Production Act, or until we review this entire program and decide legislatively whether it shall be continued for another year? There will be ample time

then to determine how much of the \$50,000,000 revolving fund authorized by the Defense Production Act is necessary. As has been stated, the Smaller War Plants Corporation during the entire period of World War II did not use but \$35,500,000,000.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman referred to the Department of Commerce office in Richmond. This organization is going down there to supplant some of these people who have not been able in the past all over the country to perform a service for small business.

Mr. GARY. I differ with the gentleman. There is absolutely nothing in the law that would require them to supplant anything and I will say to the gentleman that if he will see that a provision is written into the Defense Production Act requiring a coordination of small business activities into one agency then I will vote for the appropriation necessary to operate that agency.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. I neglected to state that all military organizations in this country today are following the rule of considering a small war plant as one with not over 500 employees.

Mr. GARY. And they have personnel assigned to the task of placing defense contracts with those small-business corporations.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does the gentleman know of any community in the United States where local banks are refusing to advance the necessary credit to small companies to handle their war contracts?

Mr. GARY. I do not, but even if there are the RFC can finance them up to \$100,000,000. The RFC is authorized to lend funds up to \$2,100,000,000 for defense purposes. Any part or all of this amount can be used for small plants today, and \$100,000,000 is specifically set aside for small plants.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, we hear a lot of talk about economy, and let me say that I am wholeheartedly for economy. Providing SDPA with adequate funds is one of the best economy moves this House could ever take. Everybody knows that the bedrock of economy is efficiency. You cannot have an efficient operation if functions are scattered, efforts are duplicated, and 10 or a dozen separate agencies, all working independently of each other, are dabbling in the small-business problem. With one overall small-business agency, such as SDPA, you save untold thousands of dollars by eliminating wasteful efforts, by cutting red tape, and by putting some design and purpose into the program to assist small business under the mobilization program.

I have consistently been for economy in Government. But we will lose much

more than we save if we deny SDPA the modest appropriation which the Fogarty amendment provides. SDPA is economic, first, because it puts an end to duplication and overlapping, and second, because it offers a solid promise of even further economies. It is my firm belief that when SDPA gets its program into full operation, we will be amazed at the additional economies it will bring about in terms of more efficient and less costly use of the Nation's productive facilities. If we eliminate SDPA we eliminate very necessary functions of consolidation and coordination which no other agency performs, can perform, wants to perform, or is set up to perform.

The record of the Smaller War Plants Corporation during World War II is undeniable proof that if you put all these powers under one roof and give the agency strong congressional support, you save hundreds of thousands of the taxpayers' dollars and preserve the Nation's economic and industrial strength at the same time.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I consider it merely a patriotic duty to speak here in support of the small-business men of my district and the country. I must confess my impatience with the prolongation of this debate and the apparent hesitation on the part of some Members to give vitally needed assistance to our small businesses.

It is barely 7 months ago, you will recall, that this House, and the Senate, unanimously voted to create the Small Defense Plants Administration as an independent agency with the sole and primary responsibility of assisting small business. Would anybody here be so bold as to declare that the needs of the small-business man have become less and his position materially improved since last August; I think not.

It is so obvious that the small business concerns need Government help it cannot be challenged and not one single dissenting voice of a Member of Congress was heard when we passed the originating legislation to create the Small Defense Plants Administration last year. To continue in existence these small-business people need a helping hand badly and they need it now.

There is no question but what they are being almost totally ignored in the awarding of contracts by the various Government procurement offices. We have the experience and abundant evidence from the last war demonstrating that small business was on the point of being extinguished until the Small War Plants Corporation was established for the particular purpose of aiding them. It is a matter of record that this Corporation performed an eminently satisfactory job. In this present emergency small business has its back to the wall in the same desperate plight it was back in 1942 before the SWPC was instituted. The Small Defense Plants Administration is being established on the same lines as SWPC and is prepared to carry out the same essential program that proved so successful.

Up in my home area there are hundreds of small businesses founded on the honored American traditions of pri-

vate initiative and personal responsibility. With the decline in civilian goods output and unavailability of basic materials, channeled into defense production by large corporations, these vital business units of our economy are threatened with disaster. They cannot afford to leave their business or send representatives running to Washington, and other procurement sources, in search of Government contracts. The great corporations, as we all know, are well able to fly everywhere and maintain standing field agents at every procurement point. The only voice the little-business man has is yours and mine and we are neglecting our obligation if we do not speak up for him in his hour of need.

The small-business men of this country are only asking for a proportionate part in rightful entitlement. They want a fair share of critical materials, financial assistance, and defense contracts which, as things stand now, it is impossible for them to get. They are tragically in need of the guidance and direction toward these objectives which the continuation of the Small Defense Plants Administration is designed to give and will give, under the able direction of Mr. Telford Taylor and his staff.

In aiding small business we are only insuring the fundamental integrity of the Nation. The defense needs and the strength of our economy require that the facilities of small business, currently lying idle for the most part, be fully utilized in developing our maximum military potential in this mobilization emergency. It is as equally important that we safeguard the long-term economic welfare of the United States by preserving the potential productive strength of our small-business units.

The only objection against the continuing of SDPA, that in my opinion, merits any comment, is the question of whether the appropriation is warranted. Mr. Chairman, as you all know, I have been a consistent advocate of economy in Government spending and I am vigorously in favor of judging every proposed appropriation by a rigid yardstick of economy. There are, however, two kinds of economy; one legitimate and the other false. I very strongly believe it would be a prime example of false economy to eliminate funds for the Small Defense Plants Administration because, not only does this agency incorporate economies resulting from cutting out current procurement duplications and over-lappings but it also contains a real projection of many more desirable economies.

Undoubtedly some substantial savings will develop from a greater utilization of our small manufacturers in the defense effort. We all realize the vast expenditures being made by the competing military branches for war products, a great many of which could be gotten more cheaply from the smaller producers who are not yet being permitted participation in the mobilization program.

A more striking economy would be accomplished in the prevention of unemployment which is unquestionably uneconomic in these dangerous days when every person and every resource of the

Nation should be brought into this vital struggle against Communist aggression.

Mr. Chairman, throughout the history of this country those engaged in small business have repeatedly demonstrated they are an essential artery of our production body and in our survival as a democratic people.

I earnestly urge you, my colleagues, to vote, without further delay, in favor of extending this aid to enable small business to maintain its rightful place in our traditional American life and history.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the House on its action yesterday when it added to the supplemental appropriation bill now before us the sum of \$825,000 with which to keep the Small Defense Plants Administration operating to the end of this fiscal year.

In my experience in Congress I have not seen another such attempt as has been made here to kill off the Small Defense Plants Administration. It has been pointed out that there are several agencies and departments of the Government that have personnel whose functions it is to aid and assist small business. The same situation was true last fall when this Congress created SDPA. At that time it was thought that SDPA as a one-stop agency for the small-business man might be able to coordinate the activities that affect small business that are now spread around in various sections of the Government. It was thought that the personnel to serve small business in the other agencies and departments of the Government might be greatly reduced, and I believe that this has, to some extent, been done, but I do not believe that it was ever contemplated that these agencies and departments would be free to forget the problems of small business just because we had created SDPA.

As one of the sponsors of the Small Defense Plants Administration, it was my thought that SDPA could and would serve as a clearing house of information, and action, for small business in this country.

It is my recollection that the Small Defense Plants Administration was not set up until about last December. In other words it has been alive only 3 months.

Yesterday, we were faced with a recommendation by the House Committee on Appropriations that its life be taken, its remains buried, and its grave left unmarked.

I have not before experienced such an about face on a legislative matter of such importance in the short period of 3 months.

Our answer to such a radical proposal on yesterday was to vote in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for an appropriation of \$825,000. I trust this decision will be upheld by the House later on today, if a further attempt is made to kill this one agency that can and will give efficient service to the problems of the small-business man of this Nation.

I also hope that our action here will be considered as final by the Appropriations Committee, and that it will forthwith recommend to this House sufficient funds to carry on the work of SDPA for the fiscal year 1953.

I, of course, do not know the background of the fierce fight that some of the Members are making on this new agency. They spill out their innuendos attacking the administration of SDPA. I do not personally know Gen. Telford Taylor, the Administrator, but I do know that only a few short months ago he was confirmed by the Senate, undoubtedly after a searching inquiry had been made into his background and qualifications. I do know the Deputy Administration, or second in command in this agency, Mr. John Horne, of Alabama, and in my judgment there is not an abler, more conscientious, or finer character in Government service today. So, why is this vicious fight on SDPA being made? Certainly it is not because of any great amount of service that the agency has thus far been able to render to small business. It has only been in existence 3 months. Most of that time has necessarily been taken up in getting organized to carry out its mission of service to small business.

The fight is not being made on the agency for its failure to adequately serve small business, because no one could reasonably expect its accomplishments to be great at the end of 3 months from the time of its creation.

No; I believe this fight on this agency stems from some other motive, and whatever that motive is, I hope this House will reaffirm the position it took when it created the agency, vote it the funds to do the job that needs to be done for our small business.

Perhaps big business does not have need for the SDPA. I don't know. But, I do know from the complaints that come to my office that there is a great need on the part of small business for the services of this agency, and I feel that it should be encouraged by the Congress to go full steam ahead.

In order for SDPA to do its most effective work, we should provide it with the \$10,000,000 revolving fund that the second Fogarty amendment calls for. This fund can be considered as a loan from the Treasury to SDPA, and it will be paid back to the Treasury. SDPA will use the fund to make sure that some of the larger contracts are so awarded that small-business men will have an opportunity to do some of the work. I do not contemplate that it will be necessary to use the authority which this fund will give SDPA very often, but the fact that it has it will help greatly to disperse defense contracts to small business over the Nation.

As I see it, it is easy for the representatives of the people to declare themselves in favor of the stability and integrity and well-being of small business. They can demonstrate on this amendment, just as they demonstrated yesterday on the first Fogarty amendment, whether those spoken intentions mean anything. This is an opportunity for us to render a great service to small business, and in turn, to the country.

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Fogarty amendment. The committee yesterday, in approving the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island's amendment to continue administrative funds for the Small Defense

Plants Administration, demonstrated that it understood the need for a Government agency ready to pitch in and fight to protect the interests of small-business men. However, in the face of the lack of concern for small-business problems shown by Government contract-awarding offices, unless we go a step further and give SDPA a means of prying loose some of these contracts, the small-business concern is still liable to get only short shrift when it comes to actual contract awards. The \$10,000,000 in this bill will actually cost the taxpayer nothing—but it will mean a lot to small firms trying to take part in the defense procurement program. Any moneys spent from the fund will be returned to the Government as the contracts pay off. Without the fund and the authority to take prime contracts for subcontracting to small business, the SDPA will have no way of assuring what Mr. Taylor calls the fullest degree of cooperation from the contracting agencies in obtaining awards.

I am sure that practically all of my colleagues in the House have had the same sort of experiences I have had in trying to help constituents with small shops get a foot in the Government procurement picture. Defense contracting offices prefer, understandably, as I said yesterday, to deal with the big outfits who can supply them, under one contract, with everything they need. That is fine for them, but it's mighty hard on the small firm trying to keep its business going. Without some way of certifying to these agencies, in the case of any particular contract, that it is one that small business is qualified to handle, and without the authority backed up by capital from the revolving fund to take the contract itself, the SDPA will not be much more successful than you or I have been in getting contracting officers to listen to reason. Experiences during World War II with the Smaller War Plants Corporation showed that, once the buying agencies knew that SWPC could and would step in if need be, they gave much more consideration to qualified smaller firms. The right to take prime contracts was exercised by SWPC only a dozen times or so. Small businesses got an equitable share of the business—but they would not have had it if the implied threat of SWPC's authority was not there. Since Korea the same situation has existed. In spite of small-business offices in the Commerce Department, NPA, and the Defense Department, small business has not had a look-in when the contracts are handed out. Those offices can only advise. Congress has authorized SDPA to do the same kind of a job SWPC did during World War II. It is up to us now to implement that authority by voting to them the \$10,000,000 they have requested so that, if necessary, they can step in and say, "This is a contract small business can handle at no additional expense to the Government—give it to them."

Mr. Chairman, in setting up the Small Defense Plants Administration last year we authorized \$50,000,000 to be used as a revolving fund in taking prime contracts from Government agencies and letting

subcontracts to small businesses. The conditions which warranted the House to take that unanimous action last year have not changed. Small businesses are still suffering under major cuts in their raw-materials supply so that they cannot produce for civilian consumption. They are still getting only a dribble of contracts to produce for the military. Unless we do something to break down the defense agency's resistance to contracting with small firms, the situation will continue and your friends and my friends running their own businesses will continue to go out of business or limp along on 2 or 3 days a week production. Those people are the real backbone of the American free-enterprise system. Unless Congress appropriates this money for SDPA the only free enterprise left will be the enterprising zeal with which big business snaps the padlock on the doors of the little shops which they have driven out of competition.

I do not want that to happen, and I do not think you do. To avoid it, I most strongly urge that the Committee approve the Fogarty amendment and provide this \$10,000,000 to put the SDPA in business for small business.

Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted today, I also include as part of my remarks a letter from a constituent of mine on this same subject matter. I feel these comments from Mr. Toon are to the point and certainly should convince those who read them:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., March 10, 1952.
Congressman JOHN SHELLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The action taken by the Appropriations Committee in refusing the \$825,000 request for operating expenses of the Small Defense Plants Administration and the \$10,000,000 revolving fund, and the committee recommendation that the agency be liquidated at once, I feel deserve expression from the many small-business men. For that reason, I have hastily written the attached memorandum reflecting our over-all problems.

During the last 2 years I have spent over 7 months in the National Capital trying to find ways to do business with the many agencies of the Government and further, understand the many rules, regulations, controls, and systems that one must have knowledge of. I have heard of the many criticisms of some of the people in the Commerce Department and Munitions Division in the Department of Defense who say, "We can serve small business and we are. SDPA will merely duplicate our functions." Being a taxpayer, I would be one of the first to support the closing of any agency that is duplicating the effort of an existing operation and, as you know, I have pointed out before the areas of duplication that I found in the military and some other departments that are half handled by the various departments, but their authority or responsibility seems to be of nebulous nature. I pray for reconsideration of this action by the committee and should you find that the Munitions Division or the Department of Commerce is manned with specialists, then take them out of their divisions and set them up into an agency armed with the authority and responsibility to act in the interest of small business; do not expect them to function as stepchildren to the big-business operations of the Military and Commerce Departments. Should further consideration show the true facts I am sure Congress wants to know, then I feel confident Congress will

increase the budget and scope of the Small Defense Plants Administration and cut from the Defense and Commerce Department budgets more than enough funds to cover the cost of really representing the many thousands of small-business operators who have no lobbyists here in Washington to speak for them.

I ask your sincere consideration to the thinking expressed in the attached memorandum.

Sincerely,

T. O. TOON.

This is written with due apology to the many fine public servants in the Government departments and in the military, and to the men who represent big business in masterful manner and the management force that make up big business in America. To approach the problem in a fair manner we must consider the people who are in decision positions in our Government departments, civilian and military, and also the people who represent and manage the operations of big business in the country.

It is natural that the administrative branch of the Government should be attracted to the people who have made national reputations as successful operators of their various industries or other chosen fields of work and, when conditions arise such as we have today, top men like Mr. Wilson, of NPA; Mr. Hoffman; Mr. Johnson; and others should be drafted by the President to organize our all-out production effort. It is also natural that the agencies vested with the responsibilities of policing our price and materials structure should call in leaders in their respective fields to help set up formulas and programs that can act as the regulatory pattern to protect our economy as nearly as possible under abnormal conditions. These key men and women muster under them, or recommend for administrative positions, people who subscribe to their thinking, which is a most natural result. Examination of the people in responsible positions will show that in the majority they reflect the thinking and techniques of big-business operations since in the majority they come from that section of our national life; and as their able assistants they have the civil servants who have selected Government employment as their lifetime vocation.

The method of the selection of the most efficient worker versus the one with the longest work record, plus military service, etc., is no part of this memorandum, but has a bearing on the output in Government versus private operation. Briefly here again there runs in conflict the hard working, sincere employee versus the people who are on the job because they rate the job in length of service. In the majority of cases these employees have had little experience if any, in the operation of small business and their approach to the problem is through their study of economics and the understanding they feel they have of the problem. They lack the rich experience of sweating blood to meet the payroll, the sleepless nights that go with the lack of business which results in the cut-back in staff or the losing of more money than little business can stand, knowing full well when you let off an employee his youngsters may suffer, or he may lose the little home, or his car that he is making his payments on and depends upon small business to find the income. They lack the heartaches one has when the credit at the bank has been cut off because the bank has more attractive fields for their funds. They lack the experience of having \$20,000 in the bank on Monday and \$200 on Tuesday, but with the knowledge that the payroll has been met, there is an inventory of raw materials on hand, materials in process, and the accounts receivable are on the credit side of the ledger. They lack the feeling of satisfaction when the board of directors or the

shareholders vote you their confidence and give you a pat on the back that is worth more in many men's lives than many dollars could buy, and yet these public servants are not alone in not enjoying these experiences.

Many successful executives who have been drafted into Government service in most cases have graduated from one department to another of a big organization, mastering every assignment given them but always surrounded by able men, ample finances, and some pattern of operation. He has always thought and worked in the realm of big business, doing things in a big way, and when he became the top official and could show his organization how a new idea, person, or property would be profit producing for his organization they could find the funds to acquire or develop this new venture and his legal, merchandising, engineering, production, and financial staffs were always at his side. He did not have to fight all the problems himself as is the case with the truly small-business man.

Then the other segment of people here on the scene in Washington are the representatives working out of the many business offices in the city. They are in the most part men who are employed by the big-business groups and have at their call engineering and legal staffs in the preparation of presentations. Their background has been with big business that does things in a big way and they can find an answer for any Government agency in a matter of hours and can court contracts with all the skill their companies possess. They have team mates who represent other branches of their industrial family who can render aid in gathering information, planting suggestions, and locating any given material or machine in their multiple branches of industry. They have no worries in connection with the problems of financing a contract or work assignment which they may secure from the Government; their principle function is to get along with and understand Government and its principal agencies. They do exactly the same things that a small-business man would do if he could afford it, so no thought must be taken that anyone blames these men for doing their job for big business to the best of their ability. It has been said often that to be a part of the central intelligence agencies possessed by some of the big business interests operating here in Washington is the quickest way to find out what is going to be bought, where to find materials, or any other function that one may reasonably expect to go to the Government to get information about; however, it is a known fact that some of these highly organized central intelligence agency groups of big business know more about what is going on in all branches of Government than any Member of the Congress or any member of any Government agency functioning by and for the will of the people.

When someone starts to measure the impact that would and is gradually taking place on our national economy, sees that the truly small business operations are becoming fewer and more dependent upon the grace of some big business operation—considers that small business represents a considerable part of the very backbone of the American life and economy, and that too many small cities and towns depend on their big business which is nationally classified a small business, then we may well ask the question, What can the Government, Congress, or the people do about it?

Recently a number of stories have found their way into the newspapers about how small business is being looked after. He who would seriously suggest or believe that a small group of specialists in the Military Establishment or in the Department of Commerce could, even though they had the experience, look after the interests of the small-business segment of our national life

has not studied the over-all problem of what small business means to America or expects an unnatural thing to be accomplished by superhumans. You may just as well expect a fellow that is in a poker game where the stakes are for \$1,000 to pay attention to the boys who would like to get in the game but insist upon a 10-cent limit. Or you might just as well expect some store clerk to give you the same amount of attention if you are going to buy a \$1 necktie when he sees a lush customer come in at the same time who is ready to buy a \$150 suit.

I feel sure the Commerce Department and the Munitions Division both are staffed with men who have had small-business experience, but they still must go to the higher echelons in their departments to get decisions, and so they are little equipped to fight for the interests of small business when their superiors are wrestling with the problems of volume production, mass operation, and the bulk placement of funds which can be effectively treated in minimum time with the big-business operators. Their actions would be somewhat like ours if we were up in an apple tree picking apples. We would want to go to that part of the tree that had the most fruit so we could fill our basket with the least effort rather than to go out on the limbs and pick off the good fruit, which would require much more labor, effort, and time; and yet maybe out on that limb is some community in Missouri, or in the Dakotas, or in Alabama, or in New England, whose existence depends upon fair consideration for small business.

Those who subscribe to the theory that small business is already represented and their interests are taken care of by existing agencies will pull out all sorts of statistical figures to impress, confuse, and distort the problem. They will bring in a few witnesses who are small-business men, and they will tell you that although X company received over \$1,000,000,000 in contracts, X percentage of this was subcontracted out to X number of small-business plants, and this is a good, sound, salable argument, but it doesn't reflect the facts. Not that there is any objection to X company getting the billion-dollar contract; certainly no small-business man could handle it; but consider the subcontracts that they give out. In the majority of cases the practice is sound, but in other areas they give out parts of work they cannot keep under their own wing; or they build a new plant and get tax write-offs, and thereby grow bigger. The record will speak for itself. If you examine the subcontract conditions that are attached to the work sent out you would find that when the prime contractor would get any kind of cut-back he naturally starts cutting off the little subcontractors that have been, through his good grace, given some work for their plant. This experience in the last war makes many small-business operators leary of taking his facility and doing his bit in the defense program as he has no protection afforded the big operators with their skilled legal staffs.

With all the problems of controls and materials regulations and other factors encountered in the operation of business, big and small, with the added problem that this is not an all-out war effort and the production of defense items must be coordinated with the production of civilian goods, many far-reaching factors need the undivided sincere study and attention of an agency of Government that is set up specifically to look after the interests of the American people in the healthy retention of that segment of our economic life—small business. The men in Congress who lack the cooperation of the lobbyists of and for the people or the small-business man may well ponder the action taken by the Appropriations Committee when it recommended the liquidation of SDPA, the creation of the Congress and the

one ray of hope the small-business man had remaining. A fair survey from every section of America would show that small-business men are crying for help, but they have no masters in presenting their cause to Congress or to the administration as these divisions of Government are too well surrounded with too many men who view the over-all problem with and through the eyes of big business.

During the last war the Federal Government created the Smaller War Plants Corporation. Its functions and its value to the war effort and to small business were appreciated by those who studied the problem. It was responsible for many small firms staying in business and producing many hundreds of millions of dollars worth of needed materials. It retained people in their local areas rather than forcing them to migrate to areas where big business needed more manpower. This resulted in a chain reaction in scores of areas because the local butcher, baker, and candlestick maker did not lose their valued patrons, and it reduced the need for additional war housing in congested areas. It appreciated the values in many areas where the small plants were operating, it created a wider base for the country's growth and afforded opportunity to those who would work. It formed the core of industry that the returning veteran could fit into after overseas service and it helped maintain that vital factor in our way of life, the individual ownership of many businesses by many people. None of us would argue but that what America needs big business—the small-business man would be the first to fight for the rights of big business. He likes to, as much as he can, copy their progressive developments, ideas, and programs because he dreams always of the day when he may be classified by big business as a big-business man, when he at the moment has to be satisfied with being a big man in his community only. He gets many work orders and does much business with his big brother. He shows his attitude by subscribing to such agencies as the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other trade association groups.

He sits on many civic committees and devotes freely of his time, money and energy in the cause of business and in common problems with big business. He proportionately contributes more dollars per man and many more hours per man than his big brother. He is unknowingly used to foster the wishes of his big brother and he carries the fight for issues when his big brother may be embarrassed by having his name on the masthead of some issue or project. The organizations he belongs to are manned by men who can separate the chaff from the wheat, who know on which side their bread is buttered, and who bend to the will of experienced leadership always present in every organization and usually made up from the bigger blocks of members who represent one of many special interests, who know how to trade votes and influence actions when the chips are down.

It is no reflection on the small-business man to say that he is the tool of his bigger brother. He may do just the same thing if he had the issues and the people that he could use, but he has to keep his nose to the grindstone and operate his little business while his big brother's staffs plan the grand strategy and relieve him of the messy detail up to the point of preparing the resolutions, the policies, and the speeches. Then he flatters his little brother by allowing him to sponsor the issue, take the job of sitting in the chairman's or president's chair so that the press can report that such and such an organization sponsored such and such issue and that the idea was conceived by a little-business man in the interest of the general welfare and for the good of the area's

economy. The people in public office and on the street are left with the feeling that such and such an expression is the will of and for the interest of the majority of their people when, as a matter of fact, nothing could be further from the truth. However, as is true in so many cases, when you try to contradict this you will find many small-business men siding with their big brother even though to their own detriment because they would rather think that the idea was of their own making and they were not the voice of big business.

In closing I might suggest that I am quite sure there is no Member of the Congress, be he Republican or Democrat, in the Senate or in the House, but who has not received scores and scores of letters from his constituents asking for help, advice, and suggestions. To help these Members in the legislative branch of the Government they should have set up this Small Defense Plants Administration armed with authority and responsibility to serve small business. The Members of Congress should support this agency with all the vigor and power they possess to preserve and retain as healthy contributing segments of our national economy the American system of small business, owned and operated by so many people in the communities.

T. O. TOON.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY].

The question was taken; and the Chair being in doubt, the Committee divided, and there were—ayes 101, noes 106.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. FOGARTY and Mr. TABER.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 115, noes 127.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this act, the restrictions contained within appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for specified types of personal services, or for other purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may be transferred between appropriations or authorizations available for or involving such services are hereby increased to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law.

Mr. TABER (interrupting the reading of the bill). Mr. Chairman, these are items that all relate to the amounts supposed to be required for pay raises, and I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered as read down through page 42, line 16, and open to amendment as well as being subject to points of order.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection to the gentleman's request.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all members who wish to do so, may extend their re-

marks previous to the last teller vote taken in committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DAVIS of Georgia: On page 44, after line 2, add a new paragraph to chapter 11 as follows:

"None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 99 percent of the amount carried in this chapter for said Department and none of the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other department or agency shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 90 percent of the amount appropriated in this chapter for such department or agency."

(Mr. DAVIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, the amendment which I have just offered applies only to chapter XI of this bill. It will require the departments and agencies concerned to absorb just a little bit more than they have already absorbed of the pay increases voted last year. It will not, of course, reduce the pay increase to any individual.

As you will see on page 34 of the committee report, pay increases enacted last year total approximately \$699,000,000. Of this total amount the operating agencies have indicated their ability to absorb \$311,000,000, or about 44 percent.

House bill H. R. 6947, the bill we are now considering, would impose a total reduction in this chapter XI of only \$5,297,582, which would require a further absorption within appropriations already available, of less than 1 percent of the total pay increase cost.

My amendment will require them to absorb \$12,623,054 more, which is less than 2 percent of the total pay-raise cost.

When enacting the recent pay-raise legislation, the Congress, of course, realized that it would entail some additional burden on the public purse. At the same time, it was just as clearly the intent of Congress that every possible operating economy would be devised and put into effect, to offset the higher pay rate.

As steps toward that end, the Appropriation Act for 1952 prescribed such economies through limitations on filling vacated positions, on grade promotions, on employment of chauffeurs, on numbers of workers employed in information and publicity units, on purchases of automobiles, and so forth. It would seem that these prescribed economies alone would account for, or should have made possible, absorption of pay-raise costs to at least the extent of the \$311,000,000, which the operating agencies have now presented as the top limit of their ability to pay these higher salaries and wages without new appropriations.

In the belief that some further absorption is possible and is entirely practicable, without hampering any of the work programs involved, I am propos-

ing this amendment to the committee bill, which, as I have already said, carries a reduction of less than 1 percent of this particular item. This amendment would require a further absorption of nearly 2 percent of the total pay-raise costs.

Even with the adoption of this amendment, the operating agencies still will be absorbing less than 50 percent of the total of such costs.

I call your attention to the fact that the hearings on this bill do not appear to have gone specifically into this matter, and the committee report explains its action in 11 lines on page 35 of the committee report. The committee considered total estimates of \$353,006,460, and recommended, as I previously said, a reduction of \$5,297,582.

The Presidential request for this item is contained in House Document No. 358, and contains a tabulation listing the agencies and the amounts requested, with the amounts absorbed. The figures reflect that some of the agencies have done a splendid job in absorbing some of these costs. The tabulation shows that 22 of the agencies absorbed these increased pay costs 100 percent; the percentage ranges down from 100 percent to zero, some of the agencies having absorbed none of the costs.

While the agencies concerned have absorbed some 44 percent of the over-all average of these costs, I call attention to the fact that much of this is occasioned by the new leave system passed by the last session of the Congress.

Each of the items in this chapter involving Federal funds has been considered, and, as a general rule, a cut of about 10 percent in the amount recommended by the committee is proposed. An exception to this is the Post Office Department, in the case of which a cut of only 1 percent, amounting to \$2,431,540, is provided.

In many cases, depending on the size of the past appropriation and the character of the activities involved, the proposed cut will vary somewhat above or below 10 percent. But it should be borne in mind that over all, or on the average, the proposed reduction represents a very insignificant percentage of the total appropriation and of the total computed cost of the pay and leave legislation.

It is notable that the executive agencies show a 44-percent absorption of pay-act increases, very largely because a few big operations are absorbing 100 percent. It will be seen on pages 16 and 17 of House Document 358 that the Secretary of Defense, the Army, the Navy, and Air Force, with total pay-act costs of about \$190,000,000, show 100 percent absorption. So does the Tennessee Valley Authority, with a total cost of \$3,910,000; the Mutual Security Agency, \$5,406,881; the Atomic Energy Commission, \$2,678,000; and several others. When these large total absorptions are taken out of the total cost of \$699,000,000, the record of absorption by the other 90 or 95 percent of the operating agencies does not make such a good showing.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. ALBERT. On page 35 of the bill, line 30, there is an appropriation of \$79,000 from tribal funds of the Indians, not Government funds; would the gentleman's amendment affect that in any way?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. My amendment proposes to reduce Federal funds. It is intended to apply only to Federal funds.

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. FORD. Would this amendment reducing by 10 percent the funds of all agencies except the Post Office Department, affect the funds allocated under the Fogarty amendment to the Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. It would affect only those items carried in chapter 11.

Mr. FORD. Nothing before chapter 11?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. No; it applies only to chapter 11.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. CANFIELD. Do I understand that the gentleman means to cut the funds of the legislative branch in his amendment?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. CANFIELD. By 10 percent?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Yes; and in connection with that I may say to the gentleman from New Jersey that the legislative branch has already absorbed \$454,102, and that this small amount is not, in my opinion, going to affect the efficiency or work of this branch.

Mr. CANFIELD. This will probably affect clerk hire of the Members.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. It will affect them to the extent that it applies to funds available for that purpose.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

If we are going to get any economy at all, should not the Members of Congress be willing to take their share of the cut?

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I do not see why we should call on other agencies to accept a cut and to practice economy and then say we cannot practice it in the legislative department; that is my attitude about it.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is presented by the gentleman from Georgia, Judge DAVIS, one of the most useful Members of the House, a colleague for whom all of us have the highest regard and the warmest esteem, and whose judgment I have always been glad to follow.

But I am a little dubious about this particular amendment. It is an amendment across the board, a horizontal re-

duction, an amendment of the class known in congressional parlance as a shotgun amendment, which hits everything indiscriminantly. Necessarily such an amendment cuts some items too drastically and other items too lightly. Any appropriation which is susceptible to an amendment of this character will carry items in which there should be a cut of more than the 10 percent here provided. And it will inevitably have items in which no cut at all can reasonably be made. In other words, its rigid application is highly inequitable.

That is especially true of this particular bill. This is an omnibus bill. It is made up of various chapters reported by as many different committees. Some of these committees perhaps cut lightly; some of them more heavily. So when this inelastic reduction is applied to all it does not cut them equally.

I think we can all agree that an amendment of this character is, as a rule, unwise. These appropriations are in the nature of deficiencies and certainly each of them should be considered on its individual merit. So I am exceedingly doubtful about the wisdom of adopting the amendment, on that account.

In the second place, if an amendment of this character were to be offered, it should have been offered in the committee where there would have been an opportunity to consider it a little more leisurely, a little more carefully, than when precipitated suddenly here on the floor of the House.

"Haste always makes waste."

In the third place, this amendment will seriously disorganize the administration of indispensable Government activities such as narcotic control, the Secret Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the clerk hire of Members and Delegates, medical, hospital and domiciliary service of the Veterans' Bureau, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, rural electrification, meat inspection, animal-disease control, safety of railroads under the Interstate Commerce Commission, air safety regulation under the CCA, mine accidents, the postal operations, and others. All these are operating on a close budget and many of them cannot possibly be operated on the reduced amounts this amendment provides. Unquestionably, early readjustments will have to be made. In that respect this amendment is particularly ill advised.

However, I am by nature an economizer. The only difference of opinion I have ever had with my colleagues on the subcommittees is where I objected to raises or wanted to cut deeper. Perhaps I am wrong in that respect. But if there is to be an error, I would rather err in cutting too deeply than in not cutting deeply enough. In voting on appropriations any doubt should, generally speaking, be resolved in favor of economy. So, Mr. Chairman, for that reason, and in the hope that money will be saved, in spite of the logic of the situation, the committee accepts the amendment, and I ask for a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

The amendment was agreed to.
The Clerk read as follows:

CHAPTER XII

SEC. 1201. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any corporation included in this act, shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the provisions of this section engaged in a strike against the Government of the United States, is not a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or that such person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*, That any person who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence and accepts employment the salary or wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund contained in this act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both: *Provided further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WHITTEN on page 45, after line 11, insert a new section as follows:

"Sec. 1202. Section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress is hereby amended as follows:

"At the end of subsection 'a' before the period, insert: '*Provided further*, That any agency may promote any employee permanently to a position if such promotion will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in such agency above the number in such grade in such agency prior to September 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may be made to any position in a category for which the Civil Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments under the terms hereof.'

"And in the last proviso of subsection 'c' after 'register,' insert, 'or is eligible for appointment, in accordance with a regular appointment system or procedure established prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position outside the competitive civil service.'

"And at the end of subsection 'c', before the period, insert 'or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding that for which he had previously established eligibility as required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, notwithstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission, when requested by the head of the agency involved, may authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious nature.'"

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, these amendments were worked out by the

gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], chairman of the Committee on Civil Service, and myself, with the cooperation of representatives of the Civil Service Commission and the Comptroller General.

These amendments do not change the basic policy nor objectives of section 1310 of Public Law 253, the so-called Whitten rider.

These amendments, if adopted, will prevent certain interpretations placed on section 1310 of Public Law 253, which were not intended and which, in my judgment, in most cases were not required by that act, from bringing about results not intended.

These amendments preserve the intent to hold the average grade and salary, and to limit the total number of employees to that of September 1, 1950. As, I say, it has been worked out with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], and others, and it has also been worked out with the Civil Service Commission representatives, and with the Comptroller General's office.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. REES of Kansas. As I understand the gentleman's amendment, it is intended to take care of what is known as the purpose of the original Whitten amendment and take care of some of the discrepancies that have been discovered, that have come to our attention since the Whitten amendment was adopted.

Mr. WHITTEN. I say to the gentleman from Kansas, an expert in this field, that he is absolutely correct. We retain the objectives and policy of that amendment.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I have received some criticism of the so-called original Whitten amendment, which may be criticism of the wording of the law and which may be a criticism of the way it has been administered. The criticism was that in certain departments, specifically the Post Office Department, there were temporary employees put on who were not under civil service, in an effort to meet the problem arising from the so-called Whitten amendment. Is this designed to meet that specific situation?

Mr. WHITTEN. This should help to cure that though that situation was not caused by the Whitten amendment though it has been claimed it was. These amendments take away any such claim. The Whitten amendment left authority to the Civil Service Commission to authorize all the permanent appointments they wanted to so long as the total number of permanent employees did not exceed that of September 1, 1950. Under the report in connection with that amendment the Civil Service Commission was directed to keep up the normal number of permanent appointments in the postal service. This they did not do, and the rider is not what has kept the permanent appointments from being made. For instance, there are

many other places where the same thing occurred. The total number of permanent employees was limited to the number there were on September 1, 1950, but an Executive order, prepared by the Civil Service Commission was issued which set up certain restrictions, and the actual number is several hundred thousand below the ceiling fixed in the Whitten amendment. Most of the complaints you and I have had, while charged to my amendment were not required by it. However, we do not wish them to occur, and they have been ironed out. These provisions are the result of conferences between the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], the Civil Service Commission representatives, the Comptroller General's representatives, and others, and I think it will relieve all of those things by clearly giving power to get away from interpretations which have worked hardships in some individual cases, not intended and in nearly all cases not required by such amendment or section.

Mr. KEATING. The effect of the amendment which the gentleman is today offering would be to make it possible for a Government department to take on career civil-service permanent employees rather than these temporary employees that do not have civil-service status?

Mr. WHITTEN. That is true. The civil service may authorize that as long as the total number of permanent employees is not increased beyond the level of September 1, 1950. They may make permanent promotions, as long as the total number in that grade and agency is not increased beyond that existing on that date.

Mr. KEATING. This should have the effect of cutting down the number of temporary employees brought in who do not have civil service status.

Mr. WHITTEN. It should have that effect.

Mr. JAVITS. I have a letter from the Post Office Department also dealing with this subject proposing to set up a new class of people without civil-service status, not temporary but provisional.

Mr. WHITTEN. We do not set it up here, but the civil service has authority to meet that kind of problem in event they see fit to. As I have pointed out—we directed the Civil Service Commission to provide for a normal number of permanent appointments in the Post Office Department. This they have not done.

Mr. JAVITS. This will give them the legislative background for making such adjustments?

Mr. WHITTEN. This certainly should be taken as a directive to the Civil Service Commission to exercise its authority and this action should be a basis for them to ask for modification of the Executive order which really has limited permanent appointments in this instance.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. BAILEY. Is the gentleman from Mississippi convinced that this proposed

clarifying amendment will solve most of the complaints that have been filed against his original amendment to the regular appropriation bill?

Mr. WHITTEN. I say to my friend from West Virginia that we have discussed every possible case that might arise and tried to meet it. Then to make sure we have given the Civil Service Commission authority to specially handle cases of undue hardship. That is, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, the Civil Service Commission's representatives, and the representatives of the Comptroller General and myself, have worked out these provisions. It either works out or authorizes the handling of all of the cases that we have had called to our attention as well as those we could foresee that may arise. Again, practically all of the complaints I have personally had were not intended and were not required.

We have worked on this matter for some time. In the light of experience gained, being fully convinced that section 1310 of Public Law 253, the Whitten amendment was urgently needed and being determined that interpretations and other restrictions not included therein should not be permitted to be built up and used for the purpose of repeal.

It has always been my desire to be fair. I have sought information. I have tried always to profit by experience. This section means far more than many would believe.

It will prevent what happened in World War II. It prevents an overbuilding up of the permanent civil service. It provides for orderly promotions and it is estimated will save a half a billion dollars a year, judged by what happened in World War II.

I would like to briefly review the history of this provision. During World War II we had no such section as section 1310 of Public Law 253. During the period of World War II, due to the fact that there was expansion of emergency defense agencies and in many other fields, the competition between agencies for a limited number of available and qualified personnel resulted in tremendous upgrading. We would have some agency come in with a specific task, and in order to acquire personnel they would say, "Come on over to us and we will give you a two-grade promotion or even a greater jump." Then another agency would say "Come on over here and we will give you an additional two-grade jump." All these promotions did not go across-the-board, but they went to those who jumped from one agency to another. As a result, we ended up with a tremendous upgrading in most of the governmental departments. In fact, at the outset of my efforts along this line I had a study made of two of the governmental departments. This study revealed that during the course of World War II these departments ended up with an average upgrading throughout the department of about two grade levels. You understand some got none, others four or more. All this was in addition to salary

raises. And this two-grade average upgrading within such departments if it existed in all departments, and there is reason to believe it did exist substantially throughout all departments, means an average annual expense of about a billion dollars which we have to pay now.

With the beginning of hostilities in Korea, realizing we would once again be supporting a huge military program, I decided to dig into this question of how we could prevent the situation which had occurred during World War II from happening again. I also wanted to make available to the military effort the services of experienced personnel which we had in the Government. We set out to get those changes made by the Civil Service Commission. But after months and months they still were following their regular rules. Even if a man was in the Reserve and employed in a given agency as a permanent employee the minute he left for military service his job was filled on a permanent basis. If a man was called out of one of the governmental departments with a permanent position, permanent classification, to serve with the Atomic Energy Commission, for instance, the day he left his job was filled. Notwithstanding that, many of the emergency agencies and national defense itself needed the experienced personnel in the old line departments there was no provision for retention of reemployment rights, no other protection than if he left to go to one of the new agencies or went to any other agency to meet the defense demands. He had no reemployment right to go back to the agency from which he came.

The first move which we made, as I say, was to try to get some change by the Civil Service Commission. When that was not forthcoming I wrote the first rider, which was as follows and which was adopted on the 27th day of September 1950:

SEC. 1302. After September 1, 1950, and during the fiscal year 1951:

(a) In making appointments in the Government service the Civil Service Commission shall make full use of its authority to make temporary appointments in order to prevent increases in the number of permanent personnel and no employee in the Federal civil service promoted, transferred, or appointed to a position of higher grade shall be eligible, in the event of separation from the service through reduction in force, to reinstatement at a grade above the grade held by such employee on September 1, 1950; and all reinstatements, transfers, or promotions to positions in the Federal civil service shall be temporary and for positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949 shall be made with the condition and notice to the individual reinstated, transferred or promoted that the classification grade of the position is subject to post-audit and correction by the appropriate departmental or agency personnel office or the Civil Service Commission;

(b) The names of all persons to be terminated under reductions in force in the departments and agencies of the Government shall be certified as eligible for appointment to positions in agency programs determined by the President to be related directly to national defense, if qualified, at not to exceed the grade and salary last held in the terminating agency or department; and

(c) The Department of Defense is authorized to call on other departments or agencies for such additional personnel as it may require within the limits of its funds.

Had there been proper regulations or proper changes in the regulations of the Civil Service Commission it would not have been necessary to incorporate this into the law. After this became law and we began to operate under it, some improvement was brought about but we found that even then there was a slowness on the part of the Civil Service Commission to change its regulations in order to conform with this change in the law. Thus it was that last year after the other rider had been in effect for approximately a year, and since there had been some objections made by representatives of the Civil Service Commission and others, I asked the Commission if they would submit the changes they felt were needed for the consideration of the Congress. This invitation they neglected to accept. Thus it was that I again wrote the rider of last year as follows:

SEC. 1310. Immediately upon the enactment of this act and until termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950:

(a) The Civil Service Commission and the heads of the executive departments, agencies, and corporations shall make full use of their authority to require that initial appointments to positions in and outside the competitive civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis in order to prevent increases in the number of permanent personnel of the Federal Government above the total number of permanent employees existing on September 1, 1950: *Provided*, That any position made vacant by call to military service or by transfer to a national defense agency shall not be filled except on a temporary basis. All transfers (except at the same or lower grade and salary), reinstatements, or promotions to positions in the Federal civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis. All appointments, reinstatements, transfers, and promotions to positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949 shall be made with the condition and notice to each individual appointed, reinstated, transferred, or promoted that the classification grade of the position is subject to post-audit and correction by the appropriate departmental or agency personnel office or the Civil Service Commission. All transfers of permanent employees at the same grade and salary made on a temporary basis since September 1, 1950, shall be changed to a permanent basis as of the effective date of this act. Nothing in this paragraph shall operate to impair the permanent status of employees who are changed to a temporary or indefinite basis or to alter their retention status under reduction-in-force procedures from that in existence prior to September 1, 1950.

(b) The Civil Service Commission shall facilitate the transfer of Federal employees from nondefense to defense activities and encourage the retention of employees in defense activities, and shall provide for reemployment rights in the activities from which such employees are transferred.

(c) The Civil Service Commission shall make full use of its authority to prevent excessively rapid promotions in and outside the competitive civil service and to require correction of improper allocations to higher grades of positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. No person in any executive department or agency whose position is subject to the Classifi-

cation Act of 1949, as amended, shall be promoted or transferred to a higher grade subject to such act without having served at least 1 year in the next lower grade.

(d) From time to time, but at least annually, each executive department and agency shall (1) review all positions which since September 1, 1950, have been created or placed in a higher grade or level of difficulty and responsibility of work or in a higher basic pay level, (2) abolish all such positions which are found to be unnecessary, (3) with respect to such positions which are found to be necessary, make such adjustments as may be appropriate in the classification grades of those positions which are subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, or in the basic pay levels of those positions which are subject to other pay-fixing authority. Not later than January 1 of each year each department and agency shall submit a report to the Post Office and Civil Service Committees and Appropriations Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives concerning the action taken under this paragraph, together with information comparing the total number of employees on the payroll on December 1 and their average grade and salary with similar information for the previous December 1.

This provision was adopted by the House of Representatives. Then the Commission sent its representatives down to talk to us about it, and they said they would prefer, of course, that this be handled, not by law but by regulation. They stated, however, that if we were going to do it by law that it would require that provisions be made for exceptions to the limitations proposed by the legislative provision which at that time had passed the House. I asked them then to spell out the exceptions which would be needed to meet the objectives which we had, limiting the total number of permanent personnel, regulating promotions on a regular basis, as against having the governmental agencies competing with each other for a limited supply of trained people and prevent the upgrading which had existed before. The representatives of the Civil Service Commission then came up with the following language as being essential to make the section workable in meeting the objectives which the House of Representatives had and which we were seeking in this legislative provision:

SEC. 1310. Immediately upon the enactment of this act and until termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950:

(a) The Civil Service Commission and the heads of the executive departments, agencies, and corporations shall make full use of their authority to require that initial appointments to positions in and outside the competitive civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis in order to prevent increases in the number of permanent personnel of the Federal Government above the total number of permanent employees existing on September 1, 1950: *Provided*, That any position vacated by a permanent employee called to military service or transferred to a national defense agency shall not be filled except on a temporary or indefinite basis. All reinstatements and promotions in the Federal civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis, and all permanent employees who are transferred from one agency to another shall retain their status as permanent employees in the agency to which transferred at the grade or basic pay level of their permanent positions in the

agency from which transferred. All appointments, reinstatements, transfers, and promotions to positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949 shall be made with the condition and notice to each individual appointed, reinstated, transferred, or promoted that the classification grade of the position is subject to post-audit and correction by the appropriate departmental or agency personnel office or the Civil Service Commission. All transfers of permanent employees made on a temporary or indefinite basis since September 1, 1950, shall be changed to a permanent basis as of the effective date of this act: *Provided*, That such employees shall retain their status as permanent employees in the agency to which transferred at the grade or basic pay level of their permanent positions in the agency from which transferred.

(b) The Civil Service Commission shall facilitate the transfer of Federal employees from nondefense to defense activities and encourage the retention of employees in defense activities, and shall provide reemployment rights for permanent employees in the activities from which such employees are transferred.

(c) The Civil Service Commission shall make full use of its authority to prevent excessively rapid promotions in the competitive civil service and to require correction of improper allocations to higher grades of positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. No person in any executive department or agency whose position is subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be promoted or transferred to a higher grade subject to such act without having served at least 1 year in the next lower grade: *Provided*, That the Civil Service Commission for positions in the competitive service and the head of the employing agency for positions outside the competitive service may by regulation provide for promotions of two grades in 1 year (1) to positions not higher than GS-5, (2) to positions not higher than GS-11 which are in a line of work properly classified under the Classification Act of 1949 at two-grade intervals, (3) to positions in the same line of work when the employee has completed a training period under a training program approved by the Civil Service Commission for positions in the competitive service, or approved by the head of the employing agency for positions outside the competitive service, and (4) of an employee of the agency concerned when there is no position in the normal line of promotion in the grade immediately below that of the position to be filled: *Provided further*, That this subsection shall not apply to any case involving an employee who is within reach for appointment to a higher grade position on a competitive civil service register, or being advanced up to a grade level from which he had been demoted or separated because of reduction in force.

(d) From time to time, but at least annually, each executive department and agency shall (1) review all positions which since September 1, 1950, have been created or placed in a higher grade or level of difficulty and responsibility of work or in a higher basic pay level, (2) abolish all such positions which are found to be unnecessary, (3) with respect to such positions which are found to be necessary, make such adjustments as may be appropriate in the classification grades of those positions which are subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, or in the basic pay levels of those positions which are subject to other pay-fixing authority. Not later than July 31 of each year each department and agency shall submit a report to the Post Office and Civil Service Committees and Appropriations Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives concerning the action taken under this paragraph, together with information comparing the total number of employees on the payroll

on June 30 and their average grade and salary with similar information for the previous June 30, and each annual and supplemental budget estimate shall include a statement comparing the average grade and salary provided for in each item of appropriation or fund allowance therein with similar figures reported for the two previous periods.

I accepted these provisions and they were incorporated in the law.

Now since that time we have had a considerably different construction made of these provisions from that which was intended by myself, by the committee, and by the representatives of the Civil Service Commission who helped work out these provisions. There is much to indicate that some people down the line in the Commission, in its legal department and elsewhere, took the view that the Congress had written the law and spelled out its objectives, and since the Congress had also said some things to indicate how those objectives should be met, the Commission would just give them a double dose. In other words, someone in the Department apparently set out to see that they would not only do those things set out in the law to reach the objectives but that they would do that much more.

For instance, the section provides that a person shall serve for a year in the preceding grade before being promoted to the next highest grade. Nowhere does it say that the service in such preceding grade shall be immediately prior to the promotion. But the Commission, through its legal department, held that the service must immediately preced and you can see the ridiculous situations which sometimes arose. For instance if a person had a grade 10 and had worked for many years in Federal service, but through some misfortune his job was abolished and he was left here in Washington and took a grade 5 just to have something to do, but worked only a few weeks at it, under the interpretation placed on this section by the legal division of the Civil Service Commission he was not eligible to go back to a grade 10 or be promoted to a grade 11.

The legislative provision and the report in connection with it as it was spelled out did limit the total number of permanent personnel to that of September 1, 1950, but the Civil Service Commission wrote a provision which became an Executive order which limits permanent appointments and the total number of permanent employees in the Federal Government is several hundred thousand below the ceiling fixed by this so-called Whitten rider. That comes about from this Executive order prepared by the Commission itself.

I would also like to point out that in the report which was released in connection with the final adoption of the rider last year it was spelled out that the Post Office Department should make a normal number of permanent appointments. This the Commission has not authorized. It was never the intention of the committee to prevent the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for instance, from taking people they had employed in the FBI in minor capacities, while they attended schools conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and appointing them as

special agents upon completion of their schooling for such position. It was thought by myself that we made provision for such exceptions when they were on a competitive examination register that this would take care of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but it developed that on interpretation where we said "competitive civil-service register," this language excluded registers that might have been established by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There were those who would contend that the Civil Service Commission's representatives intended by the words "civil-service register" that the Federal Bureau of Investigation might be required to get the Civil Service Commission to set up the register. I make no such accusation as the people I have dealt with in the Commission on this matter I feel sure did not have any such intention. But certainly there was no intention on our part to require the FBI to desist from its appointment of agents under this provision.

I could point out any number of other places where due to opinions of the Comptroller General's office, or due to legal interpretation by the Civil Service Commission, I feel that the legislative section has been made to pinch many times where there was no necessity for it and no intent for such consequences. I realize this is a matter of opinion.

But I do want to say that the amendments which we have offered here will meet those cases, in the judgment of myself, the folks on our committee, and according to the best judgment of the representatives of the Civil Service Commission. In other words with the adoption of these amendments we can meet the objectives set out in the original rider and we can do it with a minimum of injury or hardship to anyone. We are convinced that is true. Through this means we will thereby hold down the total number of permanent employees, we will hold down the average grade and salary throughout the civil service. We will protect those in the civil service who are working in an orderly, able, manner, expecting promotions in an orderly, regular sort of way. We will prevent the emergency agencies from competing with each other and thereby building up over a period of time a tremendous upgrading in the various agencies.

We also will make experienced personnel available for defense work, because a man can afford to go into national defense work when he has full right to return to the job from which he leaves. It would be grossly unfair to bring in thousands of people who believed they were getting permanent jobs, retirement and all those benefits, when actually we know that it is not so. We tried to leave to the Civil Service Commission the full rights within the limit of these objectives to handle it in the best possible manner. This we intended to do before and as I have pointed out we accepted their language. But subsequent events have proven, and we do not mean to fix any responsibility as to that, that the language which the Commission's representatives wrote does not fully meet the needs of this freedom of action in line with the objectives; this we attempt

to do here and I trust that the future will prove that this will be not only to the benefit of the Government but of the Federal employees. The Congress I am sure will realize that the intent once again is to meet these objectives but as long as they do so in such a way as to keep at an absolute minimum the ill effect on individuals and individual cases. You will note that one of these provisions provides that the Civil Service Commission can make exceptions themselves to prevent undue hardship. This we think will certainly meet the objections which have been raised, and again I do not attempt to fix responsibility but will say that practically all of the hardships which have occurred were not intended by the committee nor were they anticipated by the representatives of the Civil Service Commission. In conclusion I think that we have in Federal service as fine a group of public servants as you will find anywhere. They are just as patriotic and work just as hard, and the fact that we try to regulate this situation in now way can be taken as an attack on them. I also want to say that I personally have the highest regard for the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission as well as others on the Commission. However, I do believe that with these changes and with the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission which I know we will have, the personnel operations of the Government will be improved. With these proposed amendments, the entire provision will read as follows:

SEC. 1310. Immediately upon the enactment of this act and until termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950:

(a) The Civil Service Commission and the heads of the executive departments, agencies, and corporations shall make full use of their authority to require that initial appointments to positions in and outside the competitive civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis in order to prevent increases in the number of permanent personnel of the Federal Government above the total number of permanent employees existing on September 1, 1950: *Provided*, That any position vacated by a permanent employee called to military service or transferred to a national-defense agency shall not be filled except on a temporary or indefinite basis. All reinstatements and promotions in the Federal civil service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis, and all permanent employees who are transferred from one agency to another shall retain their status as permanent employees in the agency to which transferred at the grade or basic pay level of their permanent positions in the agency from which transferred. All appointments, reinstatements, transfers, and promotions to positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949 shall be made with the condition and notice to each individual appointed, reinstated, transferred, or promoted that the classification grade of the position is subject to post-audit and correction by the appropriate departmental or agency personnel office or the Civil Service Commission. All transfers of permanent employees made on a temporary or indefinite basis since September 1, 1950, shall be changed to a permanent basis as of the effective date of this act: *Provided*, That such employees shall retain their status as permanent employees in the agency to which transferred at the grade or basic pay level of their permanent positions in the agency from which transferred: *Provided further*, That any agency may pro-

mote any employee permanently to a position if such promotion will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in such agency above the number in such grade in such agency prior to September 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may be made to any position in a category for which the Civil Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments under the terms hereof.

(b) The Civil Service Commission shall facilitate the transfer of Federal employees from nondefense to defense activities and encourages the retention of employees in defense activities, and shall provide reemployment rights for permanent employees in the activities from which such employees are transferred.

(c) The Civil Service Commission shall make full use of its authority to prevent excessively rapid promotions in the competitive civil service and to require correction of improper allocations to higher grades of positions subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. No person in any executive department or agency whose position is subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be promoted or transferred to a higher grade subject to such act without having served at least 1 year in the next lower grade: *Provided*, That the Civil Service Commission for positions in the competitive service and the head of the employing agency for positions outside the competitive service may by regulation provide for promotions of two grades in 1 year (1) to positions not higher than GS-5; (2) to positions not higher than GS-11 which are in a line of work properly classified under the Classification Act of 1949 at two-grade intervals; (3) to positions in the same line of work when the employee has completed a training period under a training program approved by the Civil Service Commission for positions in the competitive service, or approved by the head of the employing agency for positions outside the competitive service; and (4) of an employee of the agency concerned when there is no position in the normal line of promotion in the grade immediately below that of the position to be filled: *Provided further*, That this subsection shall not apply to any case involving an employee who is within reach for appointment to a higher grade position on a competitive civil-service register, or is eligible for appointment, in accordance with a regular appointment system or procedure established prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position outside the competitive civil service, or being advanced up to a grade level from which he had been demoted or separated because of reduction in force, or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding that for which he had previously established eligibility as required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, notwithstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission, when requested by the head of the agency involved, may authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious nature.

(d) From time to time, but at least annually, each executive department and agency shall (1) review all positions which since September 1, 1950, have been created or placed in a higher grade or level of difficulty and responsibility of work or in a higher basic pay level; (2) abolish all such positions which are found to be unnecessary; (3) with respect to such positions which are found to be necessary, make such adjustments as may be appropriate in the classification grades of those positions which are subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, or in the basic pay levels of those positions which are subject to other pay-fixing authority. Not later than July 31 of each year each department and agency shall submit a report to the Post Office and Civil Service Committees and Appropriations Committees of the

Senate and House of Representatives concerning the action taken under this paragraph, together with information comparing the total number of employees on the payroll on June 30 and their average grade and salary with similar information for the previous June 30, and each annual and supplemental budget estimate shall include a statement comparing the average grade and salary provided for in each item of appropriation or fund allowance therein with similar figures reported for the two previous periods.

(Mr. WHITTEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of this amendment. I do not see how any Member can oppose it.

This amendment will, first, grant, in the case of systems outside the competitive civil service, authority to make promotions of employees to grade levels for which they are eligible; second, permit advancement of employees to grades for which they have previously established eligibility; third, permit the Civil Service Commission to make exceptions in proved hardship cases; fourth, permit agencies to make permanent promotions of permanent civil-service employees when such promotions will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in any grade; and, fifth, permit permanent promotions to be made in cases where additional permanent appointments are authorized.

The first section of this amendment will correct an inequity that has developed in the appointment of FBI agents from employees of the FBI in categories other than agent. At the present time employees in other agencies may be appointed at a higher rating when they are selected from a regularly established civil-service register.

Since register is identified in the law today as a civil-service register, it has recently been held by the Comptroller General that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain other agencies who maintain their own registers and their own system of examination, are denied the right of promoting qualified employees from within their organization.

Here is an example just brought to my attention:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had selected some of their employees in a clerical capacity from the agent register which they maintain and placed them in training for agents. This ruling of the Comptroller General will require not only that these employees who have been determined to be qualified must be withdrawn from the training classes but they have been ordered to return overpayments resulting from the higher classification pay.

I am sure that the Members of the House can readily see that, if we do not correct this situation, we are creating an inequity to the employees concerned and raising a serious obstacle to the planned program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation with respect to their recruitment of agents.

It is the purpose of the second section of the amendment to permit the ad-

vancement of employees to a grade level to which they have previously established eligibility. There are cases where employees have accepted positions temporarily in a lower grade although eligible for an appointment to a higher grade had such a position been available at the time they accepted the appointment.

Without the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], we have situations where many qualified and able employees whom agencies want to employ will not accept positions but wait for a time when positions calling for higher grades from the particular register from which they are selected are available.

I am informed that this is a serious situation in the emergency agencies.

The amendment permits the Commission to make exceptions in hardship cases.

In general, the Whitten amendment contains a proscription against promotion within a year of more than two grades. However, in carrying out this directive of Congress, there developed a number of hardship cases. I am sure that most every Member here has had brought to his attention situations that have developed affecting persons from their district or persons with whose situations they are personally acquainted that could be corrected if the Civil Service Commission had the authority to make exceptions in hardship cases.

The action of the Commission in improving such hardship cases must be based on an original request by the head of the agency concerned.

In my discussions of this particular problem with the Commission, it was decided that the agency head must clearly demonstrate that there is a hardship or an inequity involved and a valid reason for complying with the agency request.

This amendment will permit an agency to promote an employee permanently to a position when this promotion will not increase the total number of employees holding permanent positions in the same grade in the particular agency concerned.

I have had a number of instances of this type called to my attention where because of a death or resignation or retirement of a career employee, the agency desired to promote the assistant to the position so vacated. However, such a promotion would have to be made on a temporary basis. Many employees confronted with such decisions have contacted me seeking advice as to whether they should accept the temporary promotion or retain their permanent grade. Frankly, I could not answer such a question because it is one that must be answered by the individual himself, difficult as it must be under the circumstances to reach such a decision.

The present situation stems from the fact that the employee is faced with making a decision as to whether he will risk his permanent status by accepting a temporary position in which, if a reduction in force occurs, he faces the real possibility of being separated because of his temporary status.

This amendment will permit the making of permanent promotions to any position in a category to which the Civil Service Commission may authorize permanent appointments under this law.

The purpose of this amendment is to permit the promotion of qualified permanent employees to positions which, while increasing the number of grades at the level to which they are being promoted, will not increase the number of permanent positions or employees.

An amendment of this nature is necessary to meet situations which develop during reorganizations or during a normal increase in volume or change of functions. These situations are bound to develop in the carrying out of a Government activity as vast as our Federal Government and if we, as Congress, are going to insist on efficiency, in my judgment, we should approve this particular amendment which will make possible adjustments during such reorganizations or shifting of functions. This amendment will encourage the use of experienced career people.

This authority will not be used in cases of purely temporary emergency functions but is provided to take care of the problems faced in permanent establishments.

This amendment will not permit any increase in the number of permanent employees over the number on September 1, 1950.

This amendment has been prepared after consultation with representatives of the Civil Service Commission and the General Accounting Office, together with members of the staffs of both the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Appropriations Committee.

The results of this amendment represent necessary clarifications to meet situations that have developed during the period this law has been in effect.

Mr. Ramspeck, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and a former esteemed Member of the House, has faithfully carried out the policy of Congress with regard to placing limitations on the over-all size of the permanent personnel force of our Government.

The Civil Service Commission, to the extent it has administrative discretion under the law, has developed a number of administrative regulations. However, in the areas to which the amendment offered today direct itself, it was impossible to arrive at a workable solution without additional legislation. This was confirmed in informal discussions with staff officials of the General Accounting Office.

A number of these situations have developed recently, such as the cases involving promotions within the FBI, which made it necessary to bring this amendment to the floor at the first opportunity.

This supplemental appropriation bill presented that opportunity. I trust that this amendment will be adopted today so that these needed modifications of the Whitten amendment may be placed into effect promptly. I assure the Members of the House again that this amendment has had careful, deliberate, and detailed consideration.

(Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, once in a while I go hunting. Once in a while I go fishing. Sometimes when I am standing in a blind a flock of ducks will go by and I single out one and maybe I get him. The others go on and do not pay much attention; none, in fact, so far as I can see. When I go fishing and get one fish out of a school, the rest go on. They do not pay any attention either.

When I go home to my district and talk to people, if I happen to hit a family where their boy has been taken and sent abroad, they have something to say about it, but the neighbors, at least those 10 or 15 miles away, do not seem to care anything about it. At least they do not say anything to me.

However, there is one thing the home folks always do mention to me. All of them speak to me about this one thing. They seem to be really personally interested. They say, "Why are you increasing my taxes and taking those extra cents, pardon me, dollars, out of my pocket?" They are interested in that, may I say, "extraction." And do not think they are not. It is a personal matter with each one. Each individual is not only interested. He has something to say to me, his Representative, about it. He say, "How come?"

Always you and I tell them, "I am doing all I can. If the other fellow would go along, we would cut these tax bills." But for some reason or other, I do not get by with that excuse. Neither do you, my colleagues. Our constituents, the people by whose favor we are here, expect a little bit more than I am able to accomplish here.

I have been and am opposed to so many of these appropriations that I have been charged with being an "aginer." Apparently we are not going to get anywhere unless we send some of these appropriation bills back and let the committee come in with a less sum.

Cutting a bill in the House and approving it when it comes back after conference carrying additional millions is not getting us anywhere, nor are the people being fooled. They judge our actions by the amount they have to dig up to pay their taxes. I know the committee works very, very hard. I know they work long hours and do their best. But still the over-all picture is that always these appropriations go up, and taxes go up. Always the taxes increase.

Always the money to a large extent is wasted or used unlawfully. Now, to make clear exactly what I am talking about, I want to read to you, or at least call it to your attention—and I will put the rest of it in the RECORD later—a letter which came to me from a citizen and which he received from the Mutual Security

Agency, Washington, D. C. This is the way it reads:

MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: If, after reading Jack Kroll's letter and the enclosed pamphlets, you would like to order them for distribution to key people in your union or in the community, you may do so by filling the attached form and returning it to us.

We would value your comments as well as suggestions as to other material you would find useful.

Sincerely yours,

NATHALIE E. PANEK,
Labor Information.

Please send me ----- copies of The Working People of Europe:

Please send me ----- copies of Shirt Sleeve Diplomats.

Please send me ----- copies of OEEC Wheel.

Name -----
Address -----
Organization -----

That is sent out, mind you, here in Washington by the Mutual Security Agency and the letter that they referred to as having been written by Jack Kroll, and enclosed, is printed, believe it or not on the letterhead of the PAC, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Political Action Committee, and they enclose three pamphlets, and believe it or not, it comes in the envelope of the Mutual Security Agency, Washington, D. C., official business, franked through.

The Kroll letter reads:

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1952.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: On my trip to Europe last summer, I became even more convinced of the importance of our members getting a clear picture of the European situation. There is a great deal we can do both through the Government, through the ICFTU and by direct contact to help our brothers abroad build their trade-unions and build the economies of their nations. They must succeed in this building program if our world is to be free and if depressions everywhere are to be licked.

There are forces at work in this country to deceive us and to confuse the people on the importance of a foreign-aid program. Some would have us abandon foreign aid and withdraw to our own shores. In my opinion, this retreat would abandon the rest of the world to totalitarianism and place in jeopardy our own precious freedom.

In order to get accurate information on this subject, I have asked the Mutual Security Agency to send you the enclosed two pamphlets. Shirt-Sleeved Diplomats gives the background of the European labor movement and tells what ECA has done there to assist our fellow workers. Working People of Europe was written by Ray Davidson of the CIO Oil Workers. It describes the need of European workers and tells how they must have prosperity in order for us to have it in America. It also suggests what we can do to help.

I recommend both of these pamphlets to you and hope that you will find them as informative and instructive as I did.

Sincerely and fraternally,
JACK KROLL, Director.

That is the way part of the money that we vote here, for almost every agency, is spent. That is where it goes. For propaganda to push executive New Deal agencies. Do not forget, please, there is a Federal statute which makes

it a criminal offense for these agencies to engage in political activities by spending tax dollars.

Yet boldly, brazenly, under their frank, they put out political material to be used against us. To defeat the Senators and Congressmen who oppose the extension of their activities, their pay raises to elect those who vote as they wish. I called that to the attention of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments this morning. I suggested I thought it was illegal and unethical. But, if in the judgment of the Congress, and if in the judgment of the committee, it was not illegal and it was not unlawful, it did seem to me that at least to be fair—it would be only fair—to let the Republican Members of Congress ask the agencies which are spending the money which we are appropriating to send out our Republican campaign material and material which counteracts that the agencies put out. I do not see why the PAC being against me, should have their material sent out by a Federal agency. Of course, it is obvious that a candidate should pay his own campaign expenses. It is equally obvious an agency should not use tax dollars to increase either its power or salaries of those who run it.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. I would like to ask the gentleman if he does not think that if the Government assumed the liability for all the Republican propaganda that goes out, we would not have to increase the appropriations?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. If I would assume it? Well, bless your dear heart. I find it difficult to even contribute to the millions that you gentlemen have been using through the agencies around here. Do not forget this, I would say to my good friend the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY], we are contributing to that when we pay our income taxes, and you gentlemen are getting the exclusive use for political purposes of the tax dollars we pay in.

Mr. BAILEY. I do not doubt what the gentleman is saying, but I do question that the agencies are using the money for political purposes.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. What—the agencies? If this is not political propaganda, and the gentleman can read it tomorrow, I will be glad to apologize. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] said the armed services spent thirty million for propaganda. How much for UMT he did not mention.

What else is it? And that is not all. These agencies—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Well, then, Mr. Chairman, I will offer a preferential motion because I am against this bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan may proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I will try not to use all of that time. Honestly, if I used all of that 5 minutes and told all of the story, we would surely be ashamed of ourselves—at least on that side, because this unlawful spending of dollars for the putting over agency and administration plans is a wicked thing. Look, we are trying to help the farmers—the poor farmers. I know some of these foreign nations do not like to take the money that we offer them, which we insist on their having, but I had not realized the extent of the propaganda which is necessary in order to get our own people to take money for which they did not ask. Listen to this letter. It is typewritten here, but I am reading from a copy. It came to me written in pen and ink from a gentleman that I just happen to know.

Listen to what the gentleman writes:

I am writing you to tell you of the way money is wasted in the PMA.

There was at least 40 farmers in Martin township who weren't enough interested in the program to sign and mail their applications for payment back to the county office, so the township committeemen were paid to go out to get them to sign the applications for payment.

If it were not for the committeemen stirring up interest in the program so they could keep their jobs the thing would die out.

I was committeeman last year, but I would not go out to get those that would not return their applications to sign but the new men took them out. This program has been in operation long enough so that it would be possible to operate it by mailing the forms to the farmers, and those that were interested could fill them out and mail them back.

A spot check could be made for compliance, say 1 in 10 farms.

Now, think of it. Suppose I offer my colleague here in front of me, Mr. John Doe, \$10. He refuses to take it. So I ask my colleague from Podunk, Richard Doe, "Will you take \$25 and go out and get Mr. John Doe to take \$10 that I want to give him?"

How absurd that is. Yet that is just what the Federal agency is doing to put across PMA. When are we going to begin to really cut appropriations and make it stick so that we can honestly, speaking not only for ourselves but for our colleagues, when we go back home and our constituents ask us, "When are you going to cut the tax bill?" reply, "We have cut appropriations and we will, if elected, do as we did in the Eightieth Congress, and cut your taxes." Let us act so that we can honestly tell the taxpayers that we are on our way; that we hope we will get there before we go broke.

In a special order later today I will repeat some of the above and call attention to the wasteful spending of the TVA.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MEADER: On page 45, at line 11, insert a new section, 1202, to read as follows:

"No part of any appropriation contained in this act shall be used for publicity or

propaganda purposes not heretofore authorized by the Congress."

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, this amendment appropriately follows the remarks that have just been made by my colleague from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEADER. I decline to yield.

Mr. ROONEY. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] wants to accept the amendment offered by the gentleman.

Mr. MEADER. I would like to discuss the amendment, and I hope it will prevail.

This amendment was offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH], to almost every appropriation bill we adopted in the last session. I urged him to offer it again today, but I think he is beginning to believe it is rather futile to include this language in any appropriation bills, because the executive agencies proceed to ignore it.

I want to call to the attention of the Congress one specific instance of Government propaganda and publicity which I have been able to identify. I have been very much interested in this matter of publicity and propaganda, not only from the viewpoint of expense but from the viewpoint of the tendency of the executive branch of the Government to try to influence public opinion, which is not their function. It is our function to determine policy and it is their function to carry it out. It is not any of their business to try to promote this or that philosophy.

The reason we have not been able to get anywhere with this type of amendment is that they conceal the people who are doing this publicity and propaganda work. You cannot get them out in the open.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEADER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. How much does the gentleman suppose the Department of Defense was paying for propaganda and publicity articles? Thirty million dollars.

Mr. MEADER. I thank the gentleman for that contribution. It happens that I became concerned about the material that was coming across my desk every week from the National Production Authority, the Department of Commerce, radio, television, and film section. Every one of you Members of the House, and I suppose every Member of the Senate, gets this little weekly discussion that you may use on your radio reports to your constituents back home, a 15-minute transcript that you can use to promote the philosophy and interests of the National Production Authority. We found that they had 94 employees down there last September that were engaged in publicity and propaganda work. I am not sure that the particular appropriation bill in which NPA was included contained this language, which the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] has offered on previous appropriation bills. If it did, I believe, with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN], that they are illegally using public funds

when they use them for propaganda purposes against the express desire of this Congress, and I believe something ought to be done about it. Perhaps the inclusion of this language is futile because the agencies will go ahead as they always have and pay no attention to Congress.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEADER. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. It may interest the gentleman to know how many publicity people are employed in the agencies of the Government. According to the last survey made there were 23,000 permanent and 22,000 part time.

Mr. MEADER. I thank the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEADER. Gladly.

Mr. BUSBEY. Does the gentleman from Michigan think it might be a good idea to cut off funds of departments and agencies unless they do obey the laws passed by Congress?

Mr. MEADER. Something should be done to carry into effect the will of Congress.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, we accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER] and ask for a vote.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk concluded reading the bill.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Boggs of Louisiana, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a separate vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] on page 19.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a separate vote on the so-called Andersen amendment with regard to the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a separate vote on the so-called Davis amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en masse.

The other amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment on which a separate vote is demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN: Page 4, line 14, strike out all of lines 14 through 22 inclusive.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment on which a separate vote is demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FOGARTY: On page 19, after line 11, insert:

"SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION
"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expense of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles, \$825,000."

The question is on the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. CANNON) there were—yeas 158, noes 70.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment on which a separate vote has been demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DAVIS of Georgia: On page 44, after line 2, add a new paragraph to chapter 11 as follows:

"None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 99 percent of the amount carried in this chapter for said department and none of the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other department or agency shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 90 percent of the amount appropriated in this chapter for such department or agency."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN) there were—ayes 141, noes 58.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be authorized to change section numbers.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent that all Members

may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight tomorrow night to file a report on the independent offices appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, my understanding is that that bill will not be moved on the floor until Wednesday.

Mr. CANNON. That is my understanding, although I make that statement subject to correction. We expect to dispose of the bill next week, and we expect to dispose of two additional appropriation bills the following week.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be called up Wednesday next.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

(Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to inquire as to the program for next week?

Mr. PRIEST. On Monday the Consent Calendar will be called. In addition to that, there will be one suspension on H. R. 5891 from the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. That deals with the 2-year presumptive period for disease of psychosis.

On Tuesday, the Private Calendar will be called, and in addition to that there will be an omnibus claims bill, H. R. 6444.

On Wednesday, the independent offices appropriation bill will be taken up and continued until concluded.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I thank the gentleman.

UNITED STATES AGAINST WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House:

MARCH 13, 1952.

The honorable the SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: From the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia I have received a subpoena duces tecum, directed to me as Clerk of the House of Representatives, to appear before said court as a witness in the case of the *United States v. William L. Patterson* (No. 1787-50, criminal docket), and to bring with me certain and sundry papers therein described in the files of the House of Representatives.

The rules and practice of the House of Representatives indicates that the Clerk may not either voluntarily or in obedience to a subpoena duces tecum produce such papers

H. R. 6847

AN ACT

TO

AMEND THE ACT

AN ACT

TO

AMEND THE ACT

TO

AMEND THE ACT

TO

AMEND THE ACT

82^D CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 14 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 25), 1952

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending
June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply sup-
5 plemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June
6 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely.

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

10 For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John
11 A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of

1 Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gra-
 2 tuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any
 3 time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or
 4 at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of
 5 Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been
 6 a gift.

7 SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

8 Office of the Doorkeeper

9 For an additional amount for "Office of the Door-
 10 keeper", \$38,895.

11 CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

12 For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for ex-
 13 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
 14 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Com-
 15 mittee on House Administration, \$2,000.

16 For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for ex-
 17 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
 18 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee
 19 on House Administration, \$2,000.

20 Stationery (Revolving Fund)

21 For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving
 22 fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500,
 23 to remain available until expended.

1 Special and Select Committees

2 For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and
3 select committees", \$75,000.

4 CHAPTER II

5 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

6 LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

7 FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

8 For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of
9 witnesses", \$100,000.

10 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF

11 JAPANESE ANCESTRY

12 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
13 claims of persons of Japanese ancestry.", \$14,800,000.

14 IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

15 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

16 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
17 \$2,610,000; and the limitation under this head in the Depart-
18 ment of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
19 available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159,-
20 900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appropriations
21 granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be
22 available for the purchase of not to exceed forty passenger
23 motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided,

1 and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct
2 facilities for detention of aliens.

3 FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

4 SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

5 For an additional amount for "Support of United States
6 prisoners", \$575,000.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

9 ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

10 The limitation under this head in the Department of
11 Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
12 able for personal services, is increased from "\$4,965,300"
13 to "\$5,950,000".

14 CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

15 For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport
16 Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953,
17 as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901;
18 Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County
19 Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Air-
20 port, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm
21 Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado
22 Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro,
23 Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Geor-
24 gia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia,
25 \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,-

1 538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368;
 2 Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal
 3 Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport,
 4 Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria,
 5 Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia,
 6 \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla,
 7 Washington, \$21,241.

8 BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

9 FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

10 For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways",
 11 to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum
 12 is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount
 13 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and
 14 \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appro-
 15 priated for the fiscal year 1951.

16 CHAPTER III

17 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

18 OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

19 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

20 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 21 \$450,000.

22 CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

23 For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses,
 24 public moneys", \$25,000.

1 BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

2 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

3 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
4 \$20,000,000.

5 BUREAU OF THE MINT

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this
9 head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying
10 wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury
11 Department.

12 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

13 (Out of the postal revenues)

14 POSTAL OPERATIONS

15 For an additional amount for "Postal operations",
16 \$10,000,000.

17 TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

18 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
19 fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

20 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
21 \$100,000,000.

22 CLAIMS

23 For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$892,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$4,200,000" to "\$5,675,000": *Provided*, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

For an additional amount for "Employees' compensation fund", \$2,200,000.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND

SURVIVORS INSURANCE

The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, for "Salaries

1 and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance",
 2 by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952,
 3 is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000".

4 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

5 SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

6 For an additional amount for "Surplus property dis-
 7 posal", \$40,000.

8 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

9 For an additional amount for "Defense community
 10 facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,-
 11 000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the
 12 amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses,
 13 defense community facilities and services", granted in the
 14 Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be
 15 available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of
 16 the Federal Security Agency in connection with its func-
 17 tions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities
 18 and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized
 19 by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C.
 20 55a).

21 RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

22 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

23 (TRUST FUND)

24 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
 25 Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to

1 be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the
 2 limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board
 3 Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
 4 personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to
 5 "\$5,259,000".

6 CHAPTER V

7 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

8 FOREST SERVICE

9 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

10 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 11 for fighting forest fires, \$3,000,000.

12 SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

13 For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities
 14 for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of
 15 October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain
 16 available until expended: *Provided*, That hereafter the au-
 17 thorization granted in section 3 of said Act to enter into
 18 contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be exercised.

19 SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

20 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

21 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses";
 22 \$3,500,000.

1 CHAPTER VI

2 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

3 BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

4 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

5 For an additional amount for "Operation and maintenance", \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the
6 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
7 amount available for personal services is increased from
8 "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,264,862".

10 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

11 MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

12 For an additional amount for "Management of lands and
13 resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within
14 the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting
15 the amounts which may be expended from appropriations
16 to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services,
17 are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost
18 of fire suppression.

19 BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

20 RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

21 For an additional amount for "Resources management",
22 \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior
23 Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts
24 which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau

1 of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to
2 the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

3 BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

4 CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

5 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
6 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supple-
7 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available
8 for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to
9 "\$42,976,462".

10 BUREAU OF MINES

11 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL

12 RESOURCES

13 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
14 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
15 personal services, is increased from "\$10,446,575" to
16 "\$11,454,000".

17 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

18 MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL

19 FACILITIES

20 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
21 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
22 personal services, is increased from "\$4,193,747" to
23 "\$4,543,900".

1 OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

2 CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

3 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
4 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
5 personal services, is increased from "\$2,493,000" to
6 "\$2,844,700".

7 ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

8 For an additional amount for "Administration of Terri-
9 tories", \$463,000; and the limitation under this head in the
10 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
11 available for personal services, is increased from "\$811,865"
12 to "\$879,200".

13 CHAPTER VII

14 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

15 DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

16 For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Com-
17 mission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under
18 this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available
19 until August 31, 1952.

20 FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

21 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

22 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
23 \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Inde-
24 pendent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount

1 available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to
2 "\$252,000".

3 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

4 FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

5 For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City,
6 Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon
7 of a building for use as a supply and records center, including
8 related equipment, approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad
9 spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the pro-
10 visions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as
11 amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$4,400,000, to remain avail-
12 able until expended.

13 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

14 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

15 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

16 For an additional amount for "Defense community facili-
17 ties and services", \$9,375,000, to remain available until
18 expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appro-
19 priation shall be used for the construction of any project
20 unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

21 DEFENSE HOUSING

22 For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$12,-
23 500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*,
24 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for

1 the construction of any project unless funds are available
2 for the completion of such project.

3 ALASKA HOUSING

4 For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,-
5 125,000, to remain available until expended.

6 PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

7 ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

8 For an additional amount for "Annual contributions",
9 \$3,600,000.

10 NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

11 MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

12 For an additional amount for "Maintenance and opera-
13 tion of properties", \$3,000.

14 SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

15 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

16 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
17 \$2,955,000; and the limitations under this head in the Sup-
18 plemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
19 able for expenses of National Administration, Planning,
20 Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,-
21 856,000" to "\$1,995,500", and on the amount available
22 for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and
23 Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,-

223,500": *Provided*, That effective as of the first day of the first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended: *Provided further*, That such increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

For an additional amount for "Compensation and pensions", \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits", \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

For an additional amount for "National service life insurance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indemnities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

1 SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

2 For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund",
3 authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insur-
4 ance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000,
5 to remain available until expended.

6 VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

7 For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", author-
8 ized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance
9 Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000,
10 to remain available until expended.

11 AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED

12 VETERANS

To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in providing, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled veterans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

17 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

18 MARITIME ACTIVITIES

19 OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

20 The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential
21 subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act,
22 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further,*
23 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be avail-

1 able for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the pay-
 2 ment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of
 3 voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen
 4 hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which
 5 number shall include the number of voyages under con-
 6 tracts hereafter awarded."

7 MARITIME TRAINING

8 For an additional amount for "Maritime training",
 9 \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independ-
 10 ent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
 11 able for personal services, is increased from "\$2,236,500"
 12 to "\$2,263,500".

13 CHAPTER VIII

14 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

15 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

16 CORPS OF ENGINEERS

17 Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

18 Flood control, general (emergency fund)

19 For an additional amount for "Flood control, general
 20 (emergency fund)", \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer
 21 from "Flood control, general" and to remain available until
 22 expended.

1 CHAPTER IX

2 FOREIGN AID

3 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

4 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

5 GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

6 After the termination of the occupation government in
7 Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the
8 Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department
9 of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the
10 funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobli-
11 gated balances of the appropriations granted under this head
12 for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto,
13 as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations
14 in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby
15 waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes
16 of such transfers.

17 CHAPTER X

18 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

19 DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

20 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

21 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
22 \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
23 for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

1 SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION

2 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

3 For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for
 4 the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expenses
 5 of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this
 6 appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles,
 7 \$825,000.

8 CHAPTER XI

9 INCREASED PAY COSTS

10 For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal
 11 year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public
 12 Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public
 13 Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay
 14 increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law,
 15 as follows:

16 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

17 House of Representatives:

18 "Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;

19 "Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;

20 Contingent expenses of the House:

21 "Furniture", \$8,850;

22 "Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-
 23 tion", \$7,475;

- 1 “Office of the Coordinator of Information”,
- 2 \$5,630;
- 3 “Folding documents”, \$5,250;
- 4 “Revision of laws”, \$800;
- 5 “Speaker’s automobile”, \$485;
- 6 “Office of Legislative Counsel”, \$16,065, of which \$7,-
- 7 600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and
- 8 \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;
- 9 Capitol police: “Capitol Police Board”, \$1,795;
- 10 “Education of Senate and House pages”, \$2,940;
- 11 Architect of the Capitol:
- 12 Office of the Architect of the Capitol: “Salaries”,
- 13 \$8,100;
- 14 Capitol Buildings and Grounds:
- 15 “Capitol Buildings”, \$39,000;
- 16 “Capitol Grounds”, \$18,100;
- 17 “Legislative garage”, \$2,400;
- 18 “Senate Office Building”, \$55,400;
- 19 “House Office Buildings”, \$78,000;
- 20 “Capitol Power Plant”, \$35,400;
- 21 Library buildings and grounds: “Structural and
- 22 mechanical care”, \$16,700;
- 23 Botanic Garden: “Salaries and expenses”, \$14,700;
- 24 Library of Congress:

1 “Salaries, Library proper”, \$293,634;

2 Copyright office: “Salaries”, \$73,000;

3 Legislative reference service: “Salaries and ex-
4 penses”, \$66,300;

5 Distribution of catalog cards: “Salaries and ex-
6 penses”, \$55,359;

7 Union catalogs: “Salaries and expenses”, \$1,230;

8 Library buildings: “Salaries and expenses”, \$74,-
9 860;

10 Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of
11 Documents: “Salaries and expenses”, \$117,120;

12 THE JUDICIARY

13 Supreme Court of the United States:

14 “Salaries”, \$52,000;

15 “Care of the building and grounds”, \$11,800;

16 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: “Salaries and
17 expenses”, \$7,000;

18 Customs Court: “Salaries and expenses”, \$23,835;

19 Court of Claims: “Salaries and expenses”, \$7,000;

20 Other courts and services:

21 “Salaries of clerks of courts”, \$398,000;

22 “Probation system”, \$197,000;

23 “Salaries of criers”, \$51,000;

24 “Miscellaneous salaries”, \$239,900;

1 “Salaries of court reporters”, \$94,400;

2 “Administrative Office of the United States Courts”,
3 \$40,300;

4 “Expenses of referees”, \$15,000;

5 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

6 “Executive Mansion and grounds”, \$20,000;

7 Bureau of the Budget: “Salaries and expenses”,
8 \$246,000;

9 Council of Economic Advisers: “Salaries and expenses”,
10 \$17,800;

11 National Security Resources Board: “Salaries and ex-
12 penses”, \$30,000;

13 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

14 Civil Service Commission: “Salaries and expenses”,
15 \$1,000,000;

16 Economic Stabilization Agency: “Salaries and ex-
17 penses”, \$5,000,000;

18 “Export-Import Bank of Washington”. (increase of
19 \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
20 used for administrative expenses) ;

21 Federal Civil Defense Administration: “Operations”,
22 \$365,000;

23 Federal Communications Commission: “Salaries and ex-
24 penses”, \$488,900;

1 Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$203,775;

3 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys",
4 \$14,000;

5 Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
6 \$274,000;

7 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

8 Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$3,900;

10 Interstate Commerce Commission:

11 "General expenses", \$719,000;

12 "Railroad safety", \$60,000;

13 "Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

14 National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Sal-
15 aries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

16 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$432,250;

18 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses",
19 \$20,900; and the amount made available under the head
20 "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment
21 Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation
22 Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is
23 decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

1 Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and
2 expenses", \$435,000;

3 Smithsonian Institution:

4 "Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution",
5 \$162,000;

6 "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art",
7 \$90,000;

8 Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

9 The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and
10 expenses", \$42,000;

11 Veterans' Administration: "Administration, medical,
12 hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

13 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

14 Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and ex-
15 penses", \$26,600, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
16 priation "Promotion and further development of vocational
17 education", Office of Education;

18 Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and ex-
19 penses", \$343,300;

20 Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
21 \$193,800;

22 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$260,300,
23 of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the
24 appropriation "Promotion and further development of voca-
25 tional education", Office of Education;

1 Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$202,300,
2 to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion
3 and further development of vocational education", Office of
4 Education;

5 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and ex-
6 penses", \$38,000;

7 Public Health Service:

8 "Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

9 "Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

10 "Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

11 "Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

12 "Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene",
13 \$104,500;

14 "Disease and sanitation investigations and control,
15 Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

16 "Salaries and expenses, hospital construction serv-
17 ices", \$63,650;

18 "Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

19 "Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

20 "National Institutes of Health, operating expenses",
21 \$256,500;

22 "National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

23 "Mental health activities", \$42,750;

24 "National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

25 "Dental health activities", \$19,000;

1 "Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

2 Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
3 \$199,025;

4 Social Security Administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit
6 Unions", \$54,150;

7 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assist-
8 ance", \$96,900;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,-
10 250;

11 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commis-
12 sioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325
13 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
14 insurance trust fund;

15 Office of the Administrator:

16 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275,
17 together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred
18 from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust
19 fund;

20 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Opera-
21 tions", \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700
22 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
23 insurance trust fund;

24 "Salaries, Office of the General Counsel", \$28,500,
25 together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred

1 from the appropriation "Salaries and expenses, certifica-
 2 tion and inspection services", and not to exceed \$29,250
 3 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
 4 insurance trust fund;

5 *Provided*, That the Administrator may transfer from any
 6 appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Fed-
 7 eral Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any
 8 of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal
 9 Security Agency such additional amounts as may be neces-
 10 sary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201,
 11 approved October 24, 1951;

12 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

13 "Operating expenses", \$5,759,000;

14 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

15 Office of the Administrator:

16 "Salaries and expenses", \$207,000;

17 "Advance planning of non-Federal public works",
 18 \$63,500;

19 "Salaries and expenses, defense housing and com-
 20 munity facilities and services", \$44,700;

21 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
 22 ties", \$40,000;

23 "Federal National Mortgage Association" (increase
 24 of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which
 25 may be used for administrative expenses);

1 Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,-
2 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
3 used for administrative expenses in connection with loans
4 for prefabricated housing) ;

5 “Home Loan Bank Board” (increase of \$31,000 in
6 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ad-
7 ministrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limita-
8 tion upon the amount which may be used for nonadmin-
9 istrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State
10 chartered institutions) ;

11 “Federal Housing Administration” (increase of \$334,-
12 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
13 for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the
14 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
15 administrative expenses) ;

16 “Public Housing Administration” (increase of \$833,000
17 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
18 administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the
19 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
20 administrative expenses) ;

21 “Administrative expenses”, \$601,000;

22 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

23 “Research and Marketing Act of 1946”, \$222,000;

24 Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

25 “Economic investigations”, \$170,500;

1 “Crop and livestock estimates”, \$234,500;

2 Agricultural Research Administration:

3 “Office of Administrator”, \$41,000;

4 “Research on agricultural problems of Alaska”,
5 \$20,000;

6 “Research on strategic and critical agricultural ma-
7 terials”, \$32,000;

8 Office of Experiment Stations: “Salaries and ex-
9 penses”, \$23,000;

10 “Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Eco-
11 nomics”, \$86,000;

12 Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

13 “Animal research”, \$215,000;

14 “Animal disease control and eradication”,
15 \$395,800;

16 “Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and
17 serum”, \$4,200;

18 “Meat inspection”, \$1,040,000;

19 “Bureau of Dairy Industry”, \$98,000;

20 “Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry”,
21 \$450,000;

22 Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural
23 Engineering:

24 “Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering
25 research”, \$745,920;

1 "National Arbortum", \$12,080;

2 Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

3 Salaries and expenses:

4 "Insect investigations", \$265,500;

5 "Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,-

6 900;

7 "Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

8 "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and
9 plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the
10 amount of this appropriation which may be appor-
11 tioned for use only to meet emergency conditions,
12 pursuant to the provision under this head in the
13 Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act,
14 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs
15 under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law
16 201)) ;

17 Forest Service:

18 Salaries and expenses:

19 "National forest protection and management",

20 \$1,492,000;

21 "Forest research", \$308,000;

22 "State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

23 Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing
24 services", \$740,000;

1 "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

2 Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and ex-
3 penses", \$540,000;

4 Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and ex-
5 penses", \$1,745,000;

6 "Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed
7 \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to
8 the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agri-
9 culture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet in-
10 creased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public
11 Law 201)) ;

12 "Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

13 "Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of
14 \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
15 used for administrative expenses) ;

16 "Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,-
17 015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
18 used for administrative expenses) ;

19 Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

20 "Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

21 "Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

22 "Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

23 "Office of Information", \$48,000;

24 "Library", \$46,000;

1 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

2 Office of the Secretary:

3 "Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

4 "Technical and scientific services", \$10,000;

5 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
6 ties", \$2,500,000;

7 Bureau of the Census:

8 "Salaries and expenses", \$450,000;

9 "Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

10 Civil Aeronautics Administration:

11 "Salaries and expenses", \$6,000,000;

12 "Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

13 "Maintenance and operation, Washington National
14 Airport", \$80,000;15 "Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport
16 Act" (\$150,000 of the amount made available for
17 projects in the States to be available for necessary
18 planning, research, and administrative expenses) ;19 Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses",
20 \$250,000;21 Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses",
22 \$469,000;

23 Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

24 "Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;

1 "Field office service", \$92,000;

2 "Export control", \$124,000;

3 Maritime activities: "Salaries and expenses", \$719,300;

4 and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:

5 Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

6 Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

7 Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

8 Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$750,000;

9 National Bureau of Standards:

10 "Operation and administration", \$40,000;

11 "Research and testing", \$250,000;

12 "Radio propagation and standards", \$70,000;

13 Weather Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,470,000;

14 "Inland Waterways Corporation" (increase of \$10,000

15 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for

16 administrative expenses);

17 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

18 Department of the Army—Civil functions:

19 Quartermaster Corps: "Cemeterial expenses",

20 \$47,500;

21 "United States Soldiers' Home" (\$135,000, to be

22 paid from the Soldiers' Home permanent fund);

23 "Canal Zone Government", \$550,000;

24 "Postal service", \$50,000;

1 “Panama Canal Company” (increase of \$15,000
2 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
3 for administrative expenses) ;

4 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

5 Office of the Secretary: ,

6 “Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act”,
7 \$11,000;

8 “Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power
9 Administration”, \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from
10 the appropriation “Construction, Southeastern Power
11 Administration”;

12 “Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
13 ties”, \$250,000;

14 Commission of Fine Arts: “Salaries and expenses”,
15 \$1,200;

16 Bonneville Power Administration: “Construction”,
17 \$590,000;

18 Bureau of Land Management: “Management of lands
19 and resources”, \$335,000;

20 Bureau of Indian Affairs:

21 “Health, education, and welfare services”, \$2,-
22 175,000;

23 “Resources management”, \$388,000;

24 “General administrative expenses”, \$224,900;

1 “Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of
2 Indians, Oklahoma”, \$1,500;

3 “Tribal funds” (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

4 Bureau of Reclamation: “General administrative ex-
5 penses”, \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the
6 appropriation “Construction and rehabilitation”;

7 Geological Survey: “Surveys, investigations, and re-
8 search”, \$649,000;

9 Bureau of Mines:

10 “Conservation and development of mineral re-
11 sources”, \$650,000;

12 “Health and safety”, \$285,000;

13 “General administrative expenses”, \$84,000;

14 National Park Service:

15 “Management and protection”, \$440,000;

16 “Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facili-
17 ties”, \$79,000;

18 “General administrative expenses”, \$83,000;

19 Fish and Wildlife Service:

20 “Management of resources”, \$275,000;

21 “Investigations of resources”, \$170,000;

22 “General administrative expenses”, \$55,000;

23 Office of Territories: “Operation and maintenance of
24 roads, Alaska”, \$40,000;

1 Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$140,000;

3 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4 Legal activities and general administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, general administration",
6 \$160,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities",
8 \$400,000;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division",
10 \$245,000;

11 "Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and
12 marshals", \$800,000;

13 Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau
14 of Prisons", \$1,130,000;

15 Office of Alien Property (trust fund): "Salaries and ex-
16 penses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the
17 amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

18 "Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of
19 \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
20 used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in
21 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ex-
22 penses of vocational training of prisoners);

23 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

24 Office of the Secretary:

25 "Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

1 “Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor”,
2 \$109,200;

3 “Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards”,
4 \$43,700;

5 “Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans’ Re-
6 employment Rights”, \$18,000;

7 “Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
8 ties”, \$120,000;

9 Bureau of Apprenticeship: “Salaries and expenses”,
10 \$166,300;

11 Bureau of Employees’ Compensation: “Salaries and ex-
12 penses”, \$138,700;

13 Bureau of Labor Statistics:

14 “Salaries and expenses”, \$323,000;

15 “Revision of consumers’ price index”, \$83,600;

16 Women’s Bureau: “Salaries and expenses”, \$16,200;

17 Wage and Hour Division: “Salaries and expenses”,
18 \$521,500;

19 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

20 (Out of the postal revenues)

21 “General administration”, \$1,675,000;

22 “Postal operations”, \$241,479,000;

23 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

24 “Salaries and expenses”, \$4,200,000;

1 “International information and educational activities”,
2 \$1,750,000;

3 “Government in occupied areas”, \$700,000;

4 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

5 Office of the Secretary: “Salaries and expenses”, \$175,-
6 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation “Oper-
7 ating expenses, Coast Guard”;

8 Bureau of Accounts:

9 “Salaries and expenses”, \$65,000, to be derived
10 by transfer from the appropriation “Operating expenses,
11 Coast Guard”;

12 “Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement”,
13 \$400,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
14 tion “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

15 Bureau of the Public Debt: “Administering the public
16 debt”, \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
17 priation “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

18 Bureau of Customs: “Salaries and expenses”,
19 \$3,000,000;

20 Bureau of Narcotics: “Salaries and expenses”, \$130,-
21 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
22 “Operating expenses, Coast Guard”;

23 Secret Service Division:

24 “Salaries and expenses”, \$172,000, to be derived

by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,
Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, White House police",
\$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

General Administration:

"Executive office", \$19,400;

"Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

"Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

"Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service",
\$106,700;

Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

"Workmen's compensation, administrative ex-
penses", \$14,000;

"District government retirement and relief funds",
\$70,000;

Regulatory agencies:

"Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

"Board of Parole", \$2,400;

"Coroner's office", \$4,300;

"Department of Insurance", \$700;

1 “Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets”,
2 \$11,400;

3 “License Bureau”, \$6,700;

4 “Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board”,
5 \$6,500;

6 “Office of Recorder of Deeds”, \$10,000;

7 “Poundmaster’s office”, \$3,100;

8 “Office of Administrator of Rent Control”, \$1,200;

9 “Zoning Commission”, \$2,100;

10 Public schools:

11 “General administration”, \$1,557,000;

12 “Vocational education, George-Barden program”,
13 \$19,000;

14 “Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds
15 and equipment”, \$221,000;

16 Public Library: “Operating expenses”, \$68,000;

17 Recreation Department: “Operating expenses”, \$133,-
18 000;

19 “Metropolitan Police”, \$944,000, of which \$132,650
20 shall be payable from the highway fund;

21 “Fire Department”, \$440,000;

22 Courts: “District of Columbia courts”, \$42,100, of which
23 \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States

24 Public Health Service;

1 Health Department:

2 "General administration", \$56,000;

3 "Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis
4 Sanatorium", \$94,000;

5 "Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital
6 and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$341,000;

7 Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses",
8 \$150,500;

9 Public welfare:

10 "General administration", \$4,400;

11 "Agency services", \$12,600;

12 "Operating expenses, protective institutions",
13 \$97,000;

14 "Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;

15 Public works:

16 "Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;

17 "Office of Municipal Architect", \$8,800;

18 "Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of
19 District Buildings", \$79,000;

20 "Department of Inspections", \$36,000;

21 "Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;

22 "Central garage", \$5,900;

23 "Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions"
24 (payable from highway fund), \$60,000;

1 “Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions” (pay-
2 able from highway fund), \$13,000;

3 “Department of Vehicles and Traffic” (payable
4 from highway fund), \$32,000;

5 “Division of Trees and Parking” (payable from
6 highway fund), \$21,300;

7 “Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation”,
8 \$331,000;

9 “Operating expenses, Sewer Division”, \$85,000;

10 “Operating expenses, Water Division” (payable
11 from water fund), \$105,000;

12 Washington Aqueduct: “Operating expenses” (payable
13 from water fund), \$20,000;

14 “National Guard”, \$3,500;

15 “National Capital Parks”, \$146,000;

16 “National Zoological Park”, \$29,800;

17 DIVISION OF EXPENSES

18 The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of
19 Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be
20 paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as
21 defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of
22 1952.

23 GENERAL PROVISIONS

24 Appropriations or other funds made available by this
25 or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal

1 year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, com-
2 parable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved
3 October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pur-
4 suant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be
5 made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had
6 been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this
7 section shall not affect the availability of funds for com-
8 pensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to
9 section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a),
10 or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of
11 pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates
12 upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar
13 authority.

14 Except where specifically increased or decreased
15 elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within
16 appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or
17 other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limit-
18 ing the amounts which may be expended for personal serv-
19 ices, or for specified types of personal services, or for other
20 purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may
21 be transferred between appropriations or authorizations
22 available for or involving such services, are hereby increased
23 to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs author-
24 ized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24,
25 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and

1 comparable pay increases granted by administrative action
2 pursuant to law.

3 None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the
4 Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or
5 expenditure in excess of 99 per centum of the amount
6 carried in this chapter for said Department; and none of
7 the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other depart-
8 ment or agency shall be available for obligation or expendi-
9 ture in excess of 90 per centum of the amount appropriated
10 in this chapter for such department or agency.

11 CHAPTER XII

12 SEC. 1201. No part of any appropriation contained in
13 this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any cor-
14 poration included in this Act, shall be used to pay the salary
15 or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the
16 Government of the United States or who is a member of an
17 organization of Government employees that asserts the right
18 to strike against the Government of the United States, or who
19 advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates,
20 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
21 force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof
22 an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that
23 the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the pro-
24 visions of this section engaged in a strike against the Govern-
25 ment of the United States, is not a member of an organiza-

1 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
2 against the Government of the United States, or that such
3 person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organ-
4 ization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of
5 the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*,
6 That any person who engages in a strike against the Govern-
7 ment of the United States or who is member of an organiza-
8 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
9 against the Government of the United States, or who advo-
10 cates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,
11 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
12 force or violence and accepts employment the salary or
13 wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund
14 contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon
15 conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or im-
16 prisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided*
17 *further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition
18 to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of exist-
19 ing law.

20 SEC. 1202. Section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the
21 Eighty-second Congress is hereby amended as follows:

22 At the end of subsection "a" before the period, insert:
23 "": *Provided further*, That any agency may promote any
24 employee permanently to a position if such promotion will
25 not increase the number of employees holding permanent

1 positions in the grade of such position in such agency above
2 the number in such grade in such agency prior to September
3 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may
4 be made to any position in a category for which the Civil
5 Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments
6 under the terms hereof”.

7 And in the last proviso of subsection “c”, after “regis-
8 ter,” insert: “or is eligible for appointment, in accordance
9 with a regular appointment system or procedure established
10 prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position out-
11 side the competitive Civil Service,”.

12 And at the end of subsection “c”, before the period,
13 insert: “or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding
14 that for which he had previously established eligibility as
15 required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, not-
16 withstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid
17 undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission,
18 when requested by the head of the agency involved, may
19 authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious
20 nature”.

21 SEC. 1203. No part of any appropriation contained in
22 this Act shall be used for publicity or propaganda purposes
23 not heretofore authorized by the Congress.

- 1 This Act may be cited as the "Third Supplemental Ap-
- 2 propriation Act, 1952".

Passed the House of Representatives March 13, 1952.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

82ND CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the
fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for
other purposes.

MARCH 14 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 25), 1952

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Appropriations



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 98

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1952

No. 42

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, March 17, 1952, at 12 o'clock noon.

Senate

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1952

(Legislative day of Monday, February 25, 1952)

The Senate met in executive session, at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, who art in heaven and on the earth and in all Thy works, we pause in the midst of thronging duties and confused issues to commune with Thee, the source of all goodness and beauty and truth. Thou hast called us whose lives pass swiftly as a watch in the night to labor with Thee in the unfolding purpose of the ages.

Enrich our attitudes and actions, we pray, with that love for our fellows without whose golden gleam all that we say, though we speak with the tongues of men and of angels, is but as tinkling cymbals. Mastered by that love which seeketh not its own, but whose passion is the coming of Thy universal kingdom, may the words of our mouths and the meditation of our hearts be this day, and always, acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our redeemer. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. McFARLAND, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 13, 1952, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Snader, its assistant reading clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5317) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to

hear, determine, and render judgment upon a certain claim of the George H. White Construction Co., of Canton, Ohio.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I ask that, as in legislative session, Senators be permitted to make insertions in the Record and transact other routine business without debate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate is in executive session, but, as in legislative session, Senators will be permitted to present routine matters without debate.

PETITIONS

Petitions were laid before the Senate and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A letter from the Governor of the State of Vermont, transmitting a copy of an act providing that the State of Vermont may enter into a compact with any other State for mutual helpfulness in meeting any civil defense emergency (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

A resolution adopted by the Property Owner's Federation of Puerto Rico, San Juan, P. R., favoring the confirmation of the nomination of Clemente Ruiz Nazario to be judge of the United States District Court for Puerto Rico; ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Finance:

H. R. 5598. A bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey a parcel of land to the Mount Olivet Ceme-

tary Association, Salt Lake City, Utah; without amendment (Rept. No. 1307); and

H. R. 5951. A bill to add certain federally owned land to the Mound City Group National Monument, in the State of Ohio, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1308).

By Mr. FLANDERS, from the Committee on Finance:

S. 1999. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into an agreement with any State, Territory, or possession of the United States, or any political subdivision thereof, to provide that the head of each department or agency of the United States shall comply with the requirements of any statute of such State, Territory, possession, or subdivision, which imposes upon employers generally the duty of withholding sums from the compensation of employees; without amendment (Rept. No. 1309).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SMITH of New Jersey:

S. 2867. A bill for the relief of Helga Rossmann and her child; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHAVEZ:

S. 2868. A bill for the relief of Michael Miakos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 2869. A bill for the relief of Yuriko Nishimoto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. 2870. A bill for the relief of John Aristidis Dragazis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CASE:

S. 2871. A bill to amend section 548 of the act to establish a code of laws for the District of Columbia, approved March 3, 1901; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other pur-

poses, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES,
ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. HILL:

Address on the subject Public Power Issues in the Congress, delivered by Senator MORSE in Chicago, Ill., March 12, 1952, at the annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

Editorial entitled "Oil for Lamps of Learning," published in the National Union Farmer for February 1952.

By Mr. MCMAHON:

Statement prepared by him entitled "Why Are We in Korea?"

By Mr. O'CONOR:

Summary of address delivered by Senator SALTONSTALL before the United Nations Association of Maryland on March 10, 1952.

Article entitled "Congress Ready To Dig Into Past in Computing Foreign Aid Needs," written by Mark Sullivan, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of March 12, 1952, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

Article discussing youth of today as leaders of future world, written by James A. Farley, and published in the Baltimore Evening Sun of February 27, 1952.

By Mr. IVES:

Newspaper articles dealing with advantages offered by the State of New York, published in the New York Times of February 24, 1952.

By Mr. FLANDERS:

Editorial entitled "PATMAN in the Chair," published in the Washington Post of March 13, 1952.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT:

Article entitled "They Want American Ideas," written by Arnold Whitridge and published in the Saturday Review of February 23, 1951, relating to conditions in Greece, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

By Mr. MUNDT:

Editorial entitled "Mr. Morris Comes to Washington," published in the Washington Times-Herald of March 14, 1952, relating to the hearing of Mr. Newbold Morris before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEHMAN:

Editorial entitled "The Power Authority and the Seaway," published in the Water-town (N. Y.) Daily Times of March 11, 1952.

By Mr. MARTIN:

Editorial entitled "Oil and Profit Motive," published in Oil City (Pa.) Derrick of March 12, 1952.

CERTAIN INVESTIGATIONS BY CIVIL
SERVICE COMMISSION IN LIEU OF
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2077) to provide for certain investigations by the Civil Service Commission in lieu of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and for other purposes, which were, on page 5, after line 2, to insert:

SEC. 3. All findings, records, and reports made or compiled by the Civil Service Commission under this act, shall be made available to committees of the Congress, upon request of such committee.

On page 5, line 3 to strike out "SEC. 3." and insert "SEC. 4.", and on page 5, line 7, strike out "SEC. 4." and insert "SEC. 5."

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House, ask a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, Mr. PASTORE, and Mr. CARLSON conferees on the part of the Senate.

PRIVATE AND PUBLICLY OWNED POWER
PROJECTS—MESSAGE FROM THE
PRESIDENT AND ADDRESS BY THE
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there was released in Chicago yesterday a message by President Truman to the annual convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. This message was delivered by Secretary of the Interior Chapman, who also made some remarks of his own. The President's message and Secretary Chapman's remarks dealt with the campaign now being intensively waged by private-utility interests against all publicly owned power projects, and also against pending proposals for additional projects, including two in which I and the people of New York State are vitally interested, the St. Lawrence and the Niagara projects.

I ask unanimous consent that an article in this morning's New York Times, commenting on the President's message and Secretary Chapman's remarks, with the text of the President's message, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I had risen to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the addresses to which the distinguished Senator from New York has referred. I shall not now make the request, but I shall hand to the Senator the full text, since the New York Times did not carry the full text, with the thought that the Senator from New York will wish to include the full text of the remarks of both President Truman and Secretary Chapman.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I believe the full text of the remarks of the President is included in the article which I have submitted. I doubt very much, however, whether the full text of the address by the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Oscar L. Chapman, is included. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the message by the President of the United States and the address by the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Oscar L. Chapman, included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the address by the Secretary of the Interior, containing the message from the President together with the article from the New York Times, were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR OSCAR L. CHAPMAN AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NRECA CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 13, 1952, CONVEYING A SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

I am here today to bring to you of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Associa-

tion a special message from the President of the United States dealing with one of the great issues of our time.

It is an issue whose roots go back to the early days of our Nation's history. From the days of Jefferson on, the democratic tradition has always provided that the Nation's resources shall be used as a national heritage, not as a private dominion. It is tragic that this tradition has not always guided men's actions. In the last half century, however, this issue has been an important symbol in the never-ending struggle to make democracy a living force constantly going forward to meet the needs of a growing Nation.

As I stand here before this convention of a Nation-wide organization embodying that progressive tradition, I am reminded of the leaders of the past who fought their fight to build what we have inherited. They have not been limited to any single party. They include President Theodore Roosevelt and his great forester, Gifford Pinchot. They include Senator Robert M. La Follette and Senator George W. Norris, and many others of their generation who fought to save the oil reserves, the water power, and all the natural wealth of our public domain. They include President Franklin D. Roosevelt and my own predecessor in the Department of the Interior, the late Harold L. Ickes.

All of these men were aware that the health of our body politic depends upon maintaining and developing the Nation's natural resources for the people, free from monopolization by vested interests, and they felt that this was particularly true of the Nation's water power.

Along with the heavy burdens of a world in process of readjustment this great tradition has been faithfully carried on and reinforced by President Harry S. Truman.

Secretary Brannan has already presented to you the President's regrets at his inability to appear here in person to discuss this and other matters of great importance with you. Although he is not able to be with us today, I am honored to be the bearer of a special message to you from President Truman. From here on, the words are the words of the President of the United States.

SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE AS-
SOCIATION

I am taking this opportunity to send you a special message about our Federal power policy, because of the extraordinary importance of that subject to you. Right now, there is a terrific fight raging over our Federal power policy—and the Rural Electric Cooperatives have a very large stake in that fight.

Last September, speaking in San Francisco, I said something about our power policy.

I said then and I say now that I don't believe in Government for special privilege. Our resources should be used for the benefit of all the people, not just a few.

I said then and I say now that when electric power is produced with the people's money it ought to be used for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of the private power companies.

Those are the principles on which the Federal Government has been operating. But the private power lobby never has agreed with those principles and it doesn't agree with them now. That is what is back of the attacks on our Federal power policy today.

The power policy which has been followed by the Federal Government in recent years is strongly supported by people who put the needs of conservation and the public interest first. That policy is entirely in accord with the American tradition.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 8, 1952
For actions of April 7, 1952
82nd-2nd, No. 53

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee reported bill to increase cotton price supports. House passed bill to reduce cocunut-oil tariff for Pacific trust territory. House passed bill to permit Canada to enter forest-fire protection compact. House debated defense appropriation bill. Senate debated bill to create joint budget committee. Senate committee reported bill for additional VA home and farmhouse loans.

HOUSE

1. COCONUT-OIL IMPORTS. Passed without amendment H. R. 7188, to exempt cocunut oil derived from copra originating in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands from the additional processing tax of 2 cents a pound imposed by Sec. 2470 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code (pp. 3664-5).
2. FOREST FIRES. Passed as reported H. R. 4764, granting the consent and approval of Congress to the participation of certain Provinces of Canada in the North-eastern Forest Fire Protection Compact (pp. 3666-7).
3. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 7391 (pp. 3669-708).
4. COTTON PRICE SUPPORTS. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendment H. R. 5713, to increase cotton price supports on the 1952 crop if the production goal is met (H. Rept. 1724) (p. 3711).
5. FLOOD CONTROL. Rep. Lovre, S. Dak., spoke in favor of additional flood-control appropriations for the Army Department (pp. 3668-9).
6. WATER COMPACT. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendment H. R. 4628, granting the consent of Congress to a compact entered into by Okla., Tex., and N. Mex. relating to Canadian River waters (H. Rept. 1725) (p. 3711).

SENATE

7. **BUDGETING.** Began debate on S. 613, to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for the more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies (pp. 3630-47, 3649-54, 3657-9).
8. **EMERGENCY POWERS.** Received the President's message urging extension of certain emergency powers (including a provision for veterans' preference for one type of farm loan) for a 60 day period after the Japanese peace treaty becomes effective (pp. 3617-8).
9. **FARM LOANS.** The Banking and Currency Committee reported without amendment H. R. 5893, which would provide additional funds to the Veterans Administration for direct home and farmhouse loans to eligible veterans (Rept. 1403) (p. 3620).
10. **APPROPRIATIONS.** The Appropriations Committee began the mark-up of H.R. 6947, the third supplemental appropriation bill for 1952. (p. D317).
11. **PROPERTY.** Both Houses received the Budget Bureau's report on the reassignment and transfer of property within executive agencies where the reassignments and transfers are between activities financed by different appropriations (pp. 3618, 3710).
12. **FORESTRY.** Received California State legislature joint resolutions urging enactment of H. R. 565, which would permit the Secretary of Agriculture to spend 10% of national forest receipts for development, maintenance, and operation of recreational resources and areas and sanitation facilities in national forests; and repeal of that proviso of Public Law 135, 82nd Congress, requiring local contributions for range improvement in national forests and to permit expenditure of appropriations for this purpose without such contribution. (pp. 3618-9).
13. **FLOOD CONTROL.** Received a Los Angeles Council resolution protesting proposed reduction of Federal funds for flood control work in the Los Angeles area. (p. 3619).
14. **VIRGIN ISLANDS:** Received petition from the Virgin Islands Legislative Assembly relating to restoration of funds for agriculture station in Virgin Islands (p. 3619).
15. **FARM PRICES; ELECTRIFICATION; FARM PROGRAM.** Sen. Humphrey inserted various resolutions of the stockholders of Farmers Union Central Exchange, Inc., recommending revision of the sliding scale parity formula to permit farmers to receive 100 percent of parity on all farm products; urging necessary administrative funds to RFA; supporting commodity loans, and soil conservation payments; and opposing transfer of Farm Credit Administration from USDA (p. 3620).
16. **ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY.** Sen. Humphrey inserted resolution from the above-mentioned organization recommending joint construction of the seaway project by this country and Canada (p. 3620).
Sen. Wilcox inserted various letters and resolutions favoring joint construction of this project by this country and Canada and a letter from the executive director of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities stating Canada's intention to construct an all-Canadian seaway if the United States does not join them in this project (pp. 3625-6).
17. **NEWSPRINT:** Sen. Humphrey submitted a report and conclusions of the Select Committee on Small Business relating to newsprint (p. 3621).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate debated budget committee bill, and passed bill designating Bataan Day.

House debated Defense Department appropriations, and passed miscellaneous bills on taxation.

Bill increasing unemployment-sickness benefits for railroad workers ordered reported by House committee.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 3617-3630

Bills Introduced: Eight bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2977 to S. 2983; and S. J. Res. 147. Page 3624

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H. R. 5893, to make additional funds available to the VA for direct home and farmhouse loans to eligible veterans (S. Rept. 1403); and

Report and conclusions of Select Committee on Small Business on "Newsprint," which was ordered to be printed with individual views and a statement (S. Rept. 1404). Pages 3620-3621

Bill Referred: One House-passed bill was referred to appropriate committee. Page 3624

President's Communication: Communication from the President on extension of emergency powers was received and referred to Committee on the Judiciary. Pages 3617-3618

Bataan Day: S. J. Res. 147, designating April 9 as Bataan Day, was passed. Pages 3648-3649

Tidelands: Conference was requested with House on S. J. Res. 20, the tidelands bill, and Senators O'Mahoney, Murray, McFarland, Butler of Nebraska, and Cordon were appointed as conferees. Subsequently, Senator Long entered motion to reconsider this action and the House was requested to return the measure to the Senate. Pages 3626-3630

Budget Committee: Senate debated S. 913, to create a Joint Committee on the Budget, the pending question at recess being adoption of committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. Pages 3630-3647, 3649-3654, 3657-3659

Human Rights: Official contribution of U. S. Government to U. N. Year Book on Human Rights for 1950, was ordered to be printed as S. Doc. 1116. Pages 3624-3625

Confirmations: Five civilian nominations were confirmed, along with two nominations in the Air Force. Page 3663

Nomination: One civilian nomination was received. Page 3663

Program for Tuesday: Senate recessed at 5:01 p. m. until noon Tuesday, April 8, when it will continue consideration of S. 913, to create a Joint Committee on the Budget.

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

APPROPRIATIONS—THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL

Committee on Appropriations: Committee, in executive session, began the mark-up of H. R. 6947, third supplemental appropriations for 1952. Committee continues tomorrow.

APPROPRIATIONS—AGRICULTURE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee on Agriculture continued hearings on H. R. 7314, Agriculture appropriations for 1953, receiving testimony, as indicated, from the following witnesses: Senator Connally on market news service; Senator Hill on REA research; Mrs. Ada B. Stough, American Parents Committee, on school lunch; James G. Patton and John Baker, National Farmers Union, on general provisions of the bill; and J. M. Jones, National Wool Growers Association, on cooperative range improvement. Hearings continue tomorrow.

APPROPRIATIONS—INTERIOR

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee on Interior held executive hearings on H. R. 7176, Interior appropriations for 1953, and received testimony, as indicated, from the following witnesses: Senators Smith of North Carolina and Hoey, Representatives Redden, Doughton, and Chatham, and R. Getty Browning, placement engineer of the North Carolina Highway Department, testified with regard to the Blue Ridge Parkway; and Representative Camp testified with regard to the Warm Springs Fish Hatchery. Subcommittee recessed subject to call.

NOMINATIONS, MSA, AND ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee, in executive session, ordered favorably reported the nominations of George P. Shaw to be Ambassador to Paraguay, Henry A. Byroade to be Assistant Secretary of State, and sundry routine U. N. and Foreign Service nominations.

Committee also voted to continue on April 16, in executive session, the consideration of the proposed extension of the Mutual Security Program. Committee also agreed to put S. J. Res. 27, the St. Lawrence seaway project, on the committee agenda for April 22.

SURPLUS PROPERTY

Committee on Government Operations: Continuing its hearings concerning the disposal of certain Government-owned surplus property in 1948-49, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations received testimony from Irwin Geiger, Washington, D. C., attorney, and Frank Nathan, Miami, Fla. Witnesses testified with regard to the sale by the War Assets Administration of the Landuland-Torrance surplus plant at Torrance, Calif. Hearings continue tomorrow.

TRANSPORTATION

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Continuing its hearings on numerous bills relating to domestic land and water transportation, committee received testimony from Charles H. Buford, Association of American Railroads, who testified in opposition to S. 1018 and S. 2350; Gerald D. Morgan, American Waterway Operators, who opposed S. 2743; Chester C. Thompson, American Waterway Operators, who opposed S. 2744, S. 2745, and S. 2754; and Byron D. Locke, National Retail Dry Goods Association, who testified in opposition to S. 2713. Hearings continue tomorrow.

NOMINATION—ATTORNEY GENERAL

Committee on the Judiciary: Following an executive meeting, committee announced that hearings will be held, at a date to be announced later, on the nomination of James P. McGranery to be Attorney General of the U. S.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Committee on the Judiciary: Internal Security Subcommittee continued hearings with regard to the IPR, and heard testimony from Igor Bogolepov, former counselor to the Soviet Foreign Office, who stated that the IPR had been used to carry propaganda of the Soviet Union through its writings, and had also been used to obtain information for the Soviet. He also discussed a meeting that he attended in Moscow with several Russian officials and a group of foreigners, included in which group was Owen Lattimore. Mr. Bogolepov stated that he questioned the giving of sensitive information to these people at this meeting, but was assured by the officials that it was proper.

On Saturday, April 5, subcommittee heard Mrs. Owen Lattimore and Edward C. Carter, former secretary-general of the IPR, who testified as to a dinner party that they, Owen Lattimore, and Catesby Jones, student at Walter Hines Page School, Johns Hopkins University, attended in Washington, D. C., in August 1951. Mrs. Lattimore stated that Jones turned over to her his notes on testimony given that day to the subcommittee concerning Lattimore by Louis Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker, but could recall few other details. Also testifying was Marian S. Farley, editor of an IPR publication entitled "Far Eastern Affairs," who denied that she eliminated from an article therein certain anti-Communist views.

Subcommittee continues tomorrow.

MANPOWER RESOURCES—DISCRIMINATION

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations opened hearings on "Discrimination and Full Utilization of Manpower Resources" and had as its witness Robert C. Goodwin, Director, Defense Manpower Administration, and Director, Bureau of Employment Security, Labor Department, who (1) described the organizational structure within the Labor Department to deal with emergency manpower problems, and (2) described what the Labor Department was doing to promote better utilization of minority groups. Hearings continue tomorrow.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

APRIL 10, 1952.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted
the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 6947]

The Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6947), making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, report the same to the Senate with various amendments and present herewith information relative to the changes made.

Amount of bill as passed House.....	\$968, 127, 943
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Amount of decrease by Senate.....	—7, 486, 105
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Amount of bill as reported to Senate.....	960, 641, 838
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Total estimates considered by the Senate (contained
in H. Docs. Nos. 348, 357, 358, 377, and 380 and
S. Docs. Nos. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, and 114. 1, 081, 954, 520

Chapter	Departments or agencies	Budget estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recommended by Senate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-) Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
I	Legislative-----	\$114, 395	\$130, 895	\$223, 895	+ \$109, 500	+ \$93, 000
II	Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary--	97, 798, 870	88, 286, 170	74, 876, 170	-22, 922, 700	-13, 410, 000
III	Treasury and Post Office-----	215, 978, 000	192, 528, 000	192, 528, 000	-23, 450, 000	-----
IV	Labor-Federal Security-----	29, 159, 000	7, 132, 000	7, 117, 000	-22, 042, 000	-15, 000
V	Agriculture-----	8, 420, 000	7, 200, 000	7, 700, 000	-720, 000	+500, 000
VI	Interior-----	2, 148, 000	1, 128, 000	1, 128, 000	-1, 020, 000	-----
VII	Independent Offices-----	353, 229, 900	323, 189, 000	323, 239, 000	-29, 990, 900	+50, 000
VIII	Civil Functions-----	5, 750, 000	-----	-----	-5, 750, 000	-----
IX	Foreign Aid-----	(¹)	(¹)	-----	-----	-----
X	Emergency Agencies-----	11, 054, 000	825, 000	825, 000	-10, 229, 000	-----
XI	Increased Pay Costs-----	353, 944, 706	347, 708, 878	348, 647, 124	-5, 297, 582	+938, 246
XII	Claims and Judgments-----	4, 357, 649	-----	4, 357, 649	-----	+4, 357, 649
	Total-----	1, 081, 954, 520	968, 127, 943	960, 641, 838	-121, 312, 682	-7, 486, 105

¹ Language only.

INCREASES AND LIMITATIONS

The changes recommended by the committee in the amounts of the House bill are as follows:

Legislative Branch, Chapter I:

Senate:

Payment to the widow of the late Senator Kenneth S. Wherry.....	\$12, 500
Senate restaurants.....	25, 000
Total, Senate.....	37, 500

House of Representatives:

Beneficiaries of deceased Members.....	12, 500
Appropriations Committee.....	35, 000
Contested election cases.....	8, 000
Total, House of Representatives.....	55, 500

Architect of the Capitol:

Subway transportation:

The committee recommends that \$300 be transferred from the appropriation "Capitol Buildings" to the appropriation "Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Building" in order to insure safety of operation of the system during the remainder of the fiscal year.

Government Printing Office:

Federal Register:

The committee recommends that the following language be added to the bill:

WORKING CAPITAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING AND BINDING

The limitation under this head in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for printing, binding, and distributing the Federal Register, is increased from "\$480,000" to "\$700,000".

Total increase, legislative branch, chapter I.....	93, 000
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Department of Justice, Chapter II:

Immigration and Naturalization Service:

Salaries and expenses.....	1, 390, 000
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The committee recommends an appropriation of \$4,000,000, an increase of \$1,390,000 over the amount allowed on the floor of the House and the same amount that was recommended by the House Committee on Appropriations. Of the amount recommended, \$2,610,000 is to finance pay increase costs under Public Law 201, 82d Cong., and the balance of \$1,390,000 is to curtail the illegal entry of Mexican nationals into the United States and to implement the agricultural labor program.

INCREASES AND LIMITATIONS—Continued

Department of Labor, Chapter IV:**Bureau of Employment Security:**

Salaries and expenses-----\$25, 000

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$917,000, an increase of \$25,000 over the amount allowed by the House. The additional \$25,000 recommended by the committee is for printing costs in connection with the agreement with Mexico for the importation of Mexican agricultural workers.

Department of Agriculture, Chapter V:**Forest Service:**

Salaries and expenses-----500, 000

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$3,500,000 an increase of \$500,000 over the House bill and the full amount of the supplemental budget estimate. In recommending an additional appropriation of \$500,000, the committee takes the view that 1953 funds may be drawn upon to whatever extent required for the suppression of emergency forest fire conditions.

Smoke jumper facilities:

The committee agrees with the action of the House in recommending an appropriation of \$700,000 for the establishment of smoke jumper facilities, Missoula, Mont. In order to assure that the \$700,000 recommended will be the limit of cost for the capital investment of the facilities, the committee recommends that the following language be included in this paragraph:

: Provided, That the amount made available herein shall be the full cost for the acquisition of land and construction of facilities

Independent Offices, Chapter VII

American Battle Monuments Commission-----30, 000

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$30,000 to finance the dedication ceremonies of World War II memorials to be held at Suresnes, France, on May 30, 1952. The following paragraph has been included in this bill by the committee:

AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION DEDICATION
OF WORLD WAR II MEMORIALS

For expenses necessary for an appropriate dedication of World War II memorials, erected under authority of the Act of June 26, 1946 (36 U. S. C. 123), to be available for such purposes as the Commission may deem necessary and proper and without regard to the provisions of other laws or regulations relating to the expenditure of public funds (except that this exemption shall not be construed as waiving the requirement for the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit), \$30,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until June 30, 1953: Provided, That, when in the discretion of the American Battle Monuments Commission it would be in the public interest, personnel and transportation facilities of any other Government agency may be furnished by such agency, without reimbursement, to the Commission for the purposes of this appropriation.

INCREASES AND LIMITATIONS—Continued

Independent Offices, Chapter VII—Continued

Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion-----	\$20, 000
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The committee recommends an appropriation of \$20,000 for the Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion. This proposed appropriation is necessary to permit the Commission to terminate its functions properly and to prepare the final report to Congress required by Public Law 40, Eighty-first Congress.

Total increases, independent offices, chapter VII-----	50, 000
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Increased Pay Costs, Chapter XI:

Legislative branch:

Senate-----	\$938, 246
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The committee recommends an appropriation of \$938,246 for increased pay costs for the Senate occasioned by the enactment of Public Law 201, approved Oct. 24, 1951.

Judgments and Audited Claims, Chapter XII:

Claims for damages, audited claims and judgments-----	4, 357, 649
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The following paragraph has been included in the bill by the committee:

*CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS,
AND JUDGMENTS*

For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in Senate Document Numbered 108, Eighty-second Congress, \$4,357,649, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: Provided, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: Provided further, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more than thirty days after the date of approval of this Act.

Total increases, all chapters-----	7, 353, 895
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DECREASES AND LIMITATIONS

Department of Justice, Chapter II:

Claims of persons of Japanese ancestry----- \$14, 800, 000

The committee considered a request for a supplemental appropriation of \$14,800,000 for the payment of claims of persons of Japanese ancestry, which had been approved by the House. The committee is of the opinion that this is a matter which should be considered in connection with the regular appropriations for the Department of Justice for the fiscal year 1953 and has accordingly deleted the funds from the bill.

Federal Security Agency, Chapter IV:

Office of the Administrator:

Surplus property disposal----- 40, 000

The committee recommends that the \$40,000 allowed by the House for surplus property disposal be deleted from the bill.

Total decreases----- 14, 840, 000

RECAPITULATION

Total decreases by Senate Committee----- 14, 840, 000

Total increases by Senate Committee----- 7, 353, 895

Net decrease----- 7, 486, 105

Amount of bill as passed House----- 968, 127, 943

Net decrease----- 7, 486, 105

Amount of bill as reported to Senate----- 960, 641, 838

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
	LEGISLATIVE BRANCH					
	SENATE					
	Payment to the widow of the late Senator Kenneth S. Wherry			\$12, 500	+ \$12, 500	+ \$12, 500
	Senate Restaurants			25, 000	+ 25, 000	+ 25, 000
	Total, Senate			37, 500	+ 37, 500	+ 37, 500
	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES					
	Beneficiary of deceased Members		\$12, 500	25, 000	+ 25, 000	+ 12, 500
	SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES					
348	Office of the Doorkeeper (pay of pages), 1952	\$38, 895	38, 895	38, 895		
	Appropriations Committee			35, 000	+ 35, 000	+ 35, 000
	CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE					
348	Stationery (revolving fund), 1952	500	500	500		
	Contested election cases		4, 000	12, 000	+ 12, 000	+ 8, 000
380	Special and Select Committees, 1952	75, 000	75, 000	75, 000		
	Total, House of Representatives	114, 395	130, 895	186, 395	+ 72, 000	+ 55, 500

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—
Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
	LEGISLATIVE BRANCH—Continued					
	SENATE—Continued					
	CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE—continued					
	Architect of the Capitol:			(1)		
	Subway transportation					
S. 107	Government Printing Office:			(2)		
	Federal Register					
	Total, Legislative Branch (ch. I)	\$114, 395	\$130, 895	\$223, 895	+\$109, 500	+\$93, 000
	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE					
	LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION					
348	Fees and expenses of witnesses	200, 000	100, 000	100, 000	100, 000	-----
348	Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry	14, 800, 000	14, 800, 000	-----	14, 800, 000	14, 800, 000
	IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE					
348	Salaries and expenses	4, 610, 000	2, 610, 000	4, 000, 000	610, 000	+ 1, 390, 000

S. 113	FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM						
348	Support of United States prisoners-----	750,000	575,000	575,000	-175,000	-----	-----
	Total, Department of Justice-----	20,360,000	18,085,000	4,675,000	-15,685,000	-----	-13,410,000
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE						
	CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION						
348	Establishment of air navigation facilities-----	(3)	(3)	(3)	-----	-----	-----
348	Additional, Washington Airport-----	1,660,000	-----	-----	-1,660,000	-----	-----
348	Claims, Federal Airport Act-----	701,170	701,170	701,170	-----	-----	-----
	BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS						
348	Federal-aid highways-----	75,000,000	69,500,000	69,500,000	-5,500,000	-----	-----
	Total, Department of Commerce-----	77,361,170	70,201,170	70,201,170	-7,160,000	-----	-----
	THE JUDICIARY						
	OTHER COURTS AND SERVICES						
348	Miscellaneous expenses-----	77,700	-----	-----	-77,700	-----	-----
	Total, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary-----	97,798,870	88,286,170	74,876,170	-22,922,700	-----	-13,410,000

¹ \$300 transferred from the appropriation "Capitol Buildings" to "Subway transportation."

² Federal Register limitation increased from \$480,000 to \$700,000.

³ Personal service limitation increased from \$4,965,300 to \$5,950,000.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—
Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
TREASURY DEPARTMENT						
	Office of the Treasurer:					
348	Salaries and expenses	\$625, 000	\$450, 000	\$450, 000	—\$175, 000	
348	Contingent expenses, public moneys	50, 000	25, 000	25, 000	—25, 000	
	Total, Office of the Secretary	675, 000	475, 000	475, 000	—200, 000	
348	Bureau of Internal Revenue	25, 500, 000	20, 000, 000	20, 000, 000	—5, 500, 000	
348	Bureau of the Mint	465, 000	225, 000	225, 000	—240, 000	
	Total, Treasury Department	26, 640, 000	20, 700, 000	20, 700, 000	—5, 940, 000	
POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT						
348	Postal operations	27, 200, 000	10, 000, 000	10, 000, 000	—17, 200, 000	
348	Transportation of mails (1951)	61, 578, 000	61, 578, 000	61, 578, 000		
348	Transportation of mails	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000		
348	Claims	560, 000	250, 000	250, 000	—310, 000	
	Total, Post Office Department	189, 338, 000	171, 828, 000	171, 828, 000	—17, 510, 000	
	Total, Treasury and Post Office Departments (ch. III)	215, 978, 000	192, 528, 000	192, 528, 000	—23, 450, 000	

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR					
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY					
109 357	} Salaries and expenses				
		1, 163, 000	892, 000	917, 000	-246, 000
BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION					
348	Employees' compensation fund	2, 200, 000	2, 200, 000	2, 200, 000	
	Total, Department of Labor	3, 363, 000	3, 092, 000	3, 117, 000	+25, 000
FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY					
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION					
348	Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance	[2, 270, 000]	[2, 100, 000]	[2, 100, 000]	[-170, 000]
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR					
348	Surplus property disposal	46, 000	40, 000		-40, 000
348	Defense community facilities and services	25, 750, 000	4, 000, 000	4, 000, 000	-21, 750, 000
	Total, Federal Security Agency	25, 796, 000	4, 040, 000	4, 000, 000	-21, 796, 000
RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD					
348	Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)	[1, 853, 000]	[1, 600, 000]	[1, 600, 000]	[-253, 000]
	Total, Labor-Federal Security (ch. IV)	29, 159, 000	7, 132, 000	7, 117, 000	-22, 042, 000
					-15, 000

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—
Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
				Estimates	House bill
348	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE				
	Forest Service:				
	Fighting forest fires-----	\$3, 500, 000	\$3, 500, 000		+ \$500, 000
348					
	Smoke Jumper Facilities-----	970, 000	700, 000	-\$270, 000	-----
	Soil Conservation Service: Salaries and Expenses----	3, 950, 000	3, 500, 000	- 450, 000	-----
348	Total, Department of Agriculture (ch. V)-----	8, 420, 000	7, 200, 000	- 720, 000	+ 500, 000
	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR				
	Bonneville Power Administration				
348	Operation and Maintenance-----	4 240, 000	4 240, 000		-----
	BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT				
	Management of Lands and Resources-----	5 250, 000	5 250, 000		-----
348	BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS				
	Resources Management-----	5 175, 000	5 175, 000		-----
	BUREAU OF RECLAMATION				
348	Construction and Rehabilitation-----	(^a)	(^a)		-----
			(^a)	(^a)	

BUREAU OF MINES				
348	Conservation and Development of Mineral Resources-----	(7)	(7)	(7)
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE				
348	Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Physical Facilities-----	(8)	(8)	(8)
OFFICE OF TERRITORIES				
348	Construction of Roads, Alaska-----	(9)	(9)	(9)
348	Administration of Territories-----	10 1, 483, 000	10 463, 000	10 463, 000
	Total-----	2, 148, 000	1, 128, 000	1, 128, 000
377	American Battle Monuments Commission-----	36, 000		30, 000
S. 114	Civil Service Commission-----	6, 500, 000		-6, 500, 000
S. 111	Commission on Renovation of Executive Mansion-----	20, 000		20, 000

⁴ Personal services limitation increased from \$3,983,862 to \$4,264,862.

⁵ Personal services limitation waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

⁶ Personal services limitation increased from \$38,570,172 to \$42,976,462.

⁷ Personal services limitation increased from \$10,446,575 to \$11,454,000.

⁸ Personal services limitation increased from \$4,193,747 to \$4,543,900.

⁹ Personal services limitation increased from \$2,493,000 to \$2,844,700.

¹⁰ Personal services limitation increased from \$811,865 to \$879,200.

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended to be appropriated by this bill—
Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
INDEPENDENT OFFICES						
348	Displaced Persons Commission	\$3, 300, 000	\$3, 074, 500	\$3, 074, 500	—\$225, 500	
348	Federal Power Commission	325, 000	313, 000	313, 000	— 12, 000	
348	General Services Administration: Federal supply and records building	4, 600, 000	4, 400, 000	4, 400, 000	—200, 000	
	Housing and Home Finance Agency:					
	Office of the Administrator:					
348	Defense community facilities and services	18, 750, 000	9, 375, 000	9, 375, 000	— 9, 375, 000	
348	Defense housing	25, 000, 000	12, 500, 000	12, 500, 000	—12, 500, 000	
348	Alaska housing	1, 125, 000	1, 125, 000	1, 125, 000		
	Public Housing Administration:					
	Annual contributions	4, 000, 000	3, 600, 000	3, 600, 000	—400, 000	
348	National Capital Housing Authority	3, 900	3, 000	3, 000	— 900	
S. 110	Renegotiation Board	300, 000			—300, 000	
348	Selective Service System	3, 415, 000	2, 955, 000	2, 955, 000	—460, 000	

Veterans' Administration:					
348	Compensation and pensions	60,000,000	60,000,000	60,000,000	
348	Readjustment benefits	148,000,000	148,000,000	148,000,000	
348	National service life insurance	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	
348	Servicemen's indemnities	2,300,000	2,300,000	2,300,000	
348	Service-disabled veterans insurance fund	250,000	250,000	250,000	
348	Veterans special term insurance fund	250,000	250,000	250,000	
348	Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE					
Maritime activities:					
348	Maritime training	55,000	43,500	43,500	-11,500
	Total, independent offices (ch. VII)	353,229,900	323,189,000	323,239,000	-29,990,900
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS					
CORPS OF ENGINEERS					
348	Flood control, general (emergency fund)	5,750,000	11(5,750,000)	11(5,750,000)	-5,750,000

^u To be derived by transfer from "Flood control, general."

Comparative statement of the amounts of the budget estimates and of the amounts recommended by this bill—
Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or agency	Estimates	Recommended in House bill	Amount recom- mended by Sen- ate Committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—	
					Estimates	House bill
EMERGENCY AGENCIES						
DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION						
348	Salaries and expenses.....	12 \$229, 000	(13)	(13)	—\$229, 000	-----
SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION						
348	Salaries and expenses.....	825, 000	\$825, 000	\$825, 000	-----	-----
	Revolving fund.....	10, 000, 000	-----	-----	—10, 000, 000	-----
	Total, emergency agencies.....	11, 054, 000	825, 000	825, 000	—10, 229, 000	-----
358	Increased pay costs.....	353, 944, 706	347, 708, 878	348, 647, 124	—5, 297, 582	+\$938, 246
S. 108	Claims and judgments.....	4, 357, 649	-----	4, 357, 649	-----	+4, 357, 649
	Grand total.....	1, 081, 954, 520	968, 127, 943	960, 641, 838	—121, 312, 682	—7, 486, 105

¹² In addition, \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses," Office of Defense Mobilization.

¹³ Committee recommends \$200,000 to be derived by transfer from "Salaries and expenses," Office of Defense Mobilization.

○

Calendar No. 1383

82^D CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No. 1454]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 14 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 25), 1952

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

APRIL 10, 1952

Reported by Mr. McKELLAR, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending
June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply sup-
5 plemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June
6 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely.

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

SENATE

10 *For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Ken-*
11 *neth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska,*
12 \$12,500.



1 CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

2 *Senate restaurants: For an additional amount for Senate*
 3 *kitchens and restaurants, \$25,000.*

4 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

5 For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John
 6 A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of
 7 Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gra-
 8 tuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any
 9 time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or
 10 at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of
 11 Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been
 12 a gift.

13 *For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George*
 14 *B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Okla-*
 15 *homa, \$12,500.*

16 SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

17 Office of the Doorkeeper

18 For an additional amount for "Office of the Door-
 19 keeper", \$38,895.

20 APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

21 *For an additional amount, salaries and expenses, studies*
 22 *and examinations of executive agencies, \$35,000.*

23 CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

24 For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for ex-
 25 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber

1 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Com-
 2 mittee on House Administration, \$2,000.

3 For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for ex-
 4 penses incurred in the contested election case of Huber
 5 versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee
 6 on House Administration, \$2,000.

7 *For payment to W. Kingsland Macy, contestant, for*
 8 *expenses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus*
 9 *Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee*
 10 *on House Administration, \$2,000.*

11 *For payment to Ernest Greenwood, contestee, for ex-*
 12 *penses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus*
 13 *Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee*
 14 *on House Administration, \$2,000.*

15 *For payment to Maurice S. Osser, contestant, for ex-*
 16 *penses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus*
 17 *Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on*
 18 *House Administration, \$2,000.*

19 *For payment to Hardie Scott, contestee, for expenses*
 20 *incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott*
 21 *as audited and recommended by the Committee on House*
 22 *Administration, \$2,000.*

23 Stationery (Revolving Fund)

24 For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving

1 fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500,
2 to remain available until expended.

3 Special and Select Committees

4 For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and
5 select committees", \$75,000.

6 ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

7 *Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Build-*
8 *ings: For an additional amount, not to exceed \$300, to be*
9 *derived by transfer from the appropriation "Capitol Build-*
10 *ings".*

11 GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

12 WORKING CAPITAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING AND

13 BINDING

14 *The limitation under this head in the Legislative Branch*
15 *Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for print-*
16 *ing, binding, and distributing the Federal Register, is in-*
17 *creased from "\$480,000" to "\$700,000".*

18 CHAPTER II

19 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

20 LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

21 FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

22 For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of
23 witnesses", \$100,000.

1 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF
2 JAPANESE ANCESTRY

3 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
4 claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", \$14,800,000.

5 IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 ~~\$2,610,000~~ \$4,000,000; and the limitation under this head
9 in the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
10 amount available for personal services, is increased from
11 "\$30,159,900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appro-
12 priations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952
13 shall be available for the purchase of not to exceed forty pas-
14 senger motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided,
15 and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct
16 facilities for detention of aliens.

17 FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

18 SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

19 For an additional amount for "Support of United States
20 prisoners", \$575,000.

21 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

22 CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

23 ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

24 The limitation under this head in the Department of
25 Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-

1 able for personal services, is increased from "\$4,965,300"
2 to "\$5,950,000".

3 CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

4 For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport
5 Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953,
6 as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901;
7 Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County
8 Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Air-
9 port, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm
10 Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado
11 Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro,
12 Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Geor-
13 gia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia,
14 \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,-
15 538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368;
16 Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal
17 Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport,
18 Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria,
19 Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia,
20 \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla,
21 Washington, \$21,241.

22 BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

23 FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

24 For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways",
25 to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum

1 is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount
2 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and
3 \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appro-
4 priated for the fiscal year 1951.

5 CHAPTER III

6 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

7 OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

8 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

9 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
10 \$450,000.

11 CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

12 For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses,
13 public moneys", \$25,000.

14 BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

15 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

16 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
17 \$20,000,000.

18 BUREAU OF THE MINT

19 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

20 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
21 \$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this
22 head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying
23 wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury
24 Department.

1 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

2 (Out of the postal revenues)

3 POSTAL OPERATIONS

4 For an additional amount for "Postal operations",
5 \$10,000,000.

6 TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

7 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
8 fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

9 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
10 \$100,000,000.

11 CLAIMS

12 For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

13 CHAPTER IV

14 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

15 BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

16 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

17 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
18 ~~\$892,000~~ \$917,000; and the limitation under this head in the
19 Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
20 available for personal services, is increased from "\$4,200,-
21 000" to "\$5,675,000": *Provided*, That the limitation in the
22 appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the joint
23 resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the
24 duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is
25 repealed.

1 BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

2 EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

3 For an additional amount for "Employees' compensation
4 fund", \$2,200,000.

5 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

6 SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

7 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND

8 SURVIVORS INSURANCE

9 The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal
10 old-age and survivors insurance trust fund for "Salaries
11 and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance",
12 by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952,
13 is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000".

14 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

15 SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

16 For an additional amount for "Surplus property dis-
17 posal", \$40,000.

18 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

19 For an additional amount for "Defense community
20 facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,-
21 000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the
22 amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses,
23 defense community facilities and services", granted in the
24 Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be

1 available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of
 2 the Federal Security Agency in connection with its func-
 3 tions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities
 4 and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized
 5 by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C.
 6 55a).

7 RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

8 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

9 (TRUST FUND)

10 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
 11 Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to
 12 be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the
 13 limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board
 14 Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
 15 personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to
 16 "\$5,259,000".

17 CHAPTER V

18 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

19 FOREST SERVICE

20 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

21 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 22 for fighting forest fires, ~~\$3,000,000~~ \$3,500,000.

23 SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

24 For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities
 25 for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of

1 October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain
2 available until expended: *Provided, That the amount made*
3 *available herein shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land*
4 *and construction of facilities: Provided further, That here-*
5 after the authorization granted in section 3 of said Act to
6 enter into contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be
7 exercised.

8 SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

9 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

10 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
11 \$3,500,000.

12 CHAPTER VI

13 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

14 BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

15 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

16 For an additional amount for "Operation and mainte-
17 nance", \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the
18 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
19 amount available for personal services is increased from
20 "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,264,862".

21 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

22 MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

23 For an additional amount for "Management of lands and
24 resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within
25 the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting

1 the amounts which may be expended from appropriations
2 to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services,
3 are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost
4 of fire suppression.

5 BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

6 RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

7 For an additional amount for "Resources management",
8 \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior
9 Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts
10 which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau
11 of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to
12 the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

13 BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

14 CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

15 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
16 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supple-
17 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available
18 for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to
19 "\$42,976,462".

20 BUREAU OF MINES

21 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL

22 RESOURCES

23 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-

1 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
2 personal services, is increased from "\$10,446,575" to
3 "\$11,454,000".

4 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

5 MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL

6 FACILITIES

7 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
8 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
9 personal services, is increased from "\$4,193,747" to
10 "\$4,543,900".

11 OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

12 CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

13 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
14 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
15 personal services, is increased from "\$2,493,000" to
16 "\$2,844,700".

17 ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

18 For an additional amount for "Administration of Terri-
19 tories", \$463,000; and the limitation under this head in the
20 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
21 available for personal services, is increased from "\$811,865"
22 to "\$879,200".

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION

DEDICATION OF WORLD WAR II MEMORIALS

For expenses necessary for an appropriate dedication of World War II memorials, erected under authority of the Act of June 26, 1946 (36 U. S. C. 123), to be available for such purposes as the Commission may deem necessary and proper and without regard to the provisions of other laws or regulations relating to the expenditure of public funds (except that this exemption shall not be construed as waiving the requirement for the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit), \$30,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until June 30, 1953: Provided, That, when in the discretion of the American Battle Monuments Commission it would be in the public interest, personnel and transportation facilities of any other Government agency may be furnished by such agency, without reimbursement, to the Commission for the purposes of this appropriation.

COMMISSION ON RENOVATION OF THE EXECUTIVE
MANSION

For an additional amount for "Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion", \$20,000.

1 DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

2 For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Com-
3 mission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under
4 this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available
5 until August 31, 1952.

6 FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

7 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

8 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Inde-
10 pendent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount
11 available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to
12 "\$252,000".

13 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

14 FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

15 For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City,
16 Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon
17 of a building for use as a supply and records center, including
18 related equipment, approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad
19 spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the pro-
20 visions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as
21 amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$4,400,000, to remain avail-
22 able until expended.

1 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

2 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

3 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

4 For an additional amount for "Defense community facili-
5 ties and services", \$9,375,000, to remain available until
6 expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appro-
7 priation shall be used for the construction of any project
8 unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

9 DEFENSE HOUSING

10 For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$12,-
11 500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*,
12 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for
13 the construction of any project unless funds are available
14 for the completion of such project.

15 ALASKA HOUSING

16 For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,-
17 125,000, to remain available until expended.

18 PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

19 ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

20 For an additional amount for "Annual contributions",
21 \$3,600,000.

22 NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

23 MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

24 For an additional amount for "Maintenance and opera-
25 tion of properties", \$3,000.

1 SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

2 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

3 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
4 \$2,955,000; and the limitations under this head in the Sup-
5 plemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
6 able for expenses of National Administration, Planning,
7 Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,-
8 856,000" to "\$1,995,500", and on the amount available
9 for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and
10 Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,-
11 223,500": *Provided*, That effective as of the first day of the
12 first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within
13 ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate
14 of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal
15 board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained
16 in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service
17 Act, as amended: *Provided further*, That such increases may
18 be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they
19 had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October
20 24, 1951.

21 VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

22 COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

23 For an additional amount for "Compensation and pen-
24 sions", \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

1 READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

2 For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits",
3 \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

4 NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

5 For an additional amount for "National service life in-
6 surance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

7 SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

8 For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indem-
9 nities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

10 SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

11 For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund",
12 authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insur-
13 ance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000,
14 to remain available until expended.

15 VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

16 For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", author-
17 ized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance
18 Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000,
19 to remain available until expended.

20 AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED

21 VETERANS

22 To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in pro-

1 viding, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled vet-
2 erans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public
3 Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

4 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

5 MARITIME ACTIVITIES

6 OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

7 The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential
8 subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act,
9 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further,*
10 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be avail-
11 able for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the pay-
12 ment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of
13 voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen
14 hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which
15 number shall include the number of voyages under con-
16 tracts hereafter awarded."

17 MARITIME TRAINING

18 For an additional amount for "Maritime training",
19 \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independ-
20 ent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
21 able for personal services, is increased from "\$2,236,500"
22 to "\$2,263,500".

1 CHAPTER VIII

2 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

3 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

4 CORPS OF ENGINEERS

5 Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

6 Flood control, general (emergency fund)

7 For an additional amount for "Flood control, general
8 (emergency fund)", \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer
9 from "Flood control, general" and to remain available until
10 expended.

11 CHAPTER IX

12 FOREIGN AID

13 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

14 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

15 GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

16 After the termination of the occupation government in
17 Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the
18 Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department
19 of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the
20 funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobli-
21 gated balances of the appropriations granted under this head
22 for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto,
23 as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations
24 in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby

1 waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes
2 of such transfers.

3 CHAPTER X

4 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

5 DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
9 for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

10 SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION

11 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

12 For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for
13 the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expenses
14 of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this
15 appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles,
16 \$825,000.

17 CHAPTER XI

18 INCREASED PAY COSTS

19 For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal
20 year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public
21 Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public
22 Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay
23 increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law,
24 as follows:

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Senate:

"Salaries, officers and employees", \$782,896;

Contingent expenses of the Senate:

"Senate policy committees", \$9,910;

"Joint Committee on the Economic Report",

\$7,690;

"Joint Committee on Atomic Energy", \$12,925;

"Joint Committee on Printing", \$2,792;

"Vice President's automobile", \$355;

"Automobile for the President pro tempore",

\$355;

"Automobile for majority and minority leaders",

\$710;

"Reporting Senate proceedings", \$10,253;

"Furniture", cleaning and so forth, \$290;

"Inquiries and investigations", \$92,120;

"Folding documents", \$2,890;

"Miscellaneous items", \$15,060;

House of Representatives:

"Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;

"Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;

Contingent expenses of the House:

"Furniture", \$8,850;

1 “Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-
 2 tion”, \$7,475;
 3 Office of the Coordinator of Information”,
 4 \$5,630;
 5 “Folding documents”, \$5,250;
 6 “Revision of laws”, \$800;
 7 “Speaker’s automobile”, \$485;
 8 “Office of Legislative Counsel”, \$16,065, of which \$7,-
 9 600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and
 10 \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;
 11 Capitol police: “Capitol Police Board”, \$1,795;
 12 “Education of Senate and House pages”, \$2,940;
 13 Architect of the Capitol:
 14 Office of the Architect of the Capitol: “Salaries”,
 15 \$8,100;
 16 Capitol Buildings and Grounds:
 17 “Capitol Buildings”, \$39,000;
 18 “Capitol Grounds”, \$18,100;
 19 “Legislative garage”, \$2,400;
 20 “Senate Office Building”, \$55,400;
 21 “House Office Buildings”, \$78,000;
 22 “Capitol Power Plant”, \$35,400;
 23 Library buildings and grounds; “Structural and
 24 mechanical care”, \$16,700;

- 1 Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;
 2 Library of Congress:
 3 "Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;
 4 Copyright office: "Salaries", \$73,000;
 5 Legislative reference service: "Salaries and ex-
 6 penses", \$66,300;
 7 Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and ex-
 8 penses", \$55,359;
 9 Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,230;
 10 Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,-
 11 860;
 12 Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of
 13 Documents: "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

14 THE JUDICIARY

- 15 Supreme Court of the United States:
 16 "Salaries", \$52,000;
 17 "Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;
 18 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and
 19 expenses", \$7,000;
 20 Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;
 21 Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;
 22 Other courts and services:
 23 "Salaries of clerks of courts", \$398,000;
 24 "Probation system", \$197,000;

1 "Salaries of criers", \$51,000;

2 "Miscellaneous salaries", \$239,900;

3 "Salaries of court reporters", \$94,400;

4 "Administrative Office of the United States Courts",

5 \$40,300;

6 "Expenses of referees", \$15,000;

7 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

8 "Executive Mansion and grounds", \$20,000;

9 Bureau of the Budget: "Salaries and expenses",
10 \$246,000;

11 Council of Economic Advisers: "Salaries and expenses",
12 \$17,800;

13 National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and ex-
14 penses", \$30,000;

15 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

16 Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
17 \$1,000,000;

18 Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and ex-
19 penses", \$5,000,000;

20 "Export-Import Bank of Washington" (increase of
21 \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
22 used for administrative expenses) ;

23 Federal Civil Defense Administration: "Operations",
24 \$365,000;

1 Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and ex-
2 penses", \$488,900;

3 Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries
4 and expenses", \$203,775;

5 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys",
6 \$14,000;

7 Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$274,000;

9 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

10 Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
11 \$3,900;

12 Interstate Commerce Commission:

13 "General expenses", \$719,000;

14 "Railroad safety", \$60,000;

15 "Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

16 National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Sal-
17 aries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

18 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and ex-
19 penses", \$432,250;

20 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses",
21 \$20,900; and the amount made available under the head
22 "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment
23 Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation
24 Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is
25 decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

1 Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and
2 expenses", \$435,000;

3 Smithsonian Institution:

4 "Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution",
5 \$162,000;

6 "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art",
7 \$90,000;

8 Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

9 The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and
10 expenses", \$42,000;

11 Veterans' Administration: "Administration, medical,
12 hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

13 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

14 Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and ex-
15 penses", \$26,600, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
16 priation "Promotion and further development of vocational
17 education", Office of Education;

18 Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and ex-
19 penses", \$343,300;

20 Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
21 \$193,800;

22 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$260,300,
23 of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the
24 appropriation "Promotion and further development of voca-
25 tional education", Office of Education;

1 Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$202,300,
2 to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion
3 and further development of vocational education", Office of
4 Education;

5 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and ex-
6 penses", \$38,000;

7 Public Health Service:

8 "Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

9 "Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

10 "Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

11 "Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

12 "Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene",
13 \$104,500;

14 "Disease and sanitation investigations and control,
15 Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

16 "Salaries and expenses, hospital construction serv-
17 ices", \$63,650;

18 "Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

19 "Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

20 "National Institutes of Health, operating expenses",
21 \$256,500;

22 "National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

23 "Mental health activities", \$42,750;

24 "National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

25 "Dental health activities", \$19,000;

1 "Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

2 Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
3 \$199,025;

4 Social Security Administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit
6 Unions", \$54,150;

7 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assist-
8 ance", \$96,900;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,-
10 250;

11 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commis-
12 sioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325
13 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
14 insurance trust fund;

15 Office of the Administrator:

16 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275,
17 together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred
18 from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust
19 fund;

20 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Opera-
21 tions", \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700
22 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
23 insurance trust fund;

24 "Salaries, Office of the General Counsel", \$28,500,
25 together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred

1 from the appropriation "Salaries and expenses, certifica-
2 tion and inspection services", and not to exceed \$29,250
3 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
4 insurance trust fund;

5 *Provided*, That the Administrator may transfer from any
6 appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Fed-
7 eral Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any
8 of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal
9 Security Agency such additional amounts as may be neces-
10 sary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201,
11 approved October 24, 1951;

12 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

13 "Operating expenses", \$5,759,000;

14 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

15 Office of the Administrator:

16 "Salaries and expenses", \$207,000;

17 "Advance planning of non-Federal public works",
18 \$63,500;

19 "Salaries and expenses, defense housing and com-
20 munity facilities and services", \$44,700;

21 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
22 ties", \$40,000;

23 "Federal National Mortgage Association" (increase
24 of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which
25 may be used for administrative expenses) ;

1 Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,-
2 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
3 used for administrative expenses in connection with loans
4 for prefabricated housing) ;

5 “Home Loan Bank Board” (increase of \$31,000 in
6 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ad-
7 ministrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limita-
8 tion upon the amount which may be used for nonadmin-
9 istrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State
10 chartered institutions) ;

11 “Federal Housing Administration” (increase of \$334,-
12 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
13 for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the
14 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
15 administrative expenses) ;

16 “Public Housing Administration” (increase of \$833,000
17 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
18 administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the
19 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
20 administrative expenses) ;

21 “Administrative expenses”, \$601,000;

22 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

23 “Research and Marketing Act of 1946”, \$222,000;

24 Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

25 “Economic investigations”, \$170,500;

- 1 “Crop and livestock estimates”, \$234,500;
- 2 Agricultural Research Administration:
- 3 “Office of Administrator”, \$41,000;
- 4 “Research on agricultural problems of Alaska”,
- 5 \$20,000;
- 6 “Research on strategic and critical agricultural ma-
- 7 terials”, \$32,000;
- 8 Office of Experiment Stations: “Salaries and ex-
- 9 penses”, \$23,000;
- 10 “Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Eco-
- 11 nomics”, \$86,000;
- 12 Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:
- 13 “Animal research”, \$215,000;
- 14 “Animal disease control and eradication”,
- 15 \$395,800;
- 16 “Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and
- 17 serum”, \$4,200;
- 18 “Meat inspection”, \$1,040,000;
- 19 “Bureau of Dairy Industry”, \$98,000;
- 20 “Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry”,
- 21 \$450,000;
- 22 Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural
- 23 Engineering:
- 24 “Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering
- 25 research”, \$745,920;

1 "National Arboretum", \$12,080;
2 Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:
3 Salaries and expenses:
4 "Insect investigations", \$265,500;
5 "Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,-
6 900;
7 "Plant quarantines", \$192,600;
8 "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and
9 plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the
10 amount of this appropriation which may be appor-
11 tioned for use only to meet emergency conditions,
12 pursuant to the provision under this head in the
13 Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act,
14 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs
15 under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law
16 201));
17 Forest Service:
18 Salaries and expenses:
19 "National forest protection and management",
20 \$1,492,000;
21 "Forest research", \$308,000;
22 "State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;
23 Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing
24 services", \$740,000;
25 "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

1 Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and ex-
2 penses", \$540,000;

3 Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and ex-
4 penses", \$1,745,000;

5 "Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed
6 \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to
7 the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agri-
8 culture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet in-
9 creased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public
10 Law 201)) ;

11 "Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

12 "Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of
13 \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
14 used for administrative expenses) ;

15 "Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,-
16 015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
17 used for administrative expenses) ;

18 Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

19 "Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

20 "Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

21 "Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

22 "Office of Information", \$48,000;

23 "Library", \$46,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

"Technical and scientific services", \$10,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$2,500,000;

Bureau of the Census:

"Salaries and expenses", \$450,000;

"Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

Civil Aeronautics Administration:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000,000;

"Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$80,000;

"Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport Act" (\$150,000 of the amount made available for projects in the States to be available for necessary planning, research, and administrative expenses);

Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;

Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses", \$469,000;

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

"Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;

1 "Field office service", \$92,000;

2 "Export control", \$124,000;

3 Maritime activities: "Salaries and expenses", \$719,300;

4 and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:

5 Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

6 Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

7 Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

8 Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$750,000;

9 National Bureau of Standards:

10 "Operation and administration", \$40,000;

11 "Research and testing", \$250,000;

12 "Radio propagation and standards", \$70,000;

13 Weather Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,470,000;

14 "Inland Waterways Corporation" (increase of \$10,000

15 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
16 administrative expenses) ;

17 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

18 Department of the Army—Civil functions:

19 Quartermaster Corps: "Cemeterial expenses",
20 \$47,500;

21 "United States Soldiers' Home" (\$135,000, to be
22 paid from the Soldiers' Home permanent fund) ;

23 "Canal Zone Government", \$550,000;

24 "Postal service", \$50,000;

1 "Panama Canal Company" (increase of \$15,000
2 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
3 for administrative expenses) ;

4 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

5 Office of the Secretary:

6 "Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act",
7 \$11,000;

8 "Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power
9 Administration", \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from
10 the appropriation "Construction, Southeastern Power
11 Administration";

12 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
13 ties", \$250,000;

14 Commission of Fine Arts: "Salaries and expenses",
15 \$1,200;

16 Bonneville Power Administration: "Construction",
17 \$590,000;

18 Bureau of Land Management: "Management of lands
19 and resources", \$335,000;

20 Bureau of Indian Affairs:

21 "Health, education, and welfare services", \$2,-
22 175,000;

23 "Resources management", \$388,000;

24 "General administrative expenses", \$224,900;

1 "Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of
2 Indians, Oklahoma", \$1,500;

3 "Tribal funds" (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

4 Bureau of Reclamation: "General administrative ex-
5 penses", \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the
6 appropriation "Construction and rehabilitation";

7 Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and re-
8 search", \$649,000;

9 Bureau of Mines:

10 "Conservation and development of mineral re-
11 sources", \$650,000;

12 "Health and safety", \$285,000;

13 "General administrative expenses", \$84,000;

14 National Park Service:

15 "Management and protection", \$440,000;

16 "Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facili-
17 ties", \$79,000;

18 "General administrative expenses", \$83,000;

19 Fish and Wildlife Service:

20 "Management of resources", \$275,000;

21 "Investigations of resources", \$170,000;

22 "General administrative expenses", \$55,000;

23 Office of Territories: "Operation and maintenance of
24 roads, Alaska", \$40,000;

1 Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries
2 and expenses", \$140,000;

3 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4 Legal activities and general administration:

5 "Salaries and expenses, general administration",
6 \$160,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities",
8 \$400,000;

9 "Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division",
10 \$245,000;

11 "Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and
12 marshals", \$800,000;

13 Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau
14 of Prisons", \$1,130,000;

15 Office of Alien Property (trust fund): "Salaries and ex-
16 penses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the
17 amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

18 "Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of
19 \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
20 used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in
21 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ex-
22 penses of vocational training of prisoners);

23 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

24 Office of the Secretary:

25 "Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

1 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor",
2 \$109,200;

3 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards",
4 \$43,700;

5 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Re-
6 employment Rights", \$18,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
8 ties", \$120,000;

9 Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses",
10 \$166,300;

11 Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and ex-
12 penses", \$138,700;

13 Bureau of Labor Statistics:

14 "Salaries and expenses", \$323,000;

15 "Revision of consumers' price index", \$83,600;

16 Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$16,200;

17 Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses",
18 \$521,500;

19 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

20 (Out of the postal revenues)

21 "General administration", \$1,675,000;

22 "Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

1 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

2 "Salaries and expenses", \$4,200,000;

3 "International information and educational activities",

4 \$1,750,000;

5 "Government in occupied areas", \$700,000;

6 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

7 Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses", \$175,-

8 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Oper-

9 ating expenses, Coast Guard";

10 Bureau of Accounts:

11 "Salaries and expenses", \$65,000, to be derived

12 by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,

13 Coast Guard";

14 "Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement",

15 \$400,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-

16 tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

17 Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public

18 debt", \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appro-

19 priation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

20 Bureau of Customs: "Salaries and expenses",

21 \$3,000,000;

22 Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses", \$130,-

23 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation

24 "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

1 Secret Service Division:

2 "Salaries and expenses", \$172,000, to be derived
3 by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,
4 Coast Guard";

5 "Salaries and expenses, White House police",
6 \$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
7 tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

8 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

9 (Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

10 General Administration:

11 "Executive office", \$19,400;

12 "Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

13 "Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

14 "Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

15 Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service",
16 \$106,700;

17 Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

18 "Workmen's compensation, administrative ex-
19 penses", \$14,000;

20 "District government retirement and relief funds",
21 \$70,000;

22 Regulatory agencies:

23 "Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

24 "Board of Parole", \$2,400;

- 1 "Coroner's office", \$4,300;
2 "Department of Insurance", \$700;
3 "Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets",
4 \$11,400;
5 "License Bureau", \$6,700;
6 "Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board",
7 \$6,500;
8 "Office of Recorder of Deeds", \$10,000;
9 "Poundmaster's office", \$3,100;
10 "Office of Administrator of Rent Control", \$1,200;
11 "Zoning Commission", \$2,100;
12 Public schools:
13 "General administration", \$1,557,000;
14 "Vocational education, George-Barden program",
15 \$19,000;
16 "Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds
17 and equipment", \$221,000;
18 Public Library: "Operating expenses", \$68,000;
19 Recreation Department: "Operating expenses", \$133,-
20 000;
21 "Metropolitan Police", \$944,000, of which \$132,650
22 shall be payable from the highway fund;
23 "Fire Department", \$440,000;
24 Courts: "District of Columbia courts", \$42,100, of which

- 1 \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States
2 Public Health Service;
3 Health Department:
4 "General administration", \$56,000;
5 "Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis
6 Sanatorium", \$94,000;
7 "Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital
8 and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$341,000;
9 Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses",
10 \$150,500;
11 Public welfare:
12 "General administration", \$4,400;
13 "Agency services", \$12,600;
14 "Operating expenses, protective institutions",
15 \$97,000;
16 "Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;
17 Public works:
18 "Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;
19 "Office of Municipal Architect", \$8,800;
20 "Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of
21 District Buildings", \$79,000;
22 "Department of Inspections", \$36,000;
23 "Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;
24 "Central garage", \$5,900;

1 “Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions”
2 (payable from highway fund) , \$60,000;

3 “Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions” (pay-
4 able from highway fund) , \$13,000;

5 “Department of Vehicles and Traffic” (payable
6 from highway fund) , \$32,000;

7 “Division of Trees and Parking” (payable from
8 highway fund) , \$21,300;

9 “Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation”,
10 \$331,000;

11 “Operating expenses, Sewer Division”, \$85,000;

12 “Operating expenses, Water Division” (payable
13 from water fund) , \$105,000;

14 Washington Aqueduct: “Operating expenses” (payable
15 from water fund) , \$20,000;

16 “National Guard”, \$3,500;

17 “National Capital Parks”, \$146,000;

18 “National Zoological Park”, \$29,800;

19 DIVISION OF EXPENSES

20 The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of
21 Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be
22 paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as
23 defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of
24 1952.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Appropriations or other funds made available by this or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, comparable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pursuant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this section shall not affect the availability of funds for compensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar authority.

Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for specified types of personal services, or for other purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may be transferred between appropriations or authorizations available for or involving such services, are hereby increased

1 to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs author-
2 ized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24,
3 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and
4 comparable pay increases granted by administrative action
5 pursuant to law.

6 None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the
7 Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or
8 expenditure in excess of 99 per centum of the amount
9 carried in this chapter for said Department; and none of
10 the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other depart-
11 ment or agency shall be available for obligation or expendi-
12 ture in excess of 90 per centum of the amount appropriated
13 in this chapter for such department or agency.

14 CHAPTER XII

15 CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND

16 JUDGMENTS

17 *For payment of claims for damages as settled and de-*
18 *termined by departments and agencies in accord with law,*
19 *audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting*
20 *Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by*
21 *United States district courts and the United States Court of*
22 *Claims, as set forth in Senate Document Numbered 108,*
23 *Eighty-second Congress, \$4,357,649, together with such*
24 *amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when*
25 *specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements*

1 of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and
 2 such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as
 3 may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: Pro-
 4 vided, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be
 5 paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against
 6 the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or other-
 7 wise: Provided further, That, unless otherwise specifically
 8 required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest
 9 wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more
 10 than thirty days after the date of approval of this Act.

11 CHAPTER XX XIII

12 SEC. ~~1201~~ 1301. No part of any appropriation contained
 13 in this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any
 14 corporation included in this Act, shall be used to pay the salary
 15 or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the
 16 Government of the United States or who is a member of an
 17 organization of Government employees that asserts the right
 18 to strike against the Government of the United States, or who
 19 advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates,
 20 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
 21 force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof
 22 an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that
 23 the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the pro-
 24 visions of this section engaged in a strike against the Govern-
 25 ment of the United States, is not a member of an organiza-

1 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
 2 against the Government of the United States, or that such
 3 person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organ-
 4 ization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of
 5 the United States by force or violence: *Provided further,*
 6 That any person who engages in a strike against the Govern-
 7 ment of the United States or who is member of an organiza-
 8 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
 9 against the Government of the United States, or who advo-
 10 cates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,
 11 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
 12 force or violence and accepts employment the salary or
 13 wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund
 14 contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon
 15 conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or im-
 16 prisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided*
 17 *further,* That the above penalty clause shall be in addition
 18 to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of exist-
 19 ing law.

20 SEC. ~~1202~~ 1302. Section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the
 21 Eighty-second Congress is hereby amended as follows:

22 At the end of subsection "a" before the period, insert:
 23 "": *Provided further,* That any agency may promote any
 24 employee permanently to a position if such promotion will
 25 not increase the number of employees holding permanent

1 positions in the grade of such position in such agency above
2 the number in such grade in such agency prior to September
3 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may
4 be made to any position in a category for which the Civil
5 Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments
6 under the terms hereof”.

7 And in the last proviso of subsection “c”, after “regis-
8 ter,” insert: “or is eligible for appointment, in accordance
9 with a regular appointment system or procedure established
10 prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position out-
11 side the competitive Civil Service,”.

12 And at the end of subsection “c”, before the period,
13 insert: “or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding
14 that for which he had previously established eligibility as
15 required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, not-
16 withstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid
17 undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission,
18 when requested by the head of the agency involved, may
19 authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious
20 nature”.

21 SEC. ~~1203~~ 1303. No part of any appropriation contained
22 in this Act shall be used for publicity or propaganda purposes
23 not heretofore authorized by the Congress.

1 This Act may be cited as the "Third Supplemental Ap-
 2 propriation Act, 1952".

Passed the House of Representatives March 13, 1952.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

82ND CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

[Report No. 1454]

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the
fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for
other purposes.

MARCH 14 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 25), 1952

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Appropriations

APRIL 10, 1952

Reported with amendments

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 11, 1952
For actions of April 10, 1952
S2nd-2nd, No. 61

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Rep. Phillips criticized fig decision and said OFAR is influenced by State Department. House adjourned until Apr. 22. Senate is not to conduct business until Apr. 16.

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SENATE

1. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. The Appropriations Committee reported this bill, H. R. 6947, with amendments (S. Rept. 1454) (p. 3970). It is understood that the committee increased the forest-fire item from \$3,000,000 to \$3,500,000 (the Budget estimate) and that no change was made in the pay-cost items for this Department or in the proposed modification of the Whitten personnel rider. The bill was made the unfinished business for Apr. 16 (p. 4006).
2. RESEARCH; APPROPRIATIONS. Sen. Schoeppel recommended increased funds for USDA research generally and particularly for research on foot-and-mouth disease (p. 3977).
3. WOOL IMPORTS. Sen. Watkins criticized the State Department for not doing something to prevent Argentine exports of wool tops to this country (pp. 4013-4).
4. AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. The Appropriations Committee concluded hearings on this bill, H. R. 7314 (pp. D335-6).
5. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 14 (p. 4024). It was agreed that on that day the Senate will adjourn, "without debate and without the transaction of any business" until Wed., Apr. 16 (p. 4006).

HOUSE

6. FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL RELATIONS. Rep. Phillips, Calif., criticized the Secretary's recent decision regarding fig imports, indicated that the decision was reached

on advice of OFAR, referred to OFAR as virtually a section of the State Department, and said more recognition should be given to OFAR as a voice of agriculture but that he was in favor of cutting the appropriation for this office until such recognition is given (pp. 4046-7).

7. RECLAMATION. Rep. Mitchell, Wash., spoke in favor of the proposed Hells Canyon project (pp. 4043-6).
8. TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. Rep. Jones, Ala., said TVA has resulted in industrial development in the South but that it has not caused a shift of New England textile mills to the South (pp. 4040-2).
9. REPORT. Received the annual report of the Treasury Department on the state of the finances for 1951 (H. Doc. 271)(p. 4050).
10. ADJOURNED until Tues., Apr. 22 (p. 4050).

BILL INTRODUCED

11. BUILDINGS. H. R. 7495, by Rep. Buckley, N. Y., to increase from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000 the appropriation authorization, under Sec. 302 of the Public Buildings Act of 1949, for buildings outside D. C.; to Public Works Committee (p. 4051).

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

12. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE: RESEARCH. Rep. Barry, S. Dak., inserted his article from the South Dakota Union Farmer urging Congress to appropriate \$25,000,000 for construction of a foot-and-mouth disease research laboratory (p. A2384).
13. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Rep. Van Zant, Pa., inserted a Lewiston (me.) Sun article opposing construction of this waterway and power project (pp. A2384-5).
14. DAIRY INDUSTRY. Rep. Davis, Wis., inserted various resolutions adopted by the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association including resolutions on livestock disease control, livestock sanitation, school lunch program, and livestock judging (pp. A2439-40).
15. FLOOD PREVENTION. Rep. Wickersham, Okla., inserted his statement before the Senate Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee favoring additional appropriations for the Washita Valley (Okla.) flood-prevention program (pp. A2440-1).
16. SUGAR. Speech in the House by Rep. D'Ewart, Mont., urging the USDA to encourage increased domestic production of sugar beets by raising the price of sugar under the provisions of the Sugar Act (pp. A2444-5).
17. PRICES. Rep. Roosevelt, N. Y., inserted a National Association of Consumers statement opposing proposed legislation which would extend the provisions of "fair-trade" agreements covering retail price maintenance to retailers not signing such agreements (p. A2394).
18. ELECTRIFICATION. Speech in the House by Rep. Roosevelt, N. Y., urging support by American aluminum producers for the further development of electric power by the Government on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers. He also inserted his letter to the Secretary of Interior and the Secretary's reply thereto concerning future electric power needs in the Northeast (pp. A2388-9).



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Please return to
CHIEF, LEGISLATIVE REPORTING
Office of Budget and Finance

Vol. 98

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1952

No. 61

Senate

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and merciful Father, we would begin the day with Thee, conscious of our helplessness and of Thy supreme and sovereign power. As Thou hast given us life, so we implore Thee, strengthen us to regard it as a stewardship and make us ready and willing for whatever service Thou wouldst have us to perform.

We thank Thee for the sacrament of April beauty, for the glory of common things and the light of heaven upon our daily path. Help us so to live that we may find eternity in the midst of time, and that, walking the lighted way with pure intent to push out the boundaries of Thy kingdom of love, we may hasten the universal reign of the Risen Redeemer on the earth. This Holy Week, realizing that a crown of thorns may glow with a splendor surpassing kingly coronets, we would bow at this altar set up in the midst of our national life, as from our hearts we say,

"Nearer my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee,
E'en though it be a cross that raiseth me."

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. McFARLAND, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 9, 1952, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 4902. An act to permit the importation free of duty of racing shells to be used

in connection with preparations for the 1952 Olympic games;

H. R. 5282. An act to amend section 2800 (a) (5) of the Internal Revenue Code;

H. R. 7230. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code, so as to make nontaxable certain stock transfers made by insurance companies to secure the performance of obligations;

H. R. 7345. An act to exclude from gross income the proceeds of certain sports programs conducted for the benefit of the American National Red Cross;

H. R. 7391. An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense and related independent agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 418. Joint resolution to amend the act of July 1, 1947 (61 Stat. 242).

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 423) to continue the effectiveness of certain statutory provisions until July 1, 1952.

The message further announced that the House had agreed, without amendment, to the following concurrent resolutions of the Senate:

S. Con. Res. 56. Concurrent resolution providing funds for a study of the Railroad Retirement Act and related problems; and
S. Con. Res. 64. Concurrent resolution authorizing certain expenditures by the Joint Committee on the Navajo-Hopi Indian Administration.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 208) providing for adjournment of the House from April 10 to 22, 1952, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Missouri River in South Dakota is undergoing what engineers say is the greatest flood in modern history. The Governor of the State has asked that representatives of an appropriate committee, which is the Committee on Public Works, come to the State. Eighty percent of the business houses in the State capital are under 4 feet of water.

The chairman of the Committee on Public Works has indicated that members may try to make a trip there next week, but has asked that I go as soon

as possible. This may necessitate my absence from the Senate next week.

Mr. President, I therefore ask unanimous consent that I may be excused from attending the sessions of the Senate next week while I am absent on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair's attention has been called to a statement in the Record of yesterday attributed to him in referring to the President's message on the seizure of the steel industry.

On page 3844, in the next to the last paragraph of column 3, the Chair is quoted as saying:

He certainly has a right under the Constitution to do so.

That is, to take over the steel industry.

The Chair tried to make it plain that he was only passing on the preliminary question of the committee to which the message should be referred. He certainly did not assume, in passing on that question, to pass on the powers of the President to take over the steel industry. That is a matter for the courts to decide, and it is now in the courts. The Chair requests unanimous consent that that sentence may be deleted from the permanent Record because it is inconsistent with all the Chair said during the discussion about the reference of the message. The Chair hears no objection, so the sentence will be deleted.

EASTER RECESS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 208, which was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That when the House adjourns on Thursday, April 10, 1952, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Tuesday, April 22, 1952.

Mr. McFARLAND. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arizona?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

REORGANIZATION PLANS OF DEPARTMENTS OF POST OFFICE, TREASURY, AND JUSTICE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 424)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States relating to reorganization plans of the Departments of Post Office, Treasury, and Justice, which was read and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2 OF 1952, RELATING TO POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT — MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 425)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 3 OF 1952, RELATING TO BUREAU OF CUSTOMS OF DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 426)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 4 OF 1952, RELATING TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 427)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report on the state of the finances of the Federal Government, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1951, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIAL

A petition and a memorial were laid before the Senate, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A telegram in the nature of a petition from the American Pipe & Construction Co., Los Angeles, Calif., signed by William A. Johnson, president, praying for the enactment of legislation to prevent the seizure by the Government of any industry; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A resolution adopted by the Rock Creek, or Kah-Mitt-Pah, Tribe of the Yakima Indian Nation, Rock Creek, Wash., protesting against the proposed construction of The Dalles Dam on the Columbia River; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Appropriations:

H. R. 6947. A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1454).

By Mr. FREAR, from the Committee on Banking and Currency:

S. 2564. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 1455); and

H. R. 6101. A bill to extend the provisions of the Federal Credit Union Act, as amended, to the Virgin Islands; without amendment (Rept. No. 1456).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WILEY:

S. 3000. A bill for the relief of Marina Bernardis Zivolich and Mirko Zivolich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURRAY (for himself and Mr. HUMPHREY):

S. 3001. A bill to amend the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance System to provide insured aged persons and their dependents, and survivors of deceased insured persons, with insurance against the cost of hospitalization; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. MURRAY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CARLSON:

S. 3002. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the organization of the Future Farmers of America; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. CARLSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BENTON:

S. 3003. A bill for the relief of Aristides Kendros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATKINS (for himself and Mr. ANDERSON):

S. 3004. A bill to facilitate the termination of Federal supervision over the affairs of Indian tribes and bands and individual Indians that were under the jurisdiction of the former Grand Ronde and Siletz Agencies, Oregon; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. WATKINS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. ANDERSON (for himself and Mr. WATKINS):

S. 3005. A bill to facilitate the termination of Federal supervision over Indian affairs in California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. ANDERSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. KERR:

S. 3006. A bill for the relief of Jakub Kahan;

S. 3007. A bill for the relief of Jimmy Lee Davis; and

S. 3008. A bill for the relief of Karen Christene Eisen Murdock; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOODY:

S. 3009. A bill to provide for an investigation and survey by the Chief of Engineers with a view to ascertaining the causes of, and mitigating damages resulting from, high-water levels in the Great Lakes Basin; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

S. 3010. A bill for the relief of May Ling Ng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ECTON:

S. 3011. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that individuals may elect not to receive old-age and survivors' insurance coverage with respect to self-employment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

PROPOSED TERMINATION OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION OVER AFFAIRS OF CERTAIN INDIANS OF OREGON

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, in conjunction with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to facilitate the termination of Federal supervision over the affairs of Indian tribes and bands and individual Indians that were under the jurisdiction of the former Grand Ronde and Siletz Agencies, Oreg. I ask unanimous consent that a statement, and a memorandum prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, outlining the provisions of the bill, and the reasons for it, be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the statement and memorandum will be printed in the RECORD. The Chair hears no objection.

The bill (S. 3004) to facilitate the termination of Federal supervision over the affairs of Indian tribes and bands and individual Indians that were under the jurisdiction of the former Grand Ronde and Siletz Agencies, Oreg., introduced by Mr. WATKINS (for himself and Mr. ANDERSON), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The statement and memorandum presented by Mr. WATKINS are as follows:

STATEMENT

The proposed bill would provide for a termination of the Federal trust with respect to the real and personal property of Indian tribes and individual Indians that were under the jurisdiction of the former Grand Ronde and Siletz Agencies, Oreg., authorize the disposition of Federally owned administrative sites and facilities established

Calendar No. 1383

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6947

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 16 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. HAYDEN to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, viz:

- 1 On page 47, strike out lines 6 to 13, inclusive.

4-16-52—G

Calendar No. 1383

82ND CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. HAYDEN to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

APRIL 16 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 17, 1952
For actions of April 16, 1952
82nd-2nd, Nos. 62 and 63

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Appropriations.....1,16	Import controls.....5	Reclamation.....4,7
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Forestry.....14	Purchasing.....8	Wildlife conservation...6

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Sen. Young inserted his testimony on price supports. Sens. Schoeppel and Thye urged additional flood control.

SENATE

1. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 4074, 4079-82). There was no discussion of items involving this Department.
2. FLOOD CONTROL. Sens. Schoeppel and Thye spoke in favor of a stronger flood-control program, a coordinated plan of water retardation and soil conservation, and a disaster insurance program (pp. 4091-4).
3. PRICE SUPPORTS. Sen. Young inserted his testimony before the Agriculture and Forestry Committee favoring S. 2115, to continue the use of the so-called old parity formula, and S. 450, to make mandatory supports at 90% of parity for all nonbasic commodities for which USDA has requested increased production (pp. 4067-9).
4. RECLAMATION. Sen. Watkins inserted his correspondence with the Interior Department indicating that construction of the Pilot Knob Power Plant would not give Calif. any priority over Colorado River waters (pp. 4066-7).
5. IMPORT CONTROLS. Received Calif. Legislature resolutions opposing importation of tuna fish and ladino clover seed (pp. 4058-60).
6. WILDLIFE CONSERVATION. The Government Operations Committee submitted its 1951 report on Federal wildlife conservation activities (S. Rept. 1457) (p. 4062).

BILLS INTRODUCED

7. RECLAMATION. S. 3013, by Sen. Watkins (for himself and Sen. Bennett), to authorize the Colorado River storage project and participating projects; to Interior

and Insular Affairs Committee (p. 4062). Remarks of author (pp. 4062-5).

8. PURCHASING. S. 3023, by Sen. Morse (for himself and 13 others), to provide for a Federal supply catalog system to be developed by the Defense Department; to Armed Services Committee (p. 4062). Remarks of author and text of bill (pp. 4069-104).

BILLS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

9. FARM CREDIT. S. 2085, to provide for payments to banks for dealing in securities of the Central Bank for Cooperatives. Approved Apr. 9 (Public Law 305, 82nd Cong.).
10. FARM LABOR. S. 2549, to provide special quota immigration visas for alien shepherders. Approved Apr. 9 (Public Law 307, 82nd Cong.).
11. EMERGENCY POWERS. H. J. Res. 423, to continue until June 1, 1952, certain emergency powers, including one relating to veterans' preference for certain FHA loans, which would have expired upon signature of the Japanese treaty. Approved Apr. 14, 1952. (Public Law 313, 82nd Cong.).

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

12. SOIL CONSERVATION. Sen. Thyne inserted a speech by Joseph Dambow urging farmers to carry out good soil conservation practices (pp. A2473-4).
13. FOOD STORAGE. Sen. Martin inserted his radio speech claiming there is "waste and unnecessary bureaucratic spending" throughout the Government and citing the CCC food storage program as one example (pp. A2466-7).
14. FORESTRY; SHEEP RAISING. Sen. Stennis inserted a Miss. Rural Electric News article praising the work done by a young 4-H Club member on forestry and sheep raising projects (pp. A2460-1).
15. FLOOD CONTROL. Rep. Hagen inserted a Crookston (Minn.) Daily Times editorial criticizing recent House action in eliminating appropriations for continuing the Red River Valley flood-control project (p. A2449).
Sen. Young inserted a Bismarck Tribune editorial stating that completion of the Garrison Dam would prevent floods on the Missouri River at Bismarck (pp. A2458-9).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS RELEASED BY GPO

16. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952, H. R. 6947. S. Appropriations Com.
17. ROAD AUTHORIZATIONS for 1954 and 1955, S. 2437, S. 2585. S. Public Works Com.
18. MONOPOLY power study. H. Judiciary Committee. H. R. 6295.
19. CONSUMERS' PRICE INDEX, H. Res. 73. H. Education and Labor Committee.
20. SMALL BUSINESS participation in military procurement - No. 4. S. Small Business.

COMMITTEE HEARING ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR APR. 17: Price supports, S. Agriculture. Defense Production Act extension, S. Banking and Currency (ex). Foreign aid program, S. Foreign Relations (ex). Interior and Labor-Federal Security appropriation bills, S. Appropriations (ex).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 105A.

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ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, following the letter I have just submitted, a letter which I received under date of April 12, 1952, from William A. Roberts, commenting on the letter I received from the Chinese Embassy.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHINESE EMBASSY,
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE,
Washington, D. C., April 11, 1952.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are writing in connection with your speech in the Senate on April 10, 1952, introducing a total of some 22 documents attributed to either one of us in the form of alleged cabled reports supposedly addressed to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We note, however, that in the presentation of these so-called documents, you did not reveal how you came in possession of these alleged cabled reports. We wish to point out that, whoever supplied them to you, he has kept from you the vital information that all these cabled reports, and many more, were sent by Gen. P. T. Mow, when he was in charge of the Chinese Aeronautical Commission in Washington. The cabled reports you introduced were all from Gen. P. T. Mow to Mr. H. T. Chou, secretary of the office of the president of China, although from time to time General Mow had made use of information which we had given him, sometimes verbally and sometimes in pencilled notes. We wish also to point out that these cabled reports were all signed by General Mow himself before they were despatched, as the unexpurgated copies of the originals will undoubtedly show. With regard to the cable of June 17, 1950, concerning Hanlon, we wish to state that General Mow's recommendation to employ Hanlon's legal services was promptly rejected by Taipei. We have a full file of these cabled reports, and we would be glad to let you examine them if you so desire in the interest of truth.

In view of the above, we are obliged to point out that the person or persons who so gratuitously supplied you with the materials, have sought to mislead you regarding the authorship of these cabled reports. They have absolutely nothing to do with the Chinese Embassy, which possesses established channels of communication of its own, without having to make use of the facilities of the Chinese Air Force under General Mow, which was independent of the Chinese Embassy altogether.

We are sure that you are aware that the Republic of China brought suit against Gen. P. T. Mow, and his executive secretary, Col. V. S. Hsiang, for failure to account for some \$7,000,000 of public funds placed under their custody, and for their refusal to turn over to the proper authorities the documents and papers belonging to the Chinese Government. The district court has already handed down a judgment by default against the defendant, General Mow, who had reportedly escaped to Mexico. The family of Col. V. S. Hsiang had reportedly gone back to Communist China. The district court had also issued an order compelling General Mow and Colonel Hsiang to turn over the documents and papers to the court-appointed custodian pending the outcome of the lawsuit.

The papers which you introduced in your speech on April 10, 1952, on the floor of the United States Senate are a portion of the documents and papers which the district court had ordered General Mow to turn over to the court-appointed custodian. It is a mystery how these documents should come into your possession and the possession of

what you call "a reliable and reputable publication."

Since your speech was reported in the newspapers and picked up by the wire services, we are making this letter available to them as soon as sufficient time is allowed for its delivery to you.

Sincerely yours,

CHEN CHIH-MAI.
PETER T. K. PEE.

ROBERTS & McINNIS,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1952.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In a communication dated April 11, 1952, Chen Chih-mai and Peter T. K. Pee, political and military personnel of Chiang Kai-shek connected with the Chinese Embassy in Washington, have written you concerning the documents which you placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 10, 1952. Certain of the statements in the letter are false, and others are misleading.

The statement that all of the cabled reports were sent by Gen. P. T. Mow when he was in charge of the Chinese Aeronautical Commission in Washington, is a deliberate and apparent lie. Not only do the original cables relate to matters wholly outside of the functions of the Chinese Aeronautical Commission, but they bear the signatures and are in the writing of Chen Chih-mai and of General Pee, were in part upon the stationery of the Chinese Embassy, and in their contents show that the information originated with Chen Chih-mai and includes his recommendations. The servile tones employed make it clear that these are communications addressed to Chiang Kai-shek and the nature of the contents shows that they couldn't conceivably have been correspondence by Lt. Gen. P. T. Mow to a secretary in the office of Chiang Kai-shek.

The suggestion on page 2 of the letter that the district court had issued an order compelling General Mow and Colonel Hsiang to turn over the documents and papers to the court-appointed custodian pending the outcome of a civil-law suit, is most revealing as to the true purposes of this law suit. It is quite true that such a suit was commenced against General Mow and Colonel Hsiang after they had brought to the attention of the Department of State and other congressional and administrative officials of the United States, conclusive evidence of fraud and of double-dealing relating to the military and other aid which the United States had advanced to the Chinese Nationalist Government through Chiang Kai-shek. Under the guise of this accounting for the funds under the control of General Mow for the procurement of military equipment for Nationalist China, a special mission sent by Chiang Kai-shek from Formosa to discredit Mow and Hsiang, procured through American lawyers by false representations made in chambers and without opportunity for defense, an order which compelled Mow and Hsiang to turn over to a United States citizen for the benefit and use of Chiang Kai-shek's commission, all documents related to the operations of the Chinese Air Force Office in the United States.

This injunction, which is presently awaiting determination on appeal, was extremely wide and was intended to divest Mow and Hsiang not only of the proofs of their stewardship, but also of all the evidence which they desired and intended to place before congressional committees in support of their charges. The order did not, and could not, relate to espionage reports of confidential agents of Chiang Kai-shek covering propaganda and subversive activities in the United States. Absolutely no information as to the existence of these secret coded reports made by Chen Chih-mai, Peter T. K. Pee, and other

Chinese representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, was disclosed to the court, nor did it have any relationship with the legitimate and approved activities conducted by General Mow and Colonel Hsiang in the Chinese National Air Force Office.

Contrary to the voluminous and expensive propaganda which has been issued by the China lobby and inspired by the secret representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, General Mow has disclaimed in writing, any personal interest in any of the funds well known by the Chinese Embassy to have been held and expended for the actual benefit of the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa. The court record contains direct and specific military orders to General Mow from the constitutional President of Nationalist China, General Li Tsung-jen requiring him to withhold from illegal diversion to private hands, these sums of money. He has denied the jurisdiction of the United States District Court in a suit between an unlawful and discredited alien regime and an alien military officer relating to the propriety of the military duties of that officer, and both General Mow and Colonel Hsiang have consistently and for many months, held themselves available without limitation or qualification, to full cooperation with the Department of State and any designated congressional committee to supply in full information as to the propriety and good faith of their actions.

The steps initiated by Chen Chih-mai, Peter T. K. Pee, the Chiang Kai-shek delegation and their associates and affiliates, by the use of physical force and threats against General Mow and Colonel Hsiang and their relatives and by legalistic strategy to conceal and smother this information of vital importance to the interests of the United States, has resulted in General Mow leaving the jurisdiction of this cause and in a threat of a default judgment whenever the Chiang Kai-shek forces can prove the truth of their affirmative allegations. Col. V. S. Hsiang has never left the jurisdiction of the court and has constantly been available, and is now available in Washington, to implement prior charges and prove the truth of his allegations. He has submitted to exhaustive depositions before counsel for Chiang Kai-shek. Numerous quantities of accounting and other information, and the entire contents of the Chinese Air Force Office in Washington, as well as possession of those premises, have been turned over to the court-designated custodian and made available for the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

In their letter, these Chinese say: "We have a full file of these cabled reports, and we would be glad to let you examine them if you so desire in the interest of truth." It should also be apparent that the signers of the letter have access to the code replies from Chiang Kai-shek and his instructions and his directions to his agents in the United States with respect to his propaganda strategy. We are advised that Mackay Radio handled this code correspondence, and I strongly recommend that you procure immediately, by resolution of the Senate pending the grant of power of subpoena to a congressional investigating committee, an instruction to that company to safeguard and prepare for the production to Congress of the entire correspondence. By similar action, assurance should be had that neither Chen Chih-mai, Peter T. K. Pee or any others of the Chiang Kai-shek agents escape from this country with documents vital to our national defense. Already, one of the Chinese delegation has evaded service of subpoena and returned to Formosa.

It is my sincere belief that when the full truth is disclosed to Congress, there will be such a revulsion of congressional opinion over the financial and propaganda activities of the China lobby that it will be possible to develop a plan of cooperative action with

the honest and capable Chinese Nationalists who are determined in their effort to restore China to democratic government. Under such a plan, adequate provision can be made for the care, training, and education of the legitimate refugees on Formosa, and by official cooperation with the United Nations, the looting of the United States Treasury for private purposes in the name of the fight against communism can be terminated. At that time you may get your reward in public understanding and appreciation for your courageous position.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERTS & McINNIS,
By WILLIAM A. ROBERTS.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the unanimous-consent agreement heretofore entered into, the business before the Senate is House bill 6947, the third supplemental appropriation bill.

The Chair lays the bill before the Senate.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be vacated and that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with, that it be read for amendment, and that the committee amendments be first considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The first committee amendment will be stated.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the heading "Chapter I — Legislative branch," on page 1, after line 8, to insert:

SENATE

For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Kenneth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska, \$12,500.

Mr. FERGUSON obtained the floor.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me for a few moments?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

TOM CONNALLY, SENATOR FROM TEXAS

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, it was with deep regret that I learned that the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] is to retire from the Senate next January. I am sure that my feelings of regret are shared by all other Members of the Senate. The Senator from Texas richly deserves retirement but we shall sorely

miss him. I have known the Senator from Texas longer than I have known any other Member of the Congress. He and I served together in the Lafayette Division, at Fort Meade, in World War I. He had taken a leave of absence from the House of Representatives, that he might serve in the Army during World War I, just as he had served our country in the Army so well during the Spanish-American War.

When I entered the House of Representatives after World War I, the Senator from Texas was there and was recognized as the most brilliant debater in the House, and one of its ablest, most courageous, and outstanding Members. He was soon promoted to the Senate, where he could be a representative of all the people of Texas. We know his record in this body, and we know what a magnificent record it is. We know his many and invaluable contributions, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to the bipartisan efforts in behalf of our foreign policy. We know of his heroic and inspiring leadership in shaping, enacting and implementing the monumental measures we have adopted to stop Communist aggression and to preserve the freedom of the American Republic and its institutions. We know how tirelessly and valiantly he has labored to prevent world war III and to maintain and build the peace of the world.

Time and again the Senator from Texas has proved himself to be a great American and one of the foremost leaders in the history of the Nation. In his service to our country, Mr. President, the Senator from Texas, our friend Tom CONNALLY, has symbolized the fearless courage, the unswerving loyalty, the unending devotion, and the imperishable character that have been the glory of Texas from the Alamo to this good hour. With deep appreciation and abiding affection we salute him today as friend, soldier, patriot, statesman and great American.

Mr. GREEN, Mr. ROBERTSON, and other Senators addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair would suggest that instead of the Senator from Michigan yielding to other Senators at this time, he yield the floor temporarily, and the Chair will recognize him at the conclusion of the remarks of Senators in connection with the retirement of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall be happy to yield the floor for that purpose, Mr. President.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I regard it as a high privilege to associate myself with the eloquent words of my distinguished colleague from Alabama [Mr. HILL], who has just spoken. I concur in what he has said, both in mind and in heart.

It has not been my good fortune to know the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] so long as has the Senator from Alabama, but I have worked with him for many years on the Foreign Relations Committee. I have learned there to have not only profound respect for the working of his mind, but, more than that, for the sterling quality

of his character. He is never moved by any considerations other than those of the welfare of his country and his State. Never, so far as I have been able to see, has there been any trace of an ulterior or selfish motive. It is stimulating to work with such a man as he has shown himself to be.

It was with extreme regret that I learned of his decision to retire. I hate to think how much we are going to miss him. He has built a monument to himself in his conduct of the foreign relations of the United States to which has made outstanding and lasting contributions. I hate to think how much we shall miss him not only because of my respect for his mind and his character but because of the affection he has won from me.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, service in the United States Senate is one of the most unusual public services in the world. In no other association or group of which I know is there a better opportunity for judgment of the quality and worth of associates or a greater tendency to draw the membership together in mutual respect and comradeship.

The fact that we differ in political affiliations, and the fact that we repeatedly clash in viewpoint and debate, seem not to divide us as Senators but to draw us together by the bonds of mutual respect and personal affection.

It is always distressing to me to see a Senator leave this body and its membership. The distress is the greater when the one who is leaving has been a co-worker over a period of many years. Mr. President, in common with every Member of the United States Senate I am deeply regretful of the decision of the senior Senator from Texas to retire at the end of his present Senate term.

It means to me the departure of a personal friend whom I hold in deep and genuine affection, and it also means to me the loss of a chairman with whom I have had the pleasure of serving in committee membership for more than 10 years. It means to the Senate the loss of a truly great leader in an area of international relationships where momentous decisions have had to be made in increasing number and frequency and where the future unquestionably poses a continuation of responsibility for decisions affecting the peace of the world.

It means to the Nation the retirement of one whose strong and superb leadership in world cooperative efforts for peace and security has molded and directed public opinion in this Nation from the support of extreme nationalism to recognition of our leadership of the enlightened nations of the world in presenting a united front against forces of disunity and destruction of the basic human rights and human freedoms. It means taking from the Senate roll the name of one who far more than any other person in or out of Congress conceived and pointed the way to bipartisan efforts to formulate and utilize joint measures and mobilize behind our foreign policy the strength of opinion to make effective America's leadership in international affairs—a leadership, Mr.

for the duration of what I hope will be an exceedingly long life.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am grateful to the Senator from Oregon for the generous sentiments he has expressed.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of North Carolina in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the first committee amendment, which has been stated.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I desire to discuss the bill, if that is in order at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that it is.

BURKE AIRPORT

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, as Members of the Senate know, there was deleted from the supplemental appropriation bill, H. R. 6947, now under consideration, as it was reported by the House Appropriations Committee, the item of \$1,400,000 for the Burke airport. I regret to say that this item was not restored by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. I would be derelict in my duty as a Member of this body if I did not point out to the Senate the consequences of the resulting delay in the construction of an additional airport for Washington. I ask therefore that before we pass this bill we hesitate and think through the hazardous and unwise step we are about to take.

Within a few years the present Washington National Airport will be hopelessly inadequate to handle all flights to and from this city if an additional airport is not constructed to serve the Nation's Capital. Never have I heard anyone dispute that conclusion. Even the opponents of the Burke airport site must admit that the CAA authorities are expert on such matters, and that they should know what they are talking about.

A special committee appointed by the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics concluded that a most conservative forecast of air traffic shows that the Washington metropolitan area will require approximately 225,000 aircraft movements in 1955 to handle the traffic demand then existing. Of these 225,000 aircraft movements, scheduled air-carrier operations will account for approximately 160,000 movements. During 1948 slightly over 160,000 aircraft movements "saturated" Washington National Airport during instrument conditions, and, as a result, it had one of the worst records of airline delays due to traffic of any major air terminal. The additional traffic requirement of 1955 was estimated to be at least 60,000 aircraft movements per annum. The committee concluded that this major traffic demand could be met only by providing new airport facilities.

No one is shortsighted enough to suggest that we meet the problem by limiting the number of flights into Washington to those which the present airport

can handle with safety and expedition. Everybody recognizes that our economic and defense efforts are closely geared to air transportation. Nobody would be foolish enough to suggest that we dam up this increasing flow of air transportation and cut it down, in 1957, to the trickle which Washington National could then accommodate.

The country needs more and more, not less and less air transportation. What is true of the country generally is doubly true of Washington. The flights which growth and progress dictate must go somewhere. The overflow cannot go to Andrews Field, for a number of reasons. As my colleagues know, Andrews Field is an important military base, and the Air Force advises us that they need the field and are planning to increase their use of it. We have entrusted our air defense to them and we had better listen to what they say, too. Moreover, since Andrews is a military field, it would require a substantial modification to convert it to civil use. We must not be under the illusion that all that is required is for the Washington National tower to say "Traffic is heavy here—use Andrews Field instead." Moreover, the CAA and the Air Transport Association have carefully studied the use of Andrews as a supplemental airport to Washington National. The traffic-control experts found that, under instrument conditions, the so-called holding patterns of Andrews and Washington National—and by that I mean the courses the aircraft fly while they are waiting permission to land—would be dangerously close together.

All those objections to the use of Andrews Field deserve consideration. However, to my mind there is one that is even more important. Our national defense requires that we greatly increase the number of airports which we have, particularly in the vicinity of cities which will be prime military targets. Recently members of both the House and Senate Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce were privileged to hear a statement of Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker which strongly supports what I have just said. Captain Rickenbacker told us of an experience he had in Russia in the spring of 1943, when he was there on a confidential mission for Secretary of War Stimson.

Captain Rickenbacker told us that he was curious to learn why the German Luftwaffe was unable to destroy Moscow as it had destroyed other prize targets in the attempted conquest of Russia. Captain Rickenbacker ascertained the reason, and those of us who are concerned with the protection of Washington against our foes had better give attention to what the captain learned.

He was permitted to inspect the air defenses of Moscow, and found that they were based on three circles of airports around the city. In other words, the city was in the center of three concentric rings of protecting airports. He told us that two of the airports were in the very heart of the city. At each airport in those rings there were fighter aircraft "at the ready"—with engines running and pilots in the cockpit. These watches were on a 24-hour basis. Captain Rickenbacker asked the command-

er if he could tell him how long it took to get the fighter planes in the air after being alerted. The commander not only told him, but he showed him. He gave the alert and in exactly 55 seconds there was an umbrella of fighters overhead. This was 1943. They have had 9 years to improve and expand that system. We have had 9 years to adopt that system, but we have not adopted it for a single city in the United States. We have been derelict in our duty in that neglect.

I say to you that, in these times, we should not ask the military to give up vital fields near Washington. They should keep those fields. What we should do is build whatever additional civilian facilities which are needed to take care of our air traffic. Then in times of war those civilian fields would also be available for military use. Maybe we are not as interested in our own defense as are the Russians. Sometimes I think we merely like to talk about and do nothing having practical value. If we do not care enough about the protection of this city to build three rings of airports around Washington, at least let us do nothing to decommission an important military airport in this area.

When Congress asks the Pentagon what to do about protecting Washington from an air attack, they are told to adopt universal military training. I guess they think the 18-year-olds could fight the enemy bombing eagles with their bare fists. When anyone points out the dangers of an atomic bomb attack, our heavy thinkers in the military say there is no defense against the airborne atomic bomb. I say that is a lie. There is a defense—not entirely satisfactory, but a defense, nevertheless. It is the defense the Russians set up to protect Moscow against the Germans. Providing 18-year-olds to guard a stricken city has its points. Appropriating millions of dollars for civilian defense to herd people into cellars which do not exist and teaching them how to care for the mutilated and the dying is one way to meet the emergency, but it is not my way. I would meet the onrushing and cruel atomic bomber with a thousand fighter planes from a dozen airfields around the city of Washington. I would destroy the enemy plane before it ever reached Washington to unload its lethal cargo. It can be done. It must be done.

In olden times cities built massive and high stone walls, but stone walls are obsolete in the air age. The device to give us security now is a ring of airports with jet fighters, antiaircraft guns, and radar screens.

It has also been seriously suggested that surplus Washington air traffic be routed to Friendship Airport, near Baltimore. This is an equally unacceptable proposal. We carefully explored this suggestion when the bill authorizing the construction of an additional airport was considered. We found that, at off-peak times, it takes practically an hour to drive from downtown Washington to Friendship, and that during traffic rush hours such driving time is increased to as much as an hour and fifteen minutes

or an hour and a half. We found that interchange passengers—those who arrive on a flight at one of the airports and who have to leave on a flight from the other—would have to spend an hour and 10 minutes, getting from Washington National to Friendship for their plane connection and that the time would be increased to an hour and a half or 2 hours, during rush hours. Traffic experts tell me that the public simply will not tolerate ground times of such magnitude. They will take a car in the first instance.

If Senators think I am exaggerating ground times, may I call attention to the large map at the back of the Chamber which was prepared by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. It shows clearly the distance between Washington and the Friendship Airport and the extent of the heavily built metropolitan areas through which the roads go. Contrast this with the nearness of the Burke site to the city of Washington, and the ease with which that site is reached from the center of the city.

On this map in the back of the room I want to point out to the Senators the Shirley Highway, which is already constructed. It will be necessary to build a short stretch of road, 4 or 5 miles, from an intersection with the Shirley Highway to Burke Airfield site.

Here [indicating] is Andrews Field about which I spoke a moment ago. Its nearness to Washington can be seen. There are several other airfields, including Bolling, Anacostia, and the National Airport. The latter will be continued to be used because it is well located and has many advantages. It can be seen how the air pattern between the fields close to Washington and Andrews Field is congested. Farther to the north there is the Baltimore Friendship Airport. The distance which has to be traveled to that airport is through heavily populated areas of cities and on roads which are not yet completed; the new express highway is only planned.

I hope Senators will make good use of this map because it illustrates the situation better than words can describe it. Moreover, we found that the Friendship Airport is not well located as a supplemental airport for Washington, because it lies near the main airway from Boston-New York-Philadelphia to Washington and points south. The result of this proximity is that the stacking of aircraft over Baltimore, in adverse weather, would interfere with, and endanger, flights over that main airway. However, instrument conditions, the traffic holding patterns of Friendship and Andrews Field would be dangerously close together. I cannot refrain from the obvious pointed observation that the Congress should be doing everything possible to promote safety in the air, rather than to increase the hazards of air transportations.

Have Senators ever been up in the clouds, circling about a city, waiting for the time when their plane might land? I have. It is not a very pleasant situation to contemplate. One wonders what may happen to him up there, with clouds all about. When he realizes that the

sky is full of aircraft of every description, and that it is necessary to drop down through those flying aircraft in order to make a landing, he wonders whether it is going to be possible to do so or not.

However, even if we ignore all the findings of the committee, the simple fact remains that by 1957 the Friendship Airport would not be able to handle the needs of the city of Baltimore, plus the overflow from Washington. Friendship is an excellent airport, and the people of Baltimore are to be congratulated on their foresight in building it. However, it is a Baltimore airport, and I am confident that the facilities there will, in the near future, be fully required for Baltimore's own air traffic, and for the protection of Baltimore against possible enemy attack. The committee reached that conclusion in 1950, and additional studies made since that time have demonstrated that we were correct.

As my colleagues know, a modern trunkline airport is not something that is put together overnight. Even if work on Burke Airport progressed with all speed, I am informed that it is doubtful whether it would be ready for airline use when badly needed.

If, in the face of all the objections I have just mentioned, we compel carriers to use the Friendship Airport, and then forget about the problem, in 1957 we will again be faced with the same situation which now confronts us. I say "the same situation," but it will not be the same; the problem will be a thousand times more complicated by that time. Why do we refuse to look ahead? Why are we so blind? Why are we so obstinate?

We were right when we passed Public Law 762 on September 7, 1950, authorizing the new airport. I know of no other airport in the United States to which so much time and study was given. I have neither read nor heard any question raised during the current controversy which was not considered by my committee at that time. Let us now carry out our earlier and very wise decision, and not hesitate to meet a serious and aggravated problem by dilly-dallying and "kicking up a dust."

We are in the air age. More and more people have become acquainted with, and are taking advantage of, air transportation. We cannot stop the growth of air traffic in this country or into the Nation's Capital.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration tells me that at peak times Washington National Airport is being operated at capacity, and to compromise with safety is not acceptable and must be rejected. Every electronic device and traffic procedure designed to improve safety must be used. I know that is what my colleagues in the Senate want. Traffic into and out of Washington is certain to increase, and before we can possibly relieve the situation, unless we move forward rapidly, Washington National Airport is going to be strained to its utmost capacity in providing sorely needed air service to the Nation's Capital, and safety will be jeopardized. As a result of such congestion as I have de-

scribed, a serious crash or crashes will occur.

Both the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] and I received letters from Mr. Sawyer, Secretary of Commerce, urging that Congress proceed with the plans for Burke Airport, and that it not delay action until the Government "is scared into action by some great tragedy." That is certainly sound advice.

Mr. President, at this point I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the letter I received from Secretary Sawyer. I wish to read the last paragraph, in which the Secretary makes an able argument. Every word which he has stated in the letter should be given very serious consideration by Congress, but I read only the last paragraph:

We have recently witnessed a number of tragic accidents in connection with air travel. I hope that the Congress will support its previous judgment on this matter and not wait until it is prodded or scared into action by some great tragedy brought on because we have faltered in carrying out the decision of the Congress which recognized the need for this additional facility for the Capital of our great Nation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

APRIL 12, 1952.

The Honorable EDWIN C. JOHNSON,
Chairman, Interstate and Foreign
Commerce Committee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have already addressed a letter to the Honorable KENNETH MCKELLAR, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, on the subject of the Burke Airport. I regard the matter as of such importance, however, that I wish to supplement my letter to him by this one to you, setting forth my views on this matter. I think it appropriate to address this letter to you, inasmuch as it was your committee which sponsored the original legislation providing for the additional airport for the city of Washington.

The question of the appropriation of this relatively small sum of money at this time might appear to be a present-day problem only. It should be borne in mind, however, that the over-all problem involved will carry us far into the future. Among the many uncertainties of this present day, one certainty clearly exists—that aviation will occupy a position of continually and rapidly growing importance. This is true of all parts of the country, and especially true of all large cities. It is particularly true of Washington.

The actual completion of this airport, and even the real beginning of its construction, will take place long after I have left office; but in view of the responsibility given me by the Congress, I feel it important and necessary and proper to state my views on this matter.

This site was chosen by me after an exhaustive survey and based upon the considered judgment of the Congress that a second airport was essential for the city of Washington. The actual air traffic since the Congress made that decision has grown beyond the estimate of growth made at the time the decision was arrived at. This pressure of air traffic on Washington will grow rapidly and continually as time goes on. May I make clear my opinion that it will be absolutely necessary for Washington to have another airport at some time in the near future. Even if we are now given the unqualified support of the Congress, there will be a ter-

rific demand for the facilities of this new airport long before it will have been completed.

The choice of this site was made in an effort to recognize a number of factors, including safety, expense, and accessibility to Washington. No amount of future surveying will produce any site preferable to this one. I make this statement and prediction without reservation. It is no answer to this statement to suggest the possible use of the Friendship Airport at Baltimore. Baltimore, like every other major city, will demand increasing airport facilities as time goes on. The fact that the Friendship Airport is built and available is a piece of good fortune for Baltimore but it should not be allowed to obscure the problem which faces Washington.

We have already, acting under the authority of the Congress, taken possession of a large number of properties and have paid for many of them. The people involved in this procedure, or at least all but a few of them, have made their plans to move. It is unfortunate that there should be any indication of hesitancy on the part of the Government which will raise harrowing doubts in the minds of those who were sufficiently upset and discommoded as it was.

We have recently witnessed a number of tragic accidents in connection with air travel. I hope that the Congress will support its previous judgment on this matter and not wait until it is prodded or scared into action by some great tragedy brought on because we have faltered in carrying out the decision of the Congress which recognized the need for this additional facility for the Capital of our great Nation.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES SAWYER,
Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, the letter of Secretary Sawyer is filled with observations which, in my opinion, Congress must not ignore.

I have now spoken at some length. I did so for the purpose of refreshing the recollection of my colleagues as to considerations which went into the original authorization of an additional airport for Washington. Safety was uppermost among those considerations.

I dislike people who say, "I told you so." I do not like post mortems over avoidable air disasters. There is something tremendously frustrating and unsatisfactory about such procedures. If a great aviation tragedy occurs, possibly resulting in the death or injury of Members of Congress, I want in the Record the statement I have just made, but I shall not say, "I told you so."

Whittier has said:

For of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these: "It might have been."

Let us not wait until there is a terrible air crash in our Capital City, and Members of Congress are torn and mangled or perhaps burned to death. Let us take time by the forelock and do now what we should do—make wise provision of those members of the public who feel that they must travel by air. Let us who have that great obligation not fail to fulfill it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. I ask the Senator to yield because it so happens that I was

the only member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations present at the time who voted in the manner in which the Senator from Colorado suggested I should have voted. I stated at that time that I cast my vote in favor of an appropriation to carry on the work at the Burke Airport in the belief that the long future would justify action of that kind.

I have listened very carefully to the arguments on both sides, and I think there is an answer. The decision of the Civil Aeronautics Administration to locate the airport at the Burke site, which was made after more study and planning than in the case of any other airport in the United States, was approved by the Congress in 1950, as the Senator well knows, because the bill, which became Public Law 762, came from his committee. That law authorized the appropriation of funds to construct the airport.

The arguments now advanced against locating the airport at Burke, upon examination, merely reaffirm that the decision of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and its approval by Congress, were correct.

It is admitted by all that a supplemental airport is necessary; but it is argued that either Friendship Airport near Baltimore or Andrews Field can be used. Friendship Airport is not suitable because it is too far from downtown Washington and from Washington National Airport. The excessive ground travel time would discourage air passengers, particularly in the case of relatively short trips, and as the Senator from Colorado has pointed out, would be most objectionable from the viewpoint of passengers who arrive at one airport and must make a connecting flight at another. Moreover, by 1955 Friendship Airport will not be able to accommodate both Baltimore traffic and the overflow from Washington National Airport. That is a prediction, but I am quite sure that it will come true.

Andrews Field cannot be used because the Department of Defense is unwilling to move from the field; and even if it were willing to move, the cost of providing substitute facilities and of converting the field to commercial use would be greatly in excess of the anticipated cost at Burke. Furthermore, there would be a dangerous conflict between the traffic holding patterns which would be followed at Washington National Airport and at Andrews Field, if the latter were used for commercial purposes.

It is also argued that use of the Burke site would create a hazardous condition for the most thickly populated areas of northern Virginia, and that the terrain and soil of the Burke site are unsuitable. The facts are that the Burke Airport would be located in a very sparsely settled area, where there is a predominance of farms and pine woods, and that while the terrain is hilly, the soil has been found by scientific tests to be free from any rock formations which would hinder excavation.

Finally, it is argued that locating the airport in Virginia would add congestion to the traffic over the Potomac River bridges and would render access to the

airport easily disrupted in the case of destruction of the bridges in time of war. The Bureau of Public Roads advises us that the traffic increase attributable to the airport would be insignificant. Moreover, the fact that the airport may be reached by any one of five bridges across the Potomac, and that standby pontoon bridges such as those used in World War II would be available, indicates that from a national defense viewpoint the Burke site is preferable to the Friendship site, which is reached by crowded National Highway No. 1.

I thank the Senator from Colorado for yielding to me. I wish to say to him that if I am alone among the membership of the Committee on Appropriations in the opinion I have expressed, I feel that my vote was nevertheless justified.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I am very grateful for the interruption and for the contribution which the Senator from Arizona has made to the argument. I regret that he had to stand alone in the committee. I am sure that that was the result of the failure really to understand the problem and to give it the attention which it should have had. I know that the committee is overworked and overburdened with many problems. I can see how that result could very well happen. However, I wish to say that I would rather have the very able and wise Senator from Arizona in my corner than almost any other Member of this body. It is said on the floor of the Senate and in the cloakrooms—and even away from the Congress—that the senior Senator from Arizona is a very wise man. His vote on this particular question has proved once again how very wise and far-seeing he is with respect to the questions which come before his committee, requiring his decision and vote. I am very grateful to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, in view of the fact that an amendment dealing with the Burke Airport is not now in order and will not be in order until the Senate has acted on the committee amendments, I desire at this time to make a very brief comment on what is involved in the able discussion by my distinguished friend from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] with respect to the Burke Airport. I fully agree with the Senator from Colorado that he could not have an abler ally in the Senate than the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona. The views of the distinguished Senator from Arizona are entitled to consideration, whether he stands alone or whether he is backed up by Caesar's Tenth Legion.

However, I assure my colleagues that members of the Appropriations Committee who took a different viewpoint did not do so in complete ignorance of what is involved. When we voted on this question, there was the largest attendance in the committee that I can recall on any day. We went into this subject quite fully. We heard the Civil Aeronautics Administration witnesses. We heard Admiral Land and other experts in support of the Burke Airport. We heard the Senator from Maryland [Mr.

O'Conor] and a Mr. Harold K. Howe, of Virginia, in opposition to it. In that delegation on that occasion were six or eight other witnesses who were ready, able, and willing to testify. However, at the request of the junior Senator from Virginia, Mr. Howe was designated as their spokesman, because the subcommittee was pressed for time.

The subcommittee voted against the Burke Airport. When the question was considered in the full committee, as the senior Senator from Arizona has said, he was the only member who voted for it.

Mr. President, there were numerous reasons why the Appropriations Committee was overwhelmingly against the restoration of this item, which had been eliminated from the budget by a vote of 128 to 41 in the House.

It has been argued that we need a supplemental airport to the Washington National Airport, because that airport might be bombed. It appears from the testimony that there is no hope or expectation of completing the Burke Airport, if authorized, in less than 3 years. I think it is generally agreed that if we do not have a war with Russia in 3 years—and God forbid that we should ever have one—every year that we do not have a war with Russia increases our hope and expectation that we shall never have a war with Russia. So I see no urgency in building a supplemental airport close to the Washington National Airport because of the possibility that that airport might be bombed. The new airport would not be completed for 3 years. As I have indicated, from the standpoint of bombing, every year we wait makes it less likely that we shall need such a supplemental airport. Anyway, who would want to come into Washington, if the Russians were bombing it, unless he could come in through a tunnel? Certainly no one would want to come by air and face the Russian bombers in doing so.

Mr. President, I ask Members of the Senate, before they vote on this question, to read the testimony beginning at page 226 of the printed hearings, starting with the testimony of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. O'Conor], who is very much opposed to the Burke project. He was the lead-off witness against the project before our committee. He made a very cogent and splendid argument against it. The State of Maryland is very much interested in the development of Friendship Airport. The testimony before our committee showed that with the building of certain proposed access roads between Washington and Baltimore the actual traveling time between Friendship Airport and the Statler Hotel, for example, at Sixteenth and K Streets, would be only 10 minutes longer than from Burke, Va., to the same point in Washington. It would be only 10 minutes more, Mr. President.

Friendship Airport is the third largest airport in the United States. It is being used practically not at all. It could accommodate all the overflow from Washington Airport and Baltimore Airport, as well as a great deal more traffic. It is ample to take care of the surplus traffic when such surplus traffic develops

at the National Airport. Witnesses admitted that Washington Airport can now handle all the traffic that comes to Washington.

In planning a new airport, which could not be constructed and finished for another 3 years, it is contemplated that the National Airport would continue to handle the traffic which would come to Washington during the next 3 years.

It is the gradual increase, the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson] has said, that causes the commercial lines to look to the future.

That brings me to the point of who asked for this supplemental airport. Did Virginia ask for it? Did Fairfax County ask for it? Oh, no. Did any Member of Congress ask for it? Oh, no. Did the CAA ask for it? Not until the Air Transport Association asked the CAA to ask for it. Then the CAA sent up a request to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. That committee, without hearings, reported out a bill. Evidently not knowing what the airport would cost to construct, it put a limitation of \$14,000,000 on the total over-all cost of the airport.

However, Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to read the testimony at the bottom of page 236 and on page 237, in the testimony of Mr. Howe, in which Mr. Howe said:

You will find in the Civil Aeronautics report that their estimated cost of completion of this project is \$37,721,921.

That was in May 1951.

They missed the cost of the land by over a million dollars. They had said that the total cost of the land would be \$904,000. It is now estimated that it will cost \$1,903,000. They underestimated the cost of the completion of hangars and gasoline storage facilities. Mr. Howe stated further:

The Burke Airport site of 4,520 acres, including the access roads, certainly would be a \$50,000,000 project.

They are now asking for a million dollars plus. Mr. President, whenever we authorize the start of completing the purchase of this land we are committing ourselves to a \$50,000,000 project.

Where is the \$50,000,000 coming from? We have to borrow it. How much interest will we have to pay on it? A minimum of two and a half percent. What will that mean every 40 years? In the first 40 years the cost will be \$100,000,000. The cost doubles every 40 years. When will we pay off our national debt, which is now rapidly approaching the statutory limit of \$275,000,000,000? No one knows. The best estimate that we can get is that it will not be paid off in less than 200 years.

Mr. President, before we go into a project that will cost \$50,000,000 let us recognize that what we are actually committing the taxpayers of our country to pay is an expenditure of from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 by the time that the borrowed money is repaid, if indeed it is ever repaid.

What is the necessity for it? It is to save the commercial lines and their passengers ten minutes travel time as between the two airports.

They think that if they advertise that they will land at Friendship they will lose passengers. Therefore they want to commit us to this terrific expenditure, when the Government has already made a large investment in the idle airport in Maryland called Friendship.

What would it do to Fairfax County? It would be a terrific burden on Fairfax County, by withdrawing from the tax rolls very valuable residential property. It would not be limited to the 4,500 acres that they propose to buy. Sooner or later, in order to protect the surrounding area from the kind of accidents we have had in New Jersey and in New York—with planes coming in for a blind landing and falling on someone's house—we would have to put into effect building restrictions around Burke Airport for at least two miles, so that in the Washington fogs, when an airplane is engaged in making an instrument landing, it will be able to start lowering and gliding in and landing on the airport instead of hitting the ground near it. In that way we would paralyze for future development that entire area of a great county which is now carrying a big burden for schools and other facilities for Government workers who rent homes over there and pay no taxes at all for the education of their children or for police and fire protection, as well as other facilities which they now enjoy.

So I say, Mr. President, before we vote on this proposal the Members of the Senate should first read the testimony to the effect that the airport is not needed, and that it would involve a terrific cost, and that adequate facilities can be secured at Friendship, provided we get the commercial airplane companies to agree that their passengers would be willing to spend 10 additional minutes in traveling from Friendship Airport to their hotel than would be involved in the expensive and unnecessary location at Burke, Va.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I yield.
Mr. FULBRIGHT. What is the difference in mileage, as between Burke and Friendship, from Washington?

Mr. ROBERTSON. At the present time it is approximately 12 miles. It is estimated that when the new access roads are built it will take only 10 minutes more to travel from Friendship Airport than it would take to travel from Burke airport under normal conditions. However, we must bear in mind the congested traffic conditions in the morning and in the late afternoon. That is true in spite of the fact that we now have four bridges. I do not understand how anyone can make any time at all in traveling from Burke, particularly over the Fourteenth Street Bridge, which is a drawbridge. If a tug comes along the drawbridge goes up and it takes sometimes as much as 20 or 30 minutes from the time the draw is opened until it is closed again, during which time traffic is backed up for 2 or 3 miles. In that traffic tie-up there may be one of those busy businessmen who is so eager to get to the Statler, for example, in time to get a little refreshment before he keeps his business engagement.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 18, 1952
For actions of April 17, 1952
82nd-2nd, No. 64

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated third supplemental appropriation bill.

SENATE

1. **THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952.** Continued debate on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 4118-41). Agreed to the following committee amendments, among others: Increasing Immigration and Naturalization Service item from \$2,610,000 to \$4,000,000 so as to provide for the Mexican farm-labor program (pp. 4118-21, 4126-9); increasing the forest-fire fighting item from \$3,000,000 to \$3,500,000 (pp. 4121-3); and providing that the amount made available in this bill for smoke-jumper facilities shall be the full cost of acquiring land and constructing facilities (p. 4123). Rejected an amendment by Sen. Pastore to repeal the Whitten personnel rider, but agreed to an amendment by Sen. Ferguson to exempt the field service of the Post Office Department from the rider (pp. 4129-35). Agreed to an amendment by Sen. Johnston to increase from \$14,000 to \$14,800 certain executive salaries (pp. 4138-41).
2. **FORESTRY.** The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported without amendment H. R. 4199, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to transfer to the Secretary of Agriculture, for national forest purposes, lands or interests therein acquired for or in connection with the Blue Ridge Parkway (S. Rept. 1463)(p. 4111).
3. **FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.** Sen. Wiley inserted various resolutions favoring additional research on this disease (pp. 4110-11).
4. **FLOOD CONTROL.** Sen. McClellan spoke on the importance of carrying out a sound flood-control program. He inserted two editorials criticizing reductions in flood-control appropriations. (pp. 4112-3.)
Sen. Mundt reported on the results of a trip over the flooded areas of the Missouri River valley. He stated that land flooded as of now comprises 2,073,000 acres of farm land. (pp. 4139-40.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

5. **STORAGE PROGRAM.** Sen. Martin inserted a Pittsburgh Press editorial commending

Sen. Williams and bringing out his dispute with the Secretary on the Camp Crowder warehouse findings (p. A2491).

6. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Wiley inserted his statement on his recent trip to the northern N. Y.-Ontario area, favoring this proposed project (pp. A2484-5).

7. BUDGETING. Sen. Bricker inserted a Toledo Chamber of Commerce statement favoring reduction in Government expenditures, a joint congressional budget committee, a single procurement agency for all Government agencies, and a single appropriation bill (pp. A2488-9).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS APR. 18: Price supports, S. Agriculture (Brannan and others to testify). Foreign aid, S. Foreign Relations (ex). Creation of Select Committee on Consumer Interests, S. Rules and Administration.

For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 105A.

power, a crisis developing while Congress was not in session might justify such Executive action.

The basic elements of these situations are not contained in the present steel dispute. The Congress of the United States was in session; there was legislation in existence to deal with the situation; and additional legislation could have been requested if it had been deemed necessary by the Executive.

It is therefore my contention that the President was bound to obey the laws of the land, just as any other citizen, and to enforce those laws so long as they remain on the statute books, irrespective of his personal likes or dislikes. I further maintain that the President was bound by his oath of office to respect the views of Congress, once they had been expressed. It is my opinion that our Executive has failed to obey the law, enforce the law, or to respect the views of Congress, and I believe he has, accordingly, brought discredit to our constitutional system and to the high and honored office which he is privileged to occupy.

Let us examine the important facts in connection with the seizure of the steel industry.

In June of 1951, when the Senate of the United States was debating the Defense Production Act, an amendment was submitted which would have given the President the authority to seize plants. That amendment was defeated by a vote of 57 to 28. This was a clear-cut expression of the will of the Congress of the United States with respect to the granting of seizure powers to the President of the United States in time of peace.

On December 31, 1951, it was apparent that a strike threatened in our steel industry. Through the Taft-Hartley Act, the Congress of the United States had set up machinery to cope with strikes and threatened strikes or lock-outs which affected an entire industry and which imperiled the national health and safety. That law established the procedures for handling strikes and lock-outs of this nature. That act provides that as a last resort the "President shall submit to the Congress a full and comprehensive report of the proceedings, together with such recommendations as he may see fit to make for consideration and appropriate action." Appropriate action by whom? By the Congress of the United States.

From December 31, 1951, until April 8, 1952, there was ample opportunity for the President of the United States to invoke the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, and thereby to utilize the legal procedures which had been established by act of Congress.

On March 20, 1952, the Wage Stabilization Board recommended certain wage increases and certain changes in working conditions which were obviously unsatisfactory to the steel operators. Without discussing the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board, it is significant to note that as a result of its recommendations, Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson resigned, pro-

testing that the recommendations were inflationary and disregard the principles of equity on which our whole control program was based.

There can be no denying the fact, therefore, that the stalemate in the steel industry on April 8 did not arise in 24 hours, or 48 hours, or even 24 days. It is apparent that the emergency was created by the failure of the President to invoke the law. A crisis was produced just 90 minutes before the deadline set to paralyze the Nation's industry and the defense efforts of the country. This crisis was allowed to develop, and then was utilized by the President as an excuse for ignoring the Taft-Hartley law, and as an opportunity to take over the steel mills. By this means the President succeeded in doing by indirection, that which he could not do by direction.

It is significant to note that the seizure order was issued by the President just before the Congress sent to the Executive an act which specifically denied the President the authority to seize any privately owned plant or facility which was not a public utility. It is, therefore, apparent that the President took this drastic step with full cognizance that he was flouting the will of the representatives of the American people.

A calm appraisal of the political significance of the President's action in this situation should give every American cause for grave concern.

In the last 20 years we have gone a long way down the road toward socialism in this country. The profit incentive so necessary to our capitalistic system has been unmercifully taxed. Wages and prices are controlled by bureaucratic officials; in many areas rents are still controlled by the Government. The seizure of industry and the resultant nationalization of that industry is a final step toward state socialism and possible dictatorship. If the steel industry, the backbone of our industrial system, can be removed from private ownership by a capricious Executive who creates a phony emergency and acts without any specific constitutional authority, what is to protect any other industry?

The seizure of the steel industry is but the culmination of a series of encroachments of the Government upon private enterprise. The people should know that the use of the seizure power by the President of the United States has been more frequent than is generally realized. Since June 1941 there have been 69 cases of Government seizure of industry. Mr. Truman has ordered 28 seizures of private industry since he became our Chief Executive.

In trying to justify his action in the present situation, the President has stated that a strike would "immediately jeopardize and imperil our national defense." This may well be true, but that statement alone does not automatically transfer constitutional power from the legislative to the executive branch. If in the opinion of the President it was imperative to stop the impending steel strike, two courses of action were available to him. First, he could have invoked the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, as he had done on nine previous

occasions when faced with similar situations; or, second, he could have appeared before the Congress of the United States and requested immediate suitable legislation. His failure to follow either of these courses is regrettable.

The people of America must realize that merely because the Executive claims certain authority, his claim does not entitle him to that authority. The Executive, like the legislative branch, derives its power from the Constitution of the United States. In this instance the power to legislate clearly belongs to the Congress and the Executive has usurped that prerogative.

It will be interesting to observe what course of action is adopted by the President when John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers become involved in their annual strike threat. Will the Taft-Hartley law be invoked, as it was before, or will the mines of the Nation be nationalized?

The people of America should be further aware that only a microscopic part of the steel industry's output of 2,000,000 tons a week is sold directly to the Government of the United States. It is fantastic for the Government to operate mills which manufacture steel for the production of end products such as hairpins, toys, household appliances, and other consumer items.

It had been publicly stated and universally accepted that the recommendations of the Government Wage Stabilization Board were not binding, but merely served as a frame of reference for arbitration. The American people must now realize that the President's act has shown this to be false. The recommendations of this bureaucratic agency have been made compulsory by the seizure of the industry involved, and thus we have now, in effect, compulsory arbitration. In accordance with this principle the Secretary of Commerce has announced that since the steel industry will not accept the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board, he, under the Executive order, will deal directly with the unions involved and will grant such increases of pay to labor as he deems desirable.

For the reasons which I have enumerated above, I have concluded, after careful reflection, that the action of the President in seizing the steel industry of our country was a high-handed, arbitrary, unwarranted act. It is my opinion that the President has usurped the legislative authority of the Congress of the United States. Instead of executing the laws as he was, by his oath, bound to do, the President chose to make law by Executive decree in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States. This action is only another demonstration of his utter disregard for the laws passed by Congress which are not to his personal liking. I therefore believe that the Executive action in this instance should be made the subject of a penetrating inquiry by the Congress. I have joined with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and others of my colleagues in sponsoring Senate Resolution 306, which has been submitted for that purpose.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], who suggested the absence of a quorum, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be rescinded, and that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the first committee amendment, which will be stated.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the heading "Chapter I" — Legislative branch," on page 1, after line 8, to insert:

SENATE

For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Kenneth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska, \$12,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next committee amendment will be stated.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 2, to insert:

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

Senate restaurants: For an additional amount for Senate kitchens and restaurants, \$25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "House of Representatives," on page 2, after line 12, to insert:

For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Oklahoma, \$12,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Salaries, officers and employees," on page 2, after line 19, to insert:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

For an additional amount, salaries and expenses, studies and examinations of executive agencies, \$35,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Contingent expenses of the House," on page 3, after line 6, to insert:

For payment to W. Kingsland Macy, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested-election case of Macy against Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 10, to insert:

For payment to Ernest Greenwood, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested-election case of Macy against Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 14, to insert:

For payment to Maurice S. Osser, contestant for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 18, to insert:

For payment to HARDIE SCOTT, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, after line 5, to insert:

ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Buildings: For an additional amount, not to exceed \$300, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Capitol Buildings."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, after line 10, to insert:

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WORKING CAPITAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING AND BINDING

The limitation under this head in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for printing, binding, and distributing the Federal Register, is increased from "\$480,000" to "\$700,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Chapter II—Department of Justice—Legal activities and general administration," at the top of page 5, to strike out:

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

For an additional amount for "salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry," \$14,800,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Washington is interested in this amendment. He is not in the Chamber at the moment. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be passed over, without prejudice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over, without prejudice.

The next amendment of the committee will be stated.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Immigration and Naturalization Service—Salaries and expenses," on page 5, line 8, after the word "expenses", to strike out "\$2,610,000" and insert "\$4,000,000."

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, I am informed that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] is interested in this amendment. He is not in the Chamber at the moment, but we are sending for him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over temporarily.

The next committee amendment will be stated.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Chapter IV—Department of

Labor—Bureau of Employment Security—Salaries and expenses", on page 8, line 18, after the word "expenses", to strike out "\$892,000" and insert "\$917,000."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, this amendment was adopted in the committee. Subsequently we obtained some additional information regarding it. I have talked to the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] and other Senators who are interested in this matter.

Senators will understand that in connection with the bill on the subject of importation of Mexican agricultural labor, there are two features: One is the enforcement of the immigration law, by deporting from the United States aliens who are illegally in the United States. That function is performed by the Immigration Service of the Department of Justice. Funds for that purpose are provided in the item which has just been passed over. The Senator from Michigan knows about it.

Let me say to the senior Senator from Michigan who now has come to the floor, that I was directing attention to the fact that two provisions of this appropriation bill affect the importation of agricultural labor. One is the item on page 5, in line 8, where it is proposed to increase the amount from \$2,610,000 to \$4,000,000. That increase is proposed for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and is desired for the purpose, among others, of seeing to it that wetbacks, or those who are illegally in the United States, are deported.

Mr. FERGUSON. I understand.

Mr. HAYDEN. Then we come to the pending amendment, on page 8. An additional amount is proposed for the Bureau of Employment Security. The Appropriations Committee voted to increase that amount by \$25,000, based upon a supplemental estimate which provided \$25,000 for printing the new agreements with Mexico, which are soon to be made, relating to the importation of agricultural labor.

It has been brought to our attention, and I have called it to the attention of the Senator from Michigan and other Senators who are interested, that if the amount is not increased by an additional \$142,000, the effect will be that the employment of 41 of a total of 49 persons now employed in handling the compliance function will be terminated; and two migration centers in Mexico, involving a cost of \$16,000, will be closed. There is some question whether Mexico will allow us to recruit laborers who otherwise would have been processed at those migration centers, for the Mexican Government has insisted that the recruitment take place in the interior of Mexico, and that is why those stations have been established.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. THYE. The matter pointed out by the able and distinguished Senator from Arizona is most important. Never before have the agricultural producers in the United States been faced with

such a shortage of workers—not necessarily skilled workers, but ordinary workers, including those imported from Mexico.

Unless this appropriation is made, we shall find that the number of Mexican agricultural workers will be decreased, and that will have a definite effect on the production of food and fiber in the United States, because at this time we are in the planting season, as well as in the harvesting season in the deep South in the case of some of the vegetable crops; and the potato crop will soon be ready for harvest.

Therefore, Mr. President, the items the distinguished Senator from Arizona has mentioned are absolutely essential in behalf of the farmers who may be affected.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, there are two phases to this matter: One is that we are trying to have Mexican labor brought into the United States only for such periods of time as its services are needed, and then returned to Mexico.

Mr. THYE. Yes.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is the lawful way to proceed under the international agreement.

Mr. THYE. Definitely.

Mr. HAYDEN. The other phase is that in the case of those who are illegally in the United States, we are endeavoring to see that they shall be deported to Mexico.

This item of the bill relates to carrying into effect the legislation which was reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of which the Senator from Minnesota is a member.

I have discussed the matter with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], who was the author of Public Law 78. He entirely agrees that the appropriation of the additional \$142,000, for which I shall offer an amendment in a moment, is necessary if that law is to be administered properly, because otherwise there will be no personnel either to recruit the labor in Mexico or to screen the laborers when they are about to enter the United States or to see that they are properly allocated to the farmers.

Mr. THYE. The law itself will be ineffective unless we appropriate sufficient funds for its administration, is that not correct?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. THYE. And the workers will not be in the United States unless we provide for the manning of the recruitment stations in Mexico, in order to recruit the workers and to screen them properly. If the immigration authorities are properly to administer the law, they must have adequate appropriations, in order to have sufficient personnel to check on the wetbacks and on those who may be in the United States illegally or who may have overstayed their entrance permits.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. THYE. I think this appropriation is absolutely necessary in order to provide an adequate force of men to do the work which must be done if we are to have the food and fiber which are necessary in the present crop season.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, of course, in connection with this item,

we face the same problem we usually face in connection with any appropriation bill, namely, if we attempt to decrease the requested appropriation by any amount the officials of the agency for which the appropriation is requested immediately attempt to demonstrate that if the requested appropriation is not made in full, they will not possibly be able to carry out the provisions of law which they are charged with enforcing.

I wish to ask what they plan to do with the \$917,000 we are giving them for the next 2½ months in connection with enforcement of that law. We must not permit the wetback-labor problem to be confused with the legal-entrant problem. One problem is entirely separate from the other.

Mr. HAYDEN. I understand that perfectly, and that is what I have tried to make clear.

Mr. FERGUSON. I cannot understand why this agency cannot use for this purpose some of the \$917,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. Four hundred and forty-two thousand dollars of the \$917,000 is for pay increases. The House of Representatives has allowed that.

Mr. FERGUSON. Very well; that is \$442,000. What about the other \$500,000; what is it for?

Mr. HAYDEN. The remainder is to carry into effect the Mexican-labor agreement which was entered into recently this year.

Mr. FERGUSON. Very well. How many employees can be obtained for \$500,000 for 2½ months? Certainly this agency should be able to obtain a sufficient number of employees for that period of time with that amount of money.

Mr. HAYDEN. These are the figures which have been given to me: If this amount is not increased by \$142,000, 41 employees out of a total of 49 in the compliance function will have to be discharged, and only 8 will be left. That is point No. 1.

Mr. FERGUSON. What is to be done with the remainder of the money? It certainly cannot be said that the Department proposes to spend \$500,000 for nine employees over a period of 2½ months. But that is the figure. They say they have 49 employees. If we do not give them this money it will be necessary for them to lay off 40 of them, which will leave 9. But they will have \$500,000. What are they going to do with it?

Mr. HAYDEN. As the Senator knows, the Department has been paying transportation costs in order to bring the laborers into this country. It has expenses in the way of travel, communications, rents, utilities, supplies, public health, and so forth. All I can tell the Senator is that if we do not provide sufficient money, it will be impossible to have the necessary personnel to administer the act. The crops are in the ground, they are to be harvested, and either labor must be obtained in this way, or there will not be the necessary labor.

Mr. FERGUSON. I again ask, what is going to be done with the \$500,000, if it is not to be used for the purpose of hiring help?

Mr. THYE. I think I can answer the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wish the Senator would do so.

Mr. THYE. It is not to be used solely for the purpose of hiring help.

Mr. FERGUSON. For what is it to be used?

Mr. THYE. It will be necessary to pay transportation in order to bring in the Mexican laborers.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does not every man who contracts for Mexican labor pay a certain sum for every contract?

Mr. THYE. That is true. But there is the expense of bringing the laborer from the concentration center in Mexico to the border. From there on, the employer in the State will assume the expense. Board-and-room costs as well as transportation are involved.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is it not a fact that if all the money now requested is provided, the Department will have not only 49 employees, but 36 additional employees? I am opposed to having so many additional employees.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I may say in reply that events during the months which have passed since legislation on the subject was first given consideration have made it necessary that the entire recruitment program be stepped up and consolidated. There is a present need for the labor and the need will increase between now and midsummer. It will either be necessary to step up the program of recruitment, including the transportation of the laborers and their dispersal to areas of employment, where employers are waiting, or there will be crops which will not be put into the ground, and certain of the early crops will not be harvested. As the result of all my study of this subject and my contacts with the men who are seeking to employ Mexican laborers, I believe that we had better make the appropriation available; otherwise we may find that some food and fiber will not be planted, and some will not be harvested.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, if I may, I desire to get to the matter before the Senate in concrete form, because we have merely been talking generally. I move to amend the committee amendment on page 8, line 18, by striking out the numerals "\$917,000" and inserting "\$1,159,000." That represents an increase of \$142,000. And since there is, directly below that, a limitation of \$5,675,000, I move to strike that amount from line 21, and to insert "\$5,517,000."

That brings the issue squarely before the Senate.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I desire to make a few remarks on this question, because it is one which arises continually. We are concerned with what are known as organization charts. Let us see what is planned for the 36 new employees. The Department asks for \$4,000,000, to prevent illegal entries across the border. Then it wants \$1,000,000 plus a few thousand dollars in order to bring legal workers across the border and place them

in employment. If we appropriate the amount which the Senator from Arizona has asked, there will be 36 new employees. What does the breakdown show? There will be six agricultural employment specialists. Then there will be a reception center, with a manager at \$7,000, and an assistant manager at \$5,940. In addition, there will be a chief of the reception service, a chief of the contract service, and an administrative assistant. What for? There will also be a supervisor of transportation, a supervisor of maintenance, housing and protection, and a supervisor of subsistence. It all reminds me of what the Indian said when he came to Washington: "There are too many chiefs and not enough Indians." The trouble in this instance is that there are so many supervisors, chiefs, and assistants that the work itself will not get done. Also on the list are an operating engineer, two checkers, and one stenographer for all the supervisory officers. Then there are three expeditors, one head clerk and one file clerk. There are also a guard, two janitors, and two night watchmen. For the migration centers there are four interviewers and four more expeditors.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator has been discussing personnel included in a supplemental estimate.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what the Senator is asking for.

Mr. HAYDEN. No, I am not. I am not at all asking for personnel to perform the functions contemplated in the supplemental estimate. I am only seeking to retain in the service the employees the Department now has. The Senate committee very properly disagreed to the supplemental estimate, which was for \$110,000, and allowed only the \$25,000. We are going to adhere to our position.

Mr. FERGUSON. The item on page 8, line 18, in the House bill, was \$892,000, was it not?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. And the amendment is going to restore the original amount in the House bill, which would bring the appropriation up to \$1,144,200, which would include the 36 employees.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes, but we are only providing \$1,000,000. The Senator from Michigan is talking about \$100,000 which is not in the bill.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The Department asked for it, but it is not in the bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. But the Senator from Arizona wants to put it in the bill.

Mr. HAYDEN. I do not want to put it in for the item in the supplemental estimate, at all. I see no necessity for it. I see no necessity for building any new reception centers.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator is also asking, on page 5, to increase the amount to \$4,000,000; is he not?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is for another service entirely.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, it is for another service, but it is for the purpose of keeping out illegal entries; is it not?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. The committee voted to restore the amount of money which the House committee recommended. The cut was made on the floor of the House. The original estimate, if I remember correctly, was about \$4,500,000, or \$4,610,000. The House committee cut off \$610,000, and the reduction was then made on the floor; which would have made it impossible to enforce the wetback law at all.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan will say to the Senator from Arizona that he thinks the House did a good job on this item. It involves the question of labor in Michigan, as well as in Arizona. If the increase in this item is taken to conference and I am one of the conferees, I should be compelled to oppose it, and would go along with the House.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to submit it to conference.

Mr. FERGUSON. I would be perfectly willing to discuss it with the House conferees, because I think the House was right. If the Senator can convince me in the conference, I would naturally go along with him, but my present thinking is that the House is correct, and I want the Senator to know that before the item is taken to the conference.

Mr. HAYDEN. Let my amendments be adopted, and we will take them to conference on that basis.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I should like to invite the attention of the Senator from Michigan to the fact that I agree that nothing should be included that is not needed, but I do not think the chairman of the committee should be blamed for something which was asked for but was not given.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am not blaming the Senator from Arizona. He and I understand each other. We are trying to debate this question. I do not like what is known as organization charts that end up with too many chiefs and no workers, or, as the Indian said, too many chiefs and no Indians.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the two amendments will be agreed to, and the committee amendment as amended is agreed to.

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not want to take the item of \$4,000,000 to conference. I think we should have a vote on it.

Mr. HAYDEN. We shall have to come back to that later.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record at this point the tabulation from which I have quoted, and also a statement which I have prepared in which I have cited what the House committee report stated with respect to the share of the cost of importation of labor which should be borne by the farmers and the share which should be borne by the Government.

The House committee, I am sure, was mistaken in its statement, and I think I have proved it by statements taken from the record.

There being no objection, the tabula-

tion and the statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Effect of reducing request of \$611,000 to \$468,800

Reduction in nonlabor costs.....	\$34,200
Reduction in costs for salaries.....	108,000
Total reduction.....	142,200

Effect of reduction in salary items:

1. Eliminate 41 employees of 49 performing compliance function.....	37,700
2. Close 2 migration centers in Mexico (there is some question as to whether Mexico will allow us to recruit the men who would have been processed here from another center).....	16,000
3. Close 2 reception centers (May and June).....	33,800
4. Release 17 regional office employees which is almost the entire staff working on Public Law 78, May 15, 1952.....	10,400
5. Release 24 of 33 headquarters staff employees working on Public Law 78, May 15, 1952.....	10,100

Total reduction, personal services.....	108,000
Reduction in nonlabor costs (includes travel, communications, rents and utilities, supplies and services of Public Health Service).....	34,200
Total reduction.....	142,200

Restoration of the \$142,000 will not permit any expansion of the existing program.

STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF REGULAR DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY PERSONNEL IN CONNECTION WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC LAW 78

House Report No. 1503 on the third supplemental appropriation to accompany H. R. 6947 states, in part:

"It was the understanding of each of the members of the committee, when this legislation was under consideration, that it would be in most part self-supporting. However, this has proven to be far from true. In fact, Federal appropriations are bearing over half of the cost of the program. Based on testimony of officials of the Department of Labor, the committee believes that this reduction is the greatest that can be made and still provide for adequate administration of the program as it is now constituted. The committee is unanimous in its belief that such steps that are necessary should be taken to remove the obstacles in the way of making the program more nearly self-supporting to the end that those who benefit should bear a greater portion of the cost."

We believe the committee has a misunderstanding with respect to the administrative financing of this program. Public Law 78, in section 502 (2), says:

"No workers shall be made available under this title to any employer unless such employer enters into an agreement with the United States— * * * "(2) to reimburse the United States for essential expenses, not including salaries or expenses of regular department or agency personnel, incurred by it for the transportation and subsistence of workers under this title in amounts not to exceed \$15 per worker." (Italics supplied.)

When Public Law 78 was originally introduced in the House (H. R. 3048) and in the Senate (S. 984) the bills did not contain the provision italicized above. When Senate bill 934, however, was reported out by the Senate Committee on Agriculture it contained the

italicized language. The report accompanying Senate bill 984 (S. 214) says in this respect:

"The bill as introduced provided that the employer pay for all expenses up to \$20 incurred by the Government in recruitment and transportation of workers. The committee believes normal salary and other expenses of Government officials administering the program should not be charged to the individual employers of the workers recruited by such Government employees and recommends amending the bill accordingly."

After the House Committee on Agriculture had concluded its hearings on 3048 a clean bill was introduced (H. R. 3283) containing the italicized language.

The report of the committee accompanying H. R. 3283 (H. Rept. 326) states with respect to this matter:

"The only unrecoverable expense which the Government will be called upon to bear under the proposed program will be the *payment of salaries of regular departmental agency personnel*, the cost of establishing and maintaining reception centers in the United States, and the cost of apprehending and deporting contract violators which is in excess of the normal cost which the employer would have been required to bear had the worker returned in accordance with the provisions of the contract of employment." [Italics supplied.]

The above-quoted excerpts from the legislative history of Public Law 78 indicates very clearly that it was the intent of at least the committees which had considered the bills not to require the employers to reimburse the Government for the administrative expenses of the program. As a matter of fact, during the debate on the floor of the House doubt was expressed by various Members that the rate provided in the House bill of \$10 per worker would be adequate to cover even the costs of recruitment and transportation. Several amendments were introduced to increase this amount; one amendment would have increased it to \$20 per worker, another amendment would have increased it to \$35 per worker.

The Committee on Appropriations recognized that the administrative costs of the program would be borne by the Federal Government when the first regular appropriation was made for the program. This is evident from House Report 890 on the 1952 supplemental appropriation bill to accompany H. R. 5215, which states in part:

"The law provides that the Government shall be reimbursed in the amount of \$15 per worker by the contracting employers, such charge to cover costs of transporting, feeding, and housing workers from point of recruitment to border reception centers and return. The committee is of the opinion that the full costs of this temporary program should be recouped to the Treasury and regrets to note that the basic law made no provision for recapturing general administrative costs of handling the program."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next committee amendment.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Federal Security Agency—Office of the Administrator," on page 9, after line 14, to strike out:

SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

For an additional amount for "Surplus property disposal," \$40,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Chapter V—Department of Agriculture—Forest Service—Salaries and expenses" on page 10, line 22, after the word "fires", to strike out "\$3,000,000" and insert "\$3,500,000."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, with reference to this item, I hope the Senate will not vote the increase proposed in this amendment. This is only an amount to cover an estimate. The Department admits that \$3,000,000 will be adequate for fighting forest fires if it is permitted to draw on 1953 funds. I feel that it would be wiser to appropriate the \$3,000,000 rather than the sum of \$3,500,000 and then wait until the cost of fighting spring fires are actually determined, however, allowing the Department to draw the necessary amount from the 1953 funds. When they know the cost they can tell us definitely what is needed and we can consider it in another supplemental appropriation bill.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to say so, he is assuming that we will know between now and the next appropriation bill what fires will take place. The way the committee handled the matter was proper. The committee recommends an appropriation of \$3,500,000, an increase of \$500,000 over the House allowance. The committee takes the view that the 1953 funds may be drawn upon to whatever extent may be required. The records show that there never has been a time when in fighting forest fires the Government was able to get off as cheaply as \$500,000.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to read the Department's own justification. The committee went over it and determined that \$3,000,000 was sufficient—

Mr. HAYDEN. No; the committee agreed to make it \$3,500,000.

Mr. FERGUSON. I stand corrected.

Mr. HAYDEN. In addition to that, the Department can use next year's money if necessary.

Mr. FERGUSON. I was looking at my own vote on this particular point.

I want to invite attention to the justification, which says:

While fire-fighting costs are largely influenced by weather, experience of the last several years indicates that the regular appropriation of \$6,000,000 for 1953 will probably be inadequate. Therefore, it is likely that funds therefor in 1953 will be inadequate and another supplemental appropriation will be required at some future date.

I am asking that we keep the amount at \$3,000,000, allow the Department to draw on the 1953 funds, and then, when they have determined what the cost is up to the time the 1953 funds are available, we shall be able to put that correct amount into the 1953 funds instead of guessing now by adding another half a million dollars.

I hope the Senate will vote against the committee amendment.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As one of those who agree with the Senator from Michigan, I should like to point out this statement which appears in the justification:

Inasmuch as spring fire-fighting obligations have been as high as \$1,970,000, at the present value of the dollar, it will obviously be necessary to draw on the 1953 appropriation in such an amount as may be required in the event of serious fire emergencies, even

though in excess of the \$500,000 reduction by the House.

To supplement what the Senator from Michigan has said, we are just guessing at \$500,000. There may be needed three times that amount, or none of it may be needed. We are going to have another supplemental appropriation bill anyway.

Mr. HAYDEN. So far as the American taxpayer is concerned, he is going to pay for the cost of preserving one of the Nation's greatest natural assets, which is timber.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. We all agree on that.

Mr. HAYDEN. If there are no forest fires, \$500,000 is more than sufficient. What is the difference? If more is needed, we say that they may use the funds for next year. By acceding to the views of the Senator from Michigan; we may save a few dollars on the face of the bill, but the taxpayers are not saved a cent.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator asks, "What is the difference?" In my estimation, the difference is that if a department has money in its "treasury" which it is allowed to use, it will use it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Will it deliberately start forest fires?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I am not indicating that it will set any fires. I may say however about the military; that the first of the year they had \$30,100,000,000 available for expenditure. On July 1 of this year, 6 months later, they will have more than \$100,000,000,000 unexpended. Such a situation breeds extravagance. If we appropriate the amount of money proposed to be provided for this item we will find that it is going to breed extravagance. I think it would be a mistake.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I agree with the Senator from Michigan. The Senator from Michigan has elaborated the point very fully, but I would reply to the Senator from Arizona by saying that I would rather have Congress hold control of the funds than for the department to have control, particularly in this instance.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I should like to ask one question, in order to have the matter more thoroughly clarified. Assume there is a fire and that it must be controlled, or at least must be fought, but the funds for fire fighting have been exhausted. The Forest Service cannot cease its fire-fighting operations. They must try to obtain funds from the Department or from Congress in order to continue the fire fighting. How much money have they with which to meet an emergency if one should occur between now and June 30?

Mr. HAYDEN. None.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is not quite the fact. They have 1953 funds.

Mr. THYE. Let us get the answer. I think the clerk of the Appropriations

Committee, Mr. Smith, can enlighten us on this specific question.

Mr. FERGUSON. Emergency fire-fighting costs can be met with the amount provided by the House. That is admitted by the Forest Service. Funds will be available to put out any fire which might occur.

Mr. THYE. That is the only question with which I am concerning myself.

Mr. FERGUSON. The representatives of the Forest Service say so themselves.

Mr. THYE. The Forest Service could not mark time while waiting for Congress to act, in the event funds were exhausted and a fire was raging.

Mr. FERGUSON. No one is asking them to wait.

Mr. THYE. That is the question I want to have clear before I consent.

Mr. FERGUSON. Suppose Congress makes \$3,500,000 available, and the Forest Service runs over that amount, and there is a fire; they would have to meet the deficiency in some way.

Mr. THYE. They recognize, however, that they can look back into past years and govern their anticipated expenditures by the sums heretofore provided.

Mr. HAYDEN. What happened was that last year Congress appropriated \$6,000,000 for this purpose. Up to January, in fighting fires, \$8,000,000 was spent. A budget estimate was submitted to increase the money available by \$3,500,000, \$2,000,000 of which had already been spent.

Mr. THYE. Yes.

Mr. HAYDEN. The House committee said:

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$3,000,000, a reduction in the estimate of \$500,000, with the understanding that funds for 1953 may be drawn upon to the extent of the reduction if necessary.

That meant that \$500,000 could be used out of 1953 funds. Our committee thought that was wrong, and that money should not be taken from 1953 funds with which to fight fires.

Mr. THYE. That means solely to fight fires. Not one cent may be spent unless a fire is raging in our national forests, and there must be a staff to put the fire out.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. THYE. If proper steps are not taken, fire will destroy some of the vital materials which are necessary to increase the economy of the country.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. In order to help answer the question of the Senator from Minnesota, I agree entirely with what the Senator from Arizona has said. I remember very well the discussion. We decided the House report did limit to \$500,000 the amount which could be drawn ahead. We distinctly changed that language.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. We made the change in order that the Forest Service could draw indefinitely from the 1953 amount. Therefore, ample funds are available.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan is not objecting to that change.

Mr. THYE. That was my understanding of the situation. One reason why the committee saw fit to increase the amount of the House appropriation by \$500,000 was in order to leave a little more in reserve, in the event there should be serious forest fires between now and June 30. That was my understanding of the increase of \$500,000, and that is the only reason why I state that there will probably not be a sufficient amount in reserve to meet an emergency, if an emergency shall occur, and that if the money is not expended, it will be carried over into 1953, and will be available.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As I understand, under the language of the bill the full amount of the 1953 appropriation is available to fight fire in May 1952, if that is necessary.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. The amount is available at this time. That is what the Forest Service says. They have sufficient to draw on.

Mr. HAYDEN. Actually the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill has not been passed.

Mr. THYE. That is my understanding. We have not enacted the agricultural appropriation bill for 1953, and we are only projecting ourselves into what may be done by Congress insofar as the matter relates to the 1953 budget.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wish to read into the RECORD a statement by Mr. Gustafson which appears at page 99 of the hearings on the third supplemental appropriation bill, 1952. Mr. Gustafson said:

As stated, the obligation of \$2,442,354 was met by drawing on the "Salaries and expenses" appropriation. Funds are required to reimburse the "Salaries and expenses" appropriation if the Forest Service is to continue its operations. This is the financial picture for the fire-fighting item as of January 1, 1952.

That indicates that whenever they need money for fire fighting, it is an unestimated amount, and they can always find in the appropriation a sufficient amount of money. That is why they say they have sufficient money. Of course, it has to be reimbursed.

Mr. HAYDEN. It would be taken from funds to be used for paying fire rangers, or some other activity. They can use the money temporarily, but it must be returned to pay salaries during the remainder of the year.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. I only want to wait until we know what the exact amount will be, and then we will provide for it.

Mr. HAYDEN. If the Senator from Michigan could show me that we would save the taxpayer 1 cent, by cutting the fund by \$500,000, I would be glad to go along with his proposal, but actually we are going to pay for fighting the fires if they occur, and if they do not occur we will not have to pay anything. If they

do occur, we will pay for fighting them out of next year's fund.

Mr. FERGUSON. My answer to that is that I am a believer in the Congress retaining control of the purse strings. If we require the Forest Service to give us the exact figures, we shall be better off than by merely filling the bank account and allowing them to write a blank check as they might desire to draw against the account. I think that under my proposal there would be a saving.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan might be correct in one particular instance. It is all very well to protect the taxpayers' dollars, and it is the duty of Members of Congress to watch appropriations from year to year. But we also have the responsibility of protecting the property of the taxpayers. Many millions of dollars are lost yearly to the taxpayers because Congress is penny-wise and pound-foolish.

In order to save now, supposedly, \$500,000, we shall be running the risk of losing a million dollars. Only a year ago, in my own State, more than 45,000 acres of the finest timber land were lost.

Of this \$500,000, the taxpayers are not going to lose one penny, if the money is not needed to protect some of the taxpayers' property.

I have been in the forests of the State of the Senator from Michigan. The American people possess some of the finest timber land throughout the country. There are millions of acres of fine timber land in my State, in Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington—yes; and in Michigan and Wisconsin.

Is it our duty, in order to save a few dollars, to cause a hazard that may result in the loss of that property?

I may say to the Senator from Michigan that he could save the money he would have to pay for insurance on his home, his business, or anything else, by not taking out a policy.

Do Senators realize the amount that is involved in this amendment? It is \$500,000. Compare that with the billions of dollars which are spent for things we do not know about. Yet the sum of \$500,000 is sought to protect property that belongs to all the people of the United States, including Senators. That is all it means. If it is not needed, it will not be spent. Would the Senator from Michigan rather save \$500,000 and take a chance that \$100,000,000 might be lost?

Let me make a further statement along that line. I may be considered a little fanatical about protecting the people's property. I have traveled from Tillamook, Oreg., to Portland. I have seen the area which is called the graveyard. It is called the graveyard because for 27 miles on both sides of the road one can see nothing but dead trees, which were once worth millions of dollars. They were the property of the taxpayers; but someone, in order to save a few dollars, decided that they need not be protected. Therefore we now have this area which is known as the graveyard.

All this item means is a little insurance, if it should become necessary. If it is not necessary, the money will not be

spent. I hope the amendment of the committee will prevail.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 10, line 22.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan has not been arguing that he does not want to protect the forests. That is what this item is for. The item has nothing to do with private land. It has nothing to do with lands under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

It is said that \$500,000 is only a drop in the bucket so far as the money of the taxpayers is concerned. I say, in view of the manner in which we are now spending billions of dollars, that it is not even a drop. This is a matter of principle.

This amount is only an estimate. If the Department takes the money from the other fund, as it has done for years, we can then determine, when the Department is through fighting the fires, how much is needed. The Department is authorized to use any amount of money necessary to protect forest lands and it can draw money from the 1953 funds.

I hope the Senate will reject this amendment and retain control of the purse strings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 10, line 22. [Putting the question.]

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that he voted "aye."

The clerk will state the next committee amendment.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Smoke jumper facilities," on page 11, line 2, after the word "expended", to insert "Provided, That the amount made available herein shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of facilities: *Provided further.*"

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Chapter VII—Independent offices," on page 14, after line 2, to insert:

AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION
DEDICATION OF WORLD WAR II MEMORIALS

For expenses necessary for an appropriate dedication of World War II memorials, erected under authority of the act of June 26, 1946 (36 U. S. C. 123), to be available for such purposes as the Commission may deem necessary and proper and without regard to the provisions of other laws or regulations relating to the expenditure of public funds (except that this exemption shall not be construed as waiving the requirement for the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit), \$30,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until June 30, 1953: *Provided, That, when in the discretion of the American Battle Monuments Commission it would be in the public interest, personnel and transportation facilities of any other Government agency may be furnished by such agency, without reimbursement, to the Commission for the purposes of this appropriation.*

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], who is in charge of the bill. I presume it is understood that as we go along and vote on the committee amendments, the entire bill, outside the committee amendments, will be open for amendment later.

Mr. HAYDEN. Certainly.

Mr. FERGUSON. I make that inquiry in order that there may be no misunderstanding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is correct in his statement. In order to be absolutely certain, let the Chair ask the Senator from Michigan if he correctly understands the statement which the Senator from Michigan made, namely, that the bill as a whole, aside from the committee amendments, will be open to amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The statement of the Senator is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. However, that does not apply to the committee amendments already passed upon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the point which the Chair wishes to make clear.

The clerk will state the next committee amendment.

The next amendment was, on page 14, after line 20, to insert:

COMMISSION ON RENOVATION OF THE
EXECUTIVE MANSION

For an additional amount for "Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion," \$20,000.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 14, line 24, in the committee amendment, it is proposed to strike out "\$20,000" and insert "\$5,000."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, this item relates to the renovation of the Executive Mansion. There is a request in this bill for \$20,000. Of that, \$6,500 is needed for the Commission's staff, services, and expenses until June 30, in order to close out the accounts, dispose of the records, and complete other actions necessary to the termination of the business of the Commission. The remainder of the request, or \$13,500, is for printing and binding the final report to Congress by the Commission. Think of it. The Commission wants \$13,500 for printing and binding its final report. This brings me back to one of the requests in connection with a supplemental bill last year.

In connection with this same item, the Commission wanted \$40,000 to file in the Archives the plans for this renovation. It wanted \$20,000 to file in the Archives the plans of the hidden work for the renovation of the White House. In other words, the Commission wanted \$60,000 of the taxpayers' money to file plans which were already in existence in the Archives.

The Senator from Michigan brought the situation to the attention of the Commission. Representatives of the Commission stated that it was necessary to draw new plans, because the plans belonged to the architect. When the representatives of the Commission came before the committee we discovered that the architect at the White House was on a yearly salary. How could the plans belong to the architect? If they belonged to the architect, they belonged to the United States Government.

Think of it. There was a request for \$60,000 merely to file plans. That was boondoggling. What the Commission wanted to do was to redraft the plans and maintain a staff.

What do we find now? The Commission wants \$13,500 for printing and binding a report. How is it to be bound? Is it to be bound in gold or silver? Originally the Commission wanted only \$1,000 for the printing and binding of this report, but now it has ideas of grandeur.

If we do not cut appropriations, we shall eventually spend \$85,000,000,000. This item will not be a drop in the bucket, or half a drop, or any appreciable percentage of a drop; but I say that the time has come when we must save on all these items. The Commission itself says—and I quote from its previous request:

An item of \$1,000 for printing, and sufficient merely for printing the report of a routine type, was included in the 1952 request for the Commission's expenses.

In other words, they wanted an appropriation for a routine report. Now they want an appropriation for a deluxe report. Instead of a thousand dollars, they want 13½ times that amount. It seems to me that if \$1,000 was adequate for the job a year ago, it should be sufficient today. The Commission plans an elaborate project in connection with the final report, which the Government Printing Office estimates will cost \$13,500, as against \$1,000 for an adequate, but not deluxe, report.

I submit that this is not the time for indulgence in this type of luxury. Therefore I offer an amendment which reduces the amount of the funds for printing and binding by \$12,500, and reduces the amount of the funds available for other expenses in connection with the writing of the report by \$2,500. Certainly those amounts should be adequate.

Mr. President, if the Committee on Appropriations had not discovered last year the existence of the items of \$40,000 and \$20,000 this body would have appropriated \$60,000 to file in the Archives the plans and specifications for the renovation of the White House. I hope the Senate will adopt my amendment.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, very seldom do I ever rise on the floor of the Senate except for the purpose of endeavoring to keep down appropriations. However, I am familiar with this item. The Commission on the Renovation of the White House has given very serious thought to it. We felt that there should be a report made on the renovation

which would be a complete history of the White House. As Senators know, the White House was renovated the first time in 1817, after the British had burned it in 1814. The next time it was renovated was in 1901, under President Theodore Roosevelt. Then it was renovated again by President Coolidge in 1926 or 1927. The records of those renovations were not complete.

When a few years ago Congress appointed a commission to renovate the White House it was necessary to go back over all the history of the White House that could possibly be gathered in order that the Commission could make sure that the renovation would be done properly. We wanted the work to be permanent and to provide a report which would be available in the future.

Moreover, we wanted the White House to look as it looked when it was rebuilt in 1817 after it had been burned by the British in 1814. We hope that in subsequent years Americans will have available to them a full report on the renovation of the White House.

I admit that it will be a de luxe addition. The plan is to include pages of colored pictures of the various rooms in which the American people are particularly interested. It will cost about a thousand dollars a page to do so. I believe that we have kept the cost down to the smallest possible amount.

I am sorry that the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], the Chairman of the Renovation Commission and chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, could not be on the floor today, because he is very much more familiar with the whole subject than am I.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONROE in the chair). Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon did not have an opportunity to hear any of the testimony given before the committee on this subject, and, indeed, very little testimony regarding it was given before the committee. So the Senator from Oregon is without what he believes to be essential information in order to make up his mind as to what should be done in connection with this particular item. Therefore he would like to ask this question: Is this report to be a bound book, to be printed in volume, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents?

Mr. MARTIN. I am sorry that the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, is not on the floor. The work of the Commission was divided, and I am not so familiar with that aspect of it as I am with the actual construction involved.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. CORDON. The Senator from Oregon has found the answer in the hearings on the bill. It is found at page 430. If the Senator from Pennsylvania

will permit me to do so, I should like to invite his attention to the testimony which appears at page 430. The question was asked: "How many reports would there be?"

I quote from the testimony:

General EDGERTON. There will be one final report.

Senator YOUNG. How many copies will be issued?

General EDGERTON. There will be 5,000 copies.

Senator YOUNG. Will these be sent to the Members of Congress?

General EDGERTON. Yes, sir; and then of course, in addition, the Public Printer would print a quantity to be distributed through the channels which he uses for sale to the public.

Senator HAYDEN. That is for sale?

General EDGERTON. Yes, sir.

It is probably not essential to the issue but there is a great likelihood that the sales he would make would reimburse the Government for the total cost entailed. We anticipate that every library, almost all architects, and many others will want a copy of the report.

The reason we selected 5,000 is that that is the minimum edition on which they normally quote. A few hundred dollars would be saved by reducing that quantity, but there are a great many offices and persons who should be given at least one copy of the report.

It might be well to put in the record also that that the Commission will turn into the Treasury about \$27,500 as the net proceeds of the souvenir program, which of course would not be applicable without legislation for this purpose. The souvenir program was entirely self-sustaining.

I invite attention to the fact that the souvenir program refers to the action taken by the Commission in selling souvenirs made from some of the material taken from the White House during the renovation.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, with relation to the souvenirs, I know that Members of the Senate are interested in that subject. Under a law which Congress passed, material taken from the White House could be used for the purpose of making souvenirs, provided that the program was not commercialized.

Therefore the gavels, canes, boxes, and other objects which were made from such material were sold. We did not, however, expect such a large demand for the souvenirs. Consequently we had a surplus on hand at the end of the work of \$27,000.

Mr. President, I have served in various capacities on many commissions in my lifetime. I feel that this Commission has worked as diligently as it possibly could work to give the people of America a fine home for their President and at as economical a cost as was possible under the circumstances.

I do not want to take too much time, but I should like to say that the first thing that had to be determined by the Commission was whether the old walls of the White House could be left standing. We had to employ the best engineers and experts in the country to determine whether the walls could be underpinned and left standing with safety. It was finally decided that it could be done if the foundations were extended into the ground a depth of 24 feet. That was done. The walls were underpinned to a

depth of 24 feet. Consequently there are now two stories underground which were not there when the work was started. That additional space was very badly needed. The report will show all that engineering and architectural work, as well as how the Commission reached its conclusions. I think the expense is very well worth while.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I am sorry that I must differ with my colleague from Pennsylvania because he usually is on the side of economy. I realize that when we try to cut an item of expense, whether it be an item such as this one or an item for the judicial or legislative branch of the Government, we are bound to step on someone's toes in trying to apply economy.

All I am asking is whether the Senate feels that when we are in a period of deficit spending we can print 5,000 copies of a de luxe edition of a report. The White House is finished. Printing of the report will not add one thing to the White House. The report, if not in the form of a de luxe report could be printed for \$1,000, and the same result would be obtained. The question is whether we should pay \$1,000 for the report or \$13,500. If I do not miss my guess, General Edgerton was right when he said that 5,000 copies of the de luxe report would go to Representatives and Senators. Mention has been made of the fact that copies would be made available to the public by the Government Printing Office. I should like to say that the Government Printing Office merely adds a 10-percent profit on the overrun.

Mr. President, I want the report printed. We are told that it can be printed for \$5,000. If the smaller amount is appropriated, the only difference will be in the binding and in the cover. I suppose the report will contain colored pictures. A souvenir program has been issued.

The first time the Appropriations Committee went there, it was shown pictures of how the various rooms would look.

So, Mr. President, I ask whether we should cause deficit spending for a program of this kind.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan to the committee amendment on page 14, in line 24. [Putting the question.]

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 14, beginning in line 21.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, to this committee amendment, I offer the following amendment: Strike out the figure "\$20,000", and in lieu thereof insert the figure "\$15,000."

In order to make perfectly clear what this amendment to the committee amendment will do, let me say that I believe that if the proposed reduction of \$5,000 in the entire item is made, the Commission will still be able to print a sufficient number of copies of a proper report and will be able to assure that copies will be available to those who desire to purchase them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Oregon to the committee amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the committee amendment on page 14, in line 24, it is proposed to strike out "\$20,000" and insert "\$15,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oregon to the committee amendment on page 14, in line 24, which has just been stated. [Putting the question.]

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, on this question I call for a division.

On a division, the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 14, in lines 21 to 24.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next committee amendment will be stated.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I wish to submit an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Unless the amendment is to a committee amendment, it is not now in order.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, there are two more committee amendments. One of them relates to the legislative branch. After those amendments are disposed of, we can consider what the Senator from Washington has in mind.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next committee amendment will be stated.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Chapter XI—Increased pay costs—legislative branch," on page 22, after line 1, to insert:

Senate:
 "Salaries, officers and employees," \$782,896;
 "Contingent expenses of the Senate:
 "Senate policy committee," \$9,910;
 "Joint Committee on the Economic Report," \$7,690.
 "Joint Committee on Atomic Energy," \$12,925;
 "Joint Committee on Printing," \$2,792;
 "Vice President's automobile," \$355;
 "Automobile for the President pro tempore," \$355;
 "Automobile for majority and minority leaders," \$710;
 "Reporting Senate proceedings," \$10,253;
 "Furniture," cleaning, etc., \$290;
 "Inquiries and investigations," \$92,120;
 "Folding documents," \$2,890;
 "Miscellaneous items," \$15,060;

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 47, after line 13, to insert:

CHAPTER XII

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND JUDGMENTS

For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in Senate Document Numbered 108, Eighty-second Congress, \$4,357,649, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in such judgments or in certain of the set-

tlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: *Provided*, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: *Provided further*, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more than 30 days after the date of approval of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the clerk be authorized to make the necessary changes in section numbers in the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, we have temporarily passed over two amendments. The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is interested in one of them, and the other amendment was passed over at the request of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM], in behalf of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON].

Let me inquire whether the Senator from Washington wishes to address himself to one of the amendments at this time.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I should like to revert to page 5 of the bill and the committee amendment on that page striking out the item for "Salaries and expenses" in connection with the claims of persons of Japanese ancestry. The item appearing in lines 3 and 4, on page 5, would be stricken out by means of the committee amendment.

I desire to move that the committee amendment be rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, in lines 1 to 4, it is proposed to strike out:

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry," \$14,800,000.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask that the committee amendment be rejected, so that this item will remain in the bill. I take this position after a great deal of discussion in regard to this matter with members of the subcommittee.

Following the inclusion of this item in the bill as passed by the House, there was some discussion in the committee, but no detailed discussion. Apparently the committee decided to strike out the item, not on the basis that the committee was opposed to the amount of the item on its merits, but on the ground that this matter might better be included in the regular appropriation bill.

I believe this item should be retained in this supplemental appropriation bill at this time because it relates to claims which have been made and adjudicated pursuant to laws passed by Congress, and because all the claims covered by this item have been or will be reviewed

and passed upon by the Department of Justice, and those which it approves will have to be paid.

The claims which already have been adjudicated by the Department of Justice will have to be paid. They now represent both a moral and a legal obligation on the part of the United States Government. Therefore, absolutely no economy will be involved by eliminating the item of \$14,800,000.

Let me say that there is no difference of opinion regarding this item. All the committee members are agreed regarding the justice of the item. I am informed that all the claims involved have been adjudicated by the Department of Justice and have been compromised. Most of the persons involved in this item are elderly, and can use the money. Furthermore, none of the claims involved in this item is for more than \$2,500 or for more than three-fourths of the compensable item of the total amount claimed, whichever is less.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I wished to inquire whether this item constitutes complete settlement, or whether other claims remain to be settled.

Mr. MAGNUSON. So far as the Department is concerned, there are no other claims. Twenty-four thousand claims were filed under the original Evacuation Claims Act. However, all the claims covered by this item have been adjudicated, and they are the ones that the Department has determined it will allow.

Mr. HAYDEN. My point is that is a settlement in the nature of a compromise is made, with the agreement of the Department—and I understand that is the present situation—if other claims are subsequently to be compromised and if these claims are not paid the parties to the other claims would not be inclined to enter into a compromise.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I can read to the Senator a statement which I believe covers this matter:

On April 10 the Senate Appropriations Committee, in reporting the third supplemental appropriation bill for 1952, eliminated all of the \$14,800,000 item which was requested by the Department of Justice for the payment of claims settled under the compromise settlement amendment to Public Law 886, the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948. This act authorizes the Attorney General to adjudicate certain claims for losses suffered by persons of Japanese ancestry, resulting from their compliance with the Government's evacuation orders, which removed them from the west coast in 1942.

The compromise settlement, which was enacted August 17, 1951, was devised to expedite the settlement of smaller claims, bringing substantial savings in administrative costs to the Government and speedier payment to the claimants. The compromise settlement amendment allows the claimants to compromise their claims for three-fourths of the compensable items of the total claimed or \$2,500, whichever is less. In short, for the claimant who wishes to settle his claim under the compromise formula, there is first an automatic 25 percent cut of his possible award, no matter how justified his claim may be.

There were 24,000 claims filed under the original Evacuation Claims Act. The Department of Justice hopes to settle 17,000 of these smaller claims by the end of June of this year. Already the Department of Justice has

awarded \$9,000,000 under the compromise-settlement amendment, but these awards have not yet been paid because of lack of funds.

One of the most urgent factors arguing for a quick settlement of the claims is the advanced age of most of the claimants who suffered these losses 10 long years ago. It would seem cruel justice to these people, who have agreed to take a 25-percent reduction of their claims, to withhold any longer the money already awarded them by the Government.

I have recently checked with the Department of Justice, and am informed that insofar as it is concerned, this item covers all the claims that have been adjudicated, so far as the Department knows, although more claims than those which have been settled have been filed by various applicants. However, the adjudicated claims covered by this item of the bill are the ones the Department will consider. I offer that explanation.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield for a question?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The committee decided against including this item for the reason—and I think the committee's reasoning was sound—that this item amounts to \$14,800,000, and it will be only 2½ months until the regular appropriation bill will go into effect, and the subcommittee which handles the regular appropriation bill would like to go further into the entire matter.

I appreciate that the claims covered by this item are in the same position as judgments, for the claims have been adjudicated and the amounts are due.

However, it will be only 2½ months until this matter can be handled by means of the regular appropriation bill, instead of handling it now in the supplemental appropriation bill. That is the only consideration that is involved.

I think there is no question that the payments are due. However, the committee took the position that it preferred to have this item included in the regular appropriation bill.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is correct, but many of these claims were adjudicated at some time in the past, and no funds are available with which to pay them. It would be desirable if the items could be separated, and if the exact amounts could be stated. I do not know whether \$14,800,000 is the exact amount, or whether it is closer to \$10,000,000.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As I read the side slips on the evidence presented, I come to the last paragraph, as follows:

The affidavit forms necessary to be executed by claimants in order to invoke the compromise provisions of the net law have been distributed and it is estimated that 17,824 claimants having claims of \$5,000 or less will elect to compromise their claims. It is anticipated that this number of claims will be disposed of during the fiscal year 1952 since the vast majority of those desiring to compromise will undoubtedly submit the compromise forms prior to June 1952. The aggregate amount involved in these claims is \$33,326,767.47.

I agree with what the Senator from Michigan has said. A question of principle is involved. This is a proper item for the 1953 budget. There are 23,725 claims pending, and 17,824 of these will probably be compromised. That is not definitely known yet. It seems to me, as the Senator from Michigan has said, that, with 2½ months remaining, opportunity would be afforded to obtain more definite knowledge. No one would be hurt. This is no proper item to be placed in a supplemental bill. The entire committee, I think, felt and realized that this amount will have to be paid. This is not a question of a saving, it is rather a question of principle.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. In a moment. I do not disagree with the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts, but, since that testimony was taken, I have discussed this matter with the Department of Justice. Their position is that, so far as the Department of Justice is concerned, they have now adjudicated all the claims they feel will be adjudicated. Although there are other applicants I think money ought to be made available as quickly as possible, so that those whose claims have been completely adjudicated may be paid. It is known that in many cases the claimants have been waiting months because no funds were available. The House figure was \$14,800,000. I do not know whether that is the exact amount.

Mr. FERGUSON. No, the compromise figure was \$8,957,000, which is the amount of adjudicated claims actually ready for payment at the time of the hearings.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I should like to make a suggestion which may solve the matter and which would do no injustice to some who may be interested. Let us insert the figure of \$9,000,000 in lieu of the House figure of \$14,800,000. It will then go to conference the amount can there be adjusted and some of the claims can be paid. It would do no injustice to others who could be taken care of through the regular appropriation bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. The committee could consider that question in the regular appropriation bill. Does the Senator from Washington favor the inclusion of \$9,000,000 in this bill?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. The compromise figure for the adjudicated claims is nearly \$9,000,000, to be exact it is \$8,957,000. A few other claims may be allowed by the time this bill becomes a law.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I withdraw my amendment, and move that the figure \$14,800,000 be changed to \$9,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, line 4, it is proposed to strike out the numeral "\$14,800,000", and insert "\$9,000,000."

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, while I am on my feet and the matter is before the Senate I should like to say

that I think the people interested in these claims are to be complimented on the fact that they in every case—and they are all good, loyal American citizens—that have sustained much greater damage than the amount of the compromises made in connection with their claims. They are to be complimented upon their cooperation in trying to get this matter settled.

In 1942 we made a great mistake when, at the request of the military, we bundled up these loyal American Japanese and placed them in internment camps. It cost us millions of dollars to take care of them. Hearings were held, and practically nothing at all wrong was found with the internees. We dislocated their lives. Many of them were even unable to return to the places from which they came. In their enforced absence, there was vandalism and the destruction of their property, including their gardens and lands and farm machinery. In this case, although we are not doing full justice, I think they are at least more than entitled to what they are to receive under this bill. I think they are to be commended.

I shall never forget that, in 1941, following the Pearl Harbor incident, I saw certain Japanese friends and neighbors of mine being bundled up and taken to jail, later to be placed in internment camps. They were loyal Japanese. Then, a few weeks later, upon my arrival at a place 3,000 miles nearer the enemy, the Japanese Imperial Government, I found Japanese in Hawaii doing guard work, free to carry on as they had done before. It seemed a little bit incongruous and somewhat paradoxical to see loyal Japanese on the west coast being removed from their homes and placed in internment camps, and then to find them allowed to do anything they wished in Hawaii. They did a good job in Hawaii during the war. The National Guard, which was mainly composed of Japanese, guarded the water works, the light installations, and things of that sort. So, although this is not full compensation to these people for what they suffered then, and what they have suffered since their internment, I think we are at least doing something for them. I wish to commend them publicly for their cooperation throughout this entire matter. I think a grave mistake was made at the time action was taken against them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Washington to the House provision.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is now, on the committee amendment, on page 5, line 3, striking out the provision for salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the only other committee item which remains is on the same page, namely, page 5, line 8, where the committee proposes to strike out the numeral "\$2,610,000" and insert "\$4,000,000," which is the amount allowed

by the House committee. The budget estimate was \$4,600,000. The House committee cut off \$600,000, but determined that \$4,000,000 was required in order to carry out the duties imposed upon the Immigration and Naturalization Service, particularly with respect to the deportation of the so-called wetbacks. I think the action of the committee was sound and that it ought to be sustained.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the committee amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, line 8, it is proposed by the committee to strike out "\$2,610,000" and insert "\$4,000,000."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, this is a matter which has been before the House. The House placed the figure at \$2,610,000, which would pay the costs of the increase in pay. This is a large item. It is only supplemental to the larger item of \$30,159,900. A problem exists between Mexico and the United States which is difficult of solution.

Estimates are made from time to time, and reliable figures seem to indicate that 750,000 persons a year are illegally crossing the border from Mexico into the United States. The Immigration Service has been stumped as to what to do. It is a difficult problem to solve. They try to use the idea we used to employ when we desired to get rid of a cat. We would take the cat in a bag, in the buggy or the automobile, as the case might be, and drive as far as we could and then let the cat out of the bag. We then drove home, and a few hours after we arrived home the cat would be back. What we are trying to do in Mexico is to load illegal entrants into airplanes, fly them as far as we can into Mexico and then let them out, thinking they will not come back. As soon as they can walk back, or as soon as they can get enough money to get transportation back to the border, they come back again and cross the border.

What are we going to do? We are told by the Immigration Service that the problem cannot be solved by putting up prisons, because so many people would be in prison that we would not be able to feed them.

I am wondering whether more of those living south of the border could not be induced to make legal entry. We shall be using more than a million dollars in the next 2½ months to get Mexican laborers into our country legally, and at the same time the Department is asking for \$4,000,000 for the next 2½ months to keep illegal entrants out.

I think the question requires very deep study. We have got to find an answer to the problem. The subcommittee charged with solving this problem should look into it well. It is a congressional problem. We must establish a policy. If the only solution is to fly illegal entrants back into Mexico so far as to make it difficult for them to walk back to the border again, that is the way it will have to be done. But I think the committee ought to give the matter further study. The House reduced the item to \$2,610,000. They said, "We will increase the pay of the employees we have on the particular job." It is a job on which we

have spent \$30,159,900 so far this year. The item of \$2,610,000 is for pay increases only.

I think the Senate should do exactly what the House did, increase the pay, because it is a statutory increase, and allow the item to wait until we discover what should be done. I hope the committee amendment increasing the appropriation to \$4,000,000 will be rejected.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, my primary concern is this: If we are to have legal immigration from Mexico, it must be by agreement with the Mexican Government. The Mexican Government has insisted that it will not make arrangements whereby agricultural labor can be recruited inside the Republic of Mexico unless we adequately enforce the law when Mexicans leave their own country and come illegally into the United States.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. What is Mexico doing to keep the wetbacks out? As I understand, they are called wetbacks because they swim across the river and when they land in the United States they have wet backs. Is that correct?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is the origin of the expression.

Mr. FERGUSON. What are we doing to prevent them from swimming across the river?

Mr. HAYDEN. There is no duty on the part of Mexico to enforce the immigration laws of the United States.

Mr. FERGUSON. But Mexico has a duty to object to persons illegally leaving that country. The wetbacks do not have passports from Mexico. Mexico owes a duty to keep its citizens from leaving Mexico.

Mr. HAYDEN. We do not require passports from Mexico any more than we require them from Canada. A Canadian citizen can cross the border when he pleases and return when he pleases. The crime to which we object is that of seeking employment in the United States at wage rates which are below the American standard of living, competing not only in agriculture but in the industrial field in Michigan and other States, where the illegal entrants are willing to work for less money because they know that if the employer reports them they can be deported.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is not the principal difficulty that American farmers want to hire many of them at a lower wage than the average wage, and Mexicans find an incentive to come across the border and be employed, not through regular channels but through illegal channels? Is not that the problem?

Mr. HAYDEN. That may be the problem, but if we properly enforce the law there will be less difficulty. Congress enacted the Ellender bill which covers the question both ways. When the House Committee on Appropriations looked into the matter and decided that the sum of \$4,000,000 was necessary, the action taken on the floor of the House was along the line of that taken theretofore, without reflection on the part of the membership of the House. The general

impression is that it was those who did not want the Ellender Act to succeed, but wanted to have wetbacks come into this country illegally, who urged the amendment in the House.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. The so-called Ellender Act expires on December 31 of next year, and unless funds are provided to carry out the law, it is possible that no Mexican labor, which is so much needed now, will be imported into this country.

Mr. FERGUSON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. Certainly.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is it not true that Mexico says, "If you allow these people to come to the United States illegally we shall not make a contract with you in relation to those who desire to come legally?" Is not that the problem?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is partly the reason why Congress had to amend the so-called Ellender Act this year.

Mr. FERGUSON. Why does not Mexico cooperate with us?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mexico has actually failed to carry out her part of the agreement. Under Mexican law, as I understand, if a wetback is returned from this country to Mexico he can be punished. But, so far, the Mexican Government has taken no steps to enforce its own law. I will say to my distinguished friend from Michigan that we are in this situation: Unless we are willing to carry out the law which was recently enacted, the probabilities are that a contract which now exists between the United States and Mexico will expire on the 30th of this month. After that, the Mexican Government will absolutely refuse to enter into an agreement. If that shall occur, there will be a shortage of labor which is so necessary to handle the cotton crop and other crops which are being planted or are in the process of growing.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. Does the appropriation contemplate flying wetbacks into Mexico?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. That is what a part of this money is for.

Mr. EASTLAND. Does not the Senator believe that flying is a most expensive form of transportation, and that it is the very height of folly to pick up wet backs on the American side of the border and return them to Mexico by airplane?

Mr. FERGUSON. From the knowledge I now have, I do not believe it is a practice that should be followed. As the Senator from Louisiana has said, we are using a most expensive method of returning illegal entrant people, when we ought to have the cooperation of the Mexican Government. It is a crime for them to leave Mexico illegally, and when they are taken back across the border they are supposed to be punished.

Mr. EASTLAND. Does not the Senator believe wetbacks could be trans-

ported to Mexico by rail much cheaper than by airplane?

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, I think much cheaper.

Mr. EASTLAND. Does the Senator from Michigan know that a great many Mexicans who are in this country illegally show themselves around immigration offices, so that they can be flown back to Mexico on personal business? They spend their week ends in Mexico at the expense of the United States Government, then they wade the river and are back at work in the United States on Monday morning.

Mr. FERGUSON. I did not know that, but when we consider that about 750,000 a year are coming into the United States illegally, the Senator could be right in his facts, and I take it for granted he is, and knows what he is talking about.

Mr. EASTLAND. I may say to the Senator that I have spent a good deal of time on the border, and it is considered a joke there that wetbacks show themselves around immigration offices and deliberately permit themselves to be picked up and returned to Mexico, frequently by plane.

I know of the instance of a Mexican who desired to take money to his parents in old Mexico. He walked around in front of an immigration office in the town of Del Rio, Tex., was picked up and flown into Mexico to the town where his parents lived. He delivered the money, and was back at work on the American side on Monday, 2 days later. That is an illustration of what is happening under the foolish plan of transporting wetbacks into Mexico by plane.

Mr. FERGUSON. I assume that is what the House had in mind when they said, "We will grant an increase in the amount, but will cut out certain items, and will have to make a further study of this matter, because it is a problem that must be solved." However, I do not think it will be solved by flying wetbacks into Mexico.

Mr. EASTLAND. Is it not a waste of money to fly them back when they can be transported by railroad or motor truck? Would we not fulfill all our obligations under the agreement with Mexico by using rail or truck?

Mr. FERGUSON. Does not the Senator from Mississippi feel we have fulfilled our obligation when we have returned them across the river and delivered them to Mexican authorities?

Mr. EASTLAND. Certainly.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield the floor.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I wish to ask a question of the Senator from Michigan. Is it not a fact that at the time the bill was passed permitting Mexican nationals to enter this country a majority of this body voted for the bill which would permit them to come in legally?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; but we are not debating that. The question of the legal entry is contained in another item of the bill.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes; but there has been talk about the Mexican wetbacks coming into the United States. At the

time we were debating the bill which would permit them to come in legally, it was proposed by me that the way in which this question could be solved would be to employ American nationals instead of Mexican nationals.

Mr. FERGUSON. I remember that debate by the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I wish to assure the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Mississippi that this question can be solved completely without the expenditure of one cent of American money either on Mexican wetbacks or Mexican nationals, by employing only American citizens, such as boys who might have brothers in service in Korea or elsewhere, and by paying them American wages.

There are plenty of people out of work, but the Congress of the United States, in its wisdom or foolishness, is now permitting aliens to enter this country, possibly because aliens can be paid a few cents less in wages.

There are thousands of Indians—

Mr. FERGUSON. Who should be employed on these projects.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Who could be employed, and who I insist should be employed. I agree with the Senator. American boys are now dying for their country to try to sell that idea in some instances. But the preference seems to be for Mexican wetbacks or Mexican legal entrants, because they are treated differently, and then there is a complaint about sending them back to Mexico.

I wish to assure the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Mississippi that the way to solve the problem is not by complaining about legal expenses which have to be met after a law is passed. The way to solve the problem is by employing American citizens.

Puerto Rico has a population of 2,500,000. Many Puerto Ricans are dying in Korea. A Puerto Rican triple amputee is now at Walter Reed Hospital. Why not use Puerto Ricans? They need the work. Why not employ our own citizens?

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator believe the solution is to fly the wetbacks into Mexico?

Mr. CHAVEZ. No. The solution is to make it impossible to fly them back. Let us employ Americans in place of the Mexicans. If Mexicans come in illegally, let them be turned over to the Immigration Service. Let them be put on the border, and have the Mexican Government, or any other foreign government, take care of them. That is the solution. But if they are employed legally, or if some are employed illegally, the solution is not to pay their expenses to the interior of Mexico.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is there not now a law to cope with the situation of a person who enters the country illegally, whether he be a Mexican, a European, or any other foreigner?

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes. We take such people before a court, if they are not citizens, and the United States court makes a decision that they be deported.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The law is complied with when the alien is placed on the border. That is as much as we can do, under the law now on the statute books.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator know of any law that permits an alien to be flown hundreds of miles into Mexico?

Mr. CHAVEZ. No; I do not know of a single law to that effect.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is the purpose for which it is intended we should appropriate this money.

Mr. CHAVEZ. There is a law, the last law on the subject which we passed, the one we are now appropriating a little money to implement, to put into execution, the law to which the Senator from Louisiana referred.

It is true that there was a shortage of labor, as a result of which Congress enacted a law making it possible for Mexican nationals to come into this country legally. An understanding, or contract or agreement was made between the United States Government and the Mexican Government as to how those Mexicans were to enter this country, where they were to be picked up, how they were to be treated while they were here, and how they were to be returned. That is the legal phase of it. What I understand the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Mississippi are talking about is illegal entry of the so-called wetbacks.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct; the reference is to the wetbacks.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The poor pauper, who knows he can get 25 cents an hour in this country, which is big money to him, is taking a chance by walking across the river, or coming in in any way he can, in order to get here illegally, not by means of a passport, or through any legal authority. He comes into the United States and when he is picked up in the interior of the country, he is flown back to Mexico. I do not think there is any authority at all for that.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is exactly what is being done. They are not given a trial; they are merely flown back to Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I do not know about that, but if they are being flown beyond the border of the United States, I do not think there is any authority for that.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I indicated a moment ago, if the provisions of the law which was passed last year, and amended this year, are to be carried out, in order to make available to the farmers of the United States sufficient labor to cultivate and harvest their crops, it is necessary to provide funds to enforce the law.

It will be recalled that the Mexican Government was unwilling to enter into an agreement with the United States for a longer period than 6 months, because it felt that the United States Government should lend further aid in trying to fight the so-called wetback problem.

This year the Congress passed an amendment to the act. The agreement which was entered into last year, and which expired in February, has been extended, as I understand, until May 31. Unless we provide the funds to assist in trying to solve the wetback problem, the chances are that the agreement now in existence between the United States and Mexico will not be renewed.

If that agreement is not renewed, I fear that there will be a shortage of labor, to such an extent that much of the cotton, much of the beets which are grown in the Northwest, and, in fact, many other crops throughout the United States, will not be harvested.

I am hopeful that the Senate will at least stand by the figures which were agreed upon by the House Committee on Appropriations. The amount of \$4,000,000 was recommended by the House committee, and it was on the floor of the House that the reduction was made. When the subject came before the full Senate Committee on Appropriations the amount which was originally reported by the House committee was restored. I am hopeful that the Senate will stand by the figures recommended by the Senate committee, and thereby make it possible for our Government to enter into negotiations with the Mexican Government so that we can contract for labor at least during the existence of the present law.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I want to go along with the Committee on Appropriations in connection with this item. There has been some confusion this afternoon as to what was in mind. Whether we like the law which is now in existence or not, it is law. I argued against the passage of that law, but in accordance with the processes which prevail in this country the Congress enacted that law, which permits a Mexican alien to come into this country legally and work in the farm industry.

There is no question that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] is correct. There is a shortage of labor in carrying on agricultural activities. I am not one of those who believe that the provisions of the law afford a solution for labor shortages in that industry. Nevertheless, that is the way which Congress has provided, for the moment, at least, and so long as it is the law it certainly behooves the Congress to see that it is enforced.

All that the item does is to make available to the Department sufficient money so that it can perform the duty which the Congress imposed upon it, that is, the duty of bringing Mexican nationals into this country so that they may work on the farms. The confusion has arisen because the wetback element has been brought in, which is an entirely different question and has no connection whatsoever with the discussion of this item. However, inasmuch as it has been discussed, I thought I would clarify the situation so that we might at least know for what we are voting.

The wetback problem is no different from the problem in connection with the illegal entry of any person from any other country. The wetback problem concerns those who would come into the country illegally. Entry into the country by illegal processes can apply to any nation in the world, including Mexico. That is a question which must be handled separately by the Congress if we want to control that problem. We all have our ideas as to how it should be controlled. In my opinion, so far as the wetback problem is concerned, I thought it could be controlled if we em-

ployed Americans instead of wetbacks. I am still of that opinion. But that is another question.

The question involved in this particular item, which the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] has placed before the Senate, and for which the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] has argued, is a question which must be considered if we believe in the laws which we pass. Congress enacted the law referred to, and it should be executed. I hope we can at least keep the House figures in the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 5, line 8.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to further amendment.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 49, after line 19, it is proposed to strike out through line 20, on page 50, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Sec. 1302. Section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress is hereby repealed.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the effect of the amendment just offered would be to repeal the so-called Whitten rider.

The Whitten rider has been in effect for approximately 19 months and in that relatively short time has had a devastating effect on the administrative operations of the executive branch of the Government.

Well over 300,000 of our career employees have lost their civil-service status due to this rider.

The rate of turn-over in Federal employment is at its highest.

Federal employee morale is at its lowest ebb since the inception of the civil-service merit system.

The provisions of the rider are subject to many interpretations and have seriously hampered administrative operation.

The complexity of the separation process has been similarly increased. In operation, the Whitten rider has caused long-time career employees to be displaced by new employees with relatively little service.

The rider has greatly increased the amount of red tape and paper work necessary to administer a personnel program.

In operation, the Whitten rider has actually caused the unnecessary expenditure of many millions of dollars.

I fail to understand how Congress can continue to enact such legislation of a permanent nature on appropriation bills, when the committees of Congress, under whose jurisdiction matters of this nature come, having spent thousands of dollars analyzing their effectiveness, recommend so strongly against their enactment.

This recommendation has the unqualified endorsement of almost every official of the executive branch of the Govern-

ment having anything to do with the operation of that branch. It has also been requested by every organized group representing Federal employees and through thousands of letters to every Member of Congress.

I agree with most of the objectives of the members of the House Appropriations Committee, which caused the enactment of the Whitten rider. But I am firmly of the opinion that the language in it or any of its amendments will do the job at the least cost to the Government.

The chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission in an attempt to determine what the policy of the Commission would be in the event the Congress adopts the amendment that I now propose.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point this exchange of correspondence.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1952.

Hon. ROBERT RAMSPECK,
Chairman, United States
Civil Service Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN RAMSPECK: The committee would like to know, in general, what procedures would be followed and what rules and regulations would be established by the Civil Service Commission with respect to appointments, transfers, promotions, and reinstatements during the continuation of this emergency period in the event section 1310 of the Appropriations Act of 1952 (the Whitten rider) is repealed during this session of the Congress.

The committee would appreciate your furnishing this information by Tuesday, April 1, if possible.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,
OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
Chairman, Post Office and
Civil Service Committee.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1952.

Hon. OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR JOHNSTON: I have your letter of March 25, asking for a general report as to what procedures would be followed and what rules and regulations would be established by the Civil Service Commission with respect to appointments, transfers, promotions, and reinstatements during the continuation of this emergency period in the event section 1310 of the Appropriations Act, 1952 (the Whitten rider), is repealed during this session of the Congress.

Before reply to your specific question, it might be well to review briefly here the nature and purpose of the major provisions of the Whitten rider. These are, as we see them:

1. A requirement that initial appointments to positions in the Federal service shall be made on a temporary or indefinite basis in order to prevent increases in the number of permanent personnel above the total number of permanent employees existing on September 1, 1950. The purpose of this is to simplify the readjustment downward of the Federal force at the end of the emergency.

2. A requirement that all promotions be made on a temporary basis. This provision is intended to prevent the upgrading of the

Federal force during the emergency and to facilitate the readjustment of the grades of employees following the termination of the emergency.

3. A requirement that all reinstatements be made on a temporary basis. This requirement, like that in (1) above, is aimed at keeping the permanent force at the pre-emergency level.

4. A provision for encouraging the transfer of employees from nondefense to defense activities, principally through the grant of reemployment rights. This is aimed at assisting defense activities to meet their recruitments needs.

5. Specific time and grade restrictions on promotions. These requirements are designed to prevent excessively rapid promotions.

6. A provision for survey of the grades and basic-pay levels of Federal positions on an annual basis. This survey is designed to bring about the elimination or readjustment of the grade or basic salary of the positions as changes in, or elimination of, emergency functions make such actions appropriate.

I wish to point out that in presenting the program outlined later in this report we have been unable, within the time allotted, to have the program as a whole given the very careful and deliberate review by the Federal Personnel Council, the Defense Department, and other agencies concerned, and the Commission itself, that would normally be required for a program of this magnitude. Our planning and discussions with interested groups until now have been based on the assumption that a modified form of the Whitten rider would be enacted. Many of the points in the program outlined herein have been developed from our earlier planning and consultation with those groups. I believe that it should be made clear that if the Commission is free to adopt a program without the restrictions of the Whitten rider it would take further steps to consult with interested organizations and agencies concerning the program as a whole and might revise the program to some degree in the light of the representations made by those organizations and agencies. Also, it would in the future review and change or revise its program as changing circumstances warrant in accordance with our best judgment of the kind of personnel program required by the Federal Government. For that reason, I request that the committee, while considering this report as reflecting the current thinking of the Commission, nevertheless, consider it as a report of a tentative program.

We have been influenced in preparing this report by a number of assumptions as to the nature of the current emergency as it reflects on personnel administration in the Federal Government. It may be of interest to the committee to outline these assumptions:

1. The current emergency is a limited one in contrast to the all-out emergency we had during World War II. (We have kept in mind the possibility that it may turn into an all-out emergency.) We will have a military force of approximately 3,700,000 and a defense production capacity to maintain that military force and to furnish certain military equipment to other countries. In World War II there was an all-out effort, and after the war was over there was an equally short and rapid reduction in the size of our Armed Forces, our Federal civil service, and our Nation's defense production.

2. The current emergency is indefinite in duration whereas the emergency in World War II was definitely limited in duration. We cannot foresee a specific point in time when the current emergency will end. It may continue for 10, 15, or 20 years.

3. During this emergency there will be a continuous flow of persons away from the

national labor supply into the military service as well as return to the national labor supply from the military service. The return of veterans to the civilian labor supply will take place continuously during the emergency; we do not foresee total demobilization at one time as occurred immediately following World War II. Likewise, we do not foresee a sudden sharp decline in the size of the Federal civilian force; rather, that decline will be gradual over a relatively long period of time.

With the above qualifications and based on the indicated assumptions it would be the Commission's intent to adopt the following type of program with respect to appointments, promotions, reinstatements, and transfers in the event the Whitten rider is repealed during this session of Congress:

A. APPOINTMENTS

Following the passage of the first Whitten rider and acting under the authority of Executive Order 10180 the Commission adopted on December 1, 1950, a program for making initial appointments to the competitive civil service on a nonpermanent basis with very few exceptions. While it would have been legally permissible to make a larger number of permanent appointments the Commission believed that it was necessary in order to meet the recruiting needs of the defense agencies to limit sharply the number of permanent appointments. The defense agencies had to build their forces far above the September 1, 1950, level whereas the non-defense agencies did not generally do so. Without the general limitation on permanent appointments the nondefense agencies would have had an advantage in recruitment over defense agencies in view of their ability to offer permanent appointments.

On the whole this program worked well under the circumstances at the beginning of the emergency. Lately, however, the Commission has been increasingly concerned with the fact that the size of the permanent force is declining sharply. With the prospect of a long-term emergency continuation of the present program would eventually create a need for a costly reconversion program at the end of the emergency.

It would be our intent, should the Whitten rider be repealed, to adopt the appointment program below. In planning this program we have given careful consideration to other alternatives and to the views of interested Members of Congress. At the same time we have been concerned that, insofar as possible, the program be such as not to place the defense agencies at the disadvantage in recruiting. The Commission believes it would be well to continue a limitation on the total number of permanent employees in the Federal Government, such as that contained in the Whitten rider. It plans to maintain that or a comparable limitation. Our appointment program would be:

1. Permanent type appointments would be authorized in the postal field service. The recruitment for this service can be undertaken under a permanent appointment program without disadvantage to the defense agencies.

2. Generally, a new type of competitive appointment would be authorized in the rest of the service. These would be called civil service reserve appointments. They would grant the appointees civil service status but only indefinite tenure. In this way the permanent force (comprising those employees having permanent tenure) could be kept below the September 1, 1950, or comparable level, while at the same time maintaining a uniform appointment system which would not place the defense agencies at a disadvantage.

3. Appointees serving under civil service reserve appointments could be converted to permanent tenure without further examination. This could be done periodically or

at the termination of the emergency. Any conversions during the emergency would be limited by the limitation on the total number of permanent employees.

B. PROMOTIONS

1. Permanent promotions

The objective of the Whitten rider requirement that all promotions shall be made on a temporary basis is sound. However, this requirement has proved extremely cumbersome in operation and inequitable in its treatment of career employees as against new appointees.

The objective of the requirement is to prevent the permanent up-grading of the force and to simplify readjustments at the end of the emergency. The Commission believes that this objective can be achieved in a more equitable and orderly manner through over-all control of the number of permanent employees in the service and through the review and readjustment of grades of positions under authority of the Classification Act of 1949. As long as the requirement for temporary promotions is continued, the Commission sees no equitable and feasible method of permitting on a large scale permanent appointments up to the September 1, 1950, or comparable level. Such a program would give new appointees superior rights in reductions in force over career employees temporarily promoted.

Accordingly, the Commission would, if permitted by law, make provision for permanent employees to be promoted on a permanent basis.

2. Control of rapidity of promotions

The Commission is in thorough agreement with the policy expressed in the Whitten rider that excessively rapid promotions should be prevented. The specific time and grade requirements have, however, proved inequitable in many situations.

The Commission's program would be to continue effective control so that there would not be excessively rapid promotions. Our basic check on the rapidity of promotions of Government employees would be adherence to sound qualifications standards. During World War II there was some justifiable criticism in this respect since the Commission had not at that time published qualifications standards governing a great many of the wartime positions. Since the war, however, the Commission has prepared and published qualifications standards covering practically every occupational field found in the competitive service, and agencies are required to adhere to these standards when making promotions. I would also like to point out that our qualifications standards generally require that an employee serve a specified period of time in a lower grade before he is eligible for promotion to a higher grade.

It would also be the program of the Commission to continue through its authority under the Classification Act of 1949 the requirements for review and readjustment of the grades of positions under the Classification Act to approximately the same extent as now required by the Whitten rider.

C. REINSTATEMENTS

It is the opinion of the Commission that career employees returning to the service during this emergency should be permitted to do so on a permanent basis. The number of these cases is so small in comparison with the total recruitment picture that there would be little effect on the size of the permanent force. It would, therefore, be our program to permit reinstatements on a permanent basis.

D. TRANSFERS

The Commission would continue the present policy set forth in the Whitten rider of encouraging the transfers of employees from nondefense to defense activities, principally through the grant of reemployment rights.

However, it would be our intent to periodically review the reemployment rights program as recruitment needs of defense activities increase or diminish.

Thank you for this opportunity to submit our views on the question you have presented. I shall be very happy to give you further information if you desire.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT RAMSPECK,
Chairman.

Mr. PASTORE. I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the Senate the fact that in the event the proposed amendment is accepted by the Senate it would not mean the wiping out of the intent of the Whitten rider. We have certain assurances from the Civil Service Commission which I believe constitute the intent of Congress with respect to the subject, namely, that the Commission is making certain recommendations which, for the purpose of emphasis, I shall now read from the Commission's letter at page 4. This is what the Civil Service Commission would do in the event the Whitten rider were repealed:

1. Permanent-type appointments would be authorized in the postal field service. The recruitment for this service can be undertaken under a permanent appointment program without disadvantage to the defense agencies.

2. Generally, a new type of competitive appointment would be authorized in the rest of the service. These would be called civil service reserve appointments. They would grant the appointees civil-service status but only indefinite tenure. In this way the permanent force (comprising those employees having permanent tenure) could be kept below the September 1, 1950, or comparable level while at the same time maintaining a uniform appointment system which would not place the defense agencies at a disadvantage.

3. Appointees serving under civil service reserve appointments could be converted to permanent tenure without further examination. This could be done periodically or at the termination of the emergency. Any conversions during the emergency would be limited by the limitation on the total number of permanent employees.

With reference to promotions:

1. Permanent promotions: The objective of the Whitten rider requirement that all promotions shall be made on a temporary basis is sound. However, this requirement has proved extremely cumbersome in operation and inequitable in its treatment of career employees as against new appointees.

The objective of the requirement is to prevent the permanent upgrading of the force and to simplify readjustments at the end of the emergency. The Commission believes that this objective can be achieved in a more equitable and orderly manner through overall control of the number of permanent employees in the service and through the review and readjustment of grades of positions under authority of the Classification Act of 1949. As long as the requirement for temporary promotions is continued, the Commission sees no equitable and feasible method of permitting on a large scale permanent appointments up to the September 1, 1950, or comparable level. Such a program would give new appointees superior rights in reductions in force over career employees temporarily promoted.

Accordingly, the Commission would, if permitted by law, make provisions for permanent employees to be promoted on a permanent basis.

Mr. President, in our opinion the provision outlined in the Ramspeck letter will accomplish in full the intentions of Congress which caused the enactment of the Whitten rider. Above all, it will give to the Civil Service Commission sufficient flexibility which is essential in adjusting to unusual or changing conditions.

In the interest of economy in operations, lifting morale of Federal employees, and restoring good, sound business principles to the operation of the executive branch, I ask the Senate to go on record in sufficient numbers this afternoon to insure the repeal of this rider and to make certain that our action prevails in conference on H. R. 6947. I fully intend to raise objection to any conference report which does not retain the Senate amendment in the report.

Mr. President, our committee had eliminated the Whitten rider when it was originally suggested in 1950—I believe that was the year—but it was restored in conference.

I wish to leave this final thought. While there has been a certain relaxation of the original Whitten rider in the bill reported by the Senate committee, the fact remains that it does not do an adequate or a full and complete job. We know what the original objective and purpose of the Whitten rider was. The objective and purpose would be preserved by the Civil Service Commission if the rider were repealed. We have the assurance that the Commission would carry out the intention of the Whitten rider. Yet the Commission would have the flexibility which is absolutely necessary for it to have in order to carry out, in an intelligent and orderly fashion, the objective and purpose which were originally intended.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Assuming that the Post Office Department is in a different category from other departments and agencies which have been established to meet emergency conditions, because as the country has grown the business of the Post Office Department has increased would the Senator from Rhode Island feel, as a thoughtful citizen and efficient member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, that an amendment should be adopted which would exempt the Post Office Department from the provision of the Whitten rider?

Mr. PASTORE. I would accept it as an alternative. However, we have an expression by the Civil Service Commission to the effect that if the Whitten rider is repealed they will hold the permanent structure within the figure of September 1, 1950. Therefore, with that assurance, in a sense of fairness and uniformity and equity I feel that we ought to repeal the Whitten rider completely. If that cannot be done—and I certainly hope that it can be done—I would be more than happy to accept the alternative suggested by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield further?

Mr. PASTORE. I am glad to yield further to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Assuming that some injustices exist in some of the other departments, which no doubt will be eliminated by the Commission, the situation in the Post Office Department forms the main objection to the Whitten rider, as I understand. Is that correct?

Mr. PASTORE. I cannot go along with the statement that it is the main objection. The Post Office Department has made the representation that the Whitten rider hampers it in recruitment. Although it has been stated that the same situation does not exist insofar as the Post Office Department is concerned, nevertheless it should be noted, to the credit of the Post Office Department, that in the case of employment it is not in competition with the defense agencies, although some of the other Government agencies may be.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. So from the point of view of the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, it would help if we were to remove the Post Office Department from the application of this provision, although the Senator from Rhode Island would like, as I understand him, to have us go the whole way. Is that correct?

Mr. PASTORE. Yes, I should like to have us go the whole way.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield to me?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I should like to clarify one point. In Chairman Ramspeck's letter to me, Senators will find that he states that if the Whitten rider is repealed, he will do certain things. We wanted to know that they would be done, in order to protect the Government. We think the Whitten rider and other provisions would have a good effect, but we think this matter could better be handled by the Civil Service Commission.

Chairman Ramspeck also states that if the Whitten rider is repealed, the Post Office Department will be entirely removed from its effect. Therefore, as I see it, that letter clarifies the entire matter.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield to me, to permit me to ask a further question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If we repeal entirely the Whitten rider, what will the situation be? I have great respect for Mr. Ramspeck, whom I know. However, if the Whitten rider is repealed, all pressure on the Civil Service Commission to accomplish these results will be removed, and, on the contrary, the Civil Service Commission will then be under

great pressure not to accomplish these results.

Therefore will not the Civil Service Commission be left in a better position if we include this legislative provision, with the result that the Commission will be forced to handle these matters in the way in which we desire to have them handled?

Mr. PASTORE. If that is the best we can do, I suppose we shall have to be satisfied with it. However, the fact remains that the Whitten rider, which now is on the statute books, is hampering both recruitment and administration. For that reason practically every witness before our committee was critical of the Whitten rider.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield to me?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. How does the Whitten rider prevent recruitment insofar as promotions are concerned? The Whitten rider really does not interfere with them.

Mr. PASTORE. Yes; it does. Let me give this example: If a civil-service employee has a permanent status and if he applies for promotion to a higher grade, he cannot apply for promotion within a period of 12 months to a grade that is higher by one than the one he presently occupies. Yet a person recruited from the outside can take that grade without any handicap.

Mr. FERGUSON. A new employee simply could not do that. The purpose of the Whitten amendment is to prevent outside persons from entering the Government service in the upper grades as permanent employees.

Mr. PASTORE. No person enters the Government service as a permanent employee. However, if a man is in GS-7, and if he has been in that grade for 6 months, he cannot be promoted to GS-9; the only promotion he can receive is to GS-8, and he can be promoted to that grade only after a period of 12 months.

On the other hand, a person who has not previously been in the Government service can be recruited on the streets and can apply for the GS-9 position, and can occupy it.

Mr. FERGUSON. But he cannot obtain permanent employment.

Mr. PASTORE. No; but today all appointments are temporary.

Mr. FERGUSON. Has not provision already been made for striking out the part of the Whitten amendment the Senator from Rhode Island wishes to have stricken out?

Mr. PASTORE. No; for I want to have all of the Whitten amendment stricken out.

I have already said it is a step in the proper direction and it does remedy somewhat the situation, but it is not a complete answer to the problem. The problem can be met more sensibly and in a better and more businesslike fashion if it is handled by means of rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission, when accompanied by a strong statement by the Congress that the permanent force must be kept within the figure of September 1, 1950.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield for a question?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. THYE. There can be no question that the Whitten amendment has made it impossible for the Post Office Department to function properly and to obtain qualified workers, in the sense that they are efficient workers, because the new employees know they are only temporarily employed. As a result, many persons will not seek opportunities to become employed in the Post Office Department, because they know they cannot obtain permanent employment status. Therefore, the Post Office Department is unable to attract the best class of workers. That is one objection which I have found to the Whitten amendment.

The other objections which I have recognized to the Whitten amendment are in respect to all the permanent agencies. In that case the Whitten amendment has created an administrative problem that is most difficult of solution, and it has the effect of not attracting the best type of workers. In the case of the war agencies or, as we might call them, the temporary crisis agencies, the Whitten amendment is serving a useful purpose, because in that respect neither the Civil Service Commission nor any other Government agency is permitted to establish permanent civil-service status for the employees of those agencies.

However, if the Whitten amendment could be amended so as to apply to the so-called emergency agencies of the Government, but not to be effective as against the permanent agencies, and if at the same time there was included in the report a strong statement to the effect that the Post Office Department is to function in accordance with the intent of the Whitten amendment, then we would have an administrative measure which would render a service to the country rather than a disservice.

Mr. PASTORE. That is exactly what we intend to do. In that connection, I should like to call the Senator's attention to page 4.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Rhode Island will permit me to do so, I should like to state further that the very ruling of the Civil Service Commission regarding the intent and effect of the original Whitten amendment makes us somewhat distrustful of what the Civil Service Commission is likely to do in the event we remove all the barriers and the Civil Service Commission is permitted to proceed in its own way. That is the question with which we are faced in this instance.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Let me say that is the reason why I wrote the letter to Chairman Ramspeck. In reply to my letter, I have received his letter in which he states what he would do. We are placing in the Record his letter in which he states what he will do and how he will proceed.

We should permit the Commission to proceed, in exactly the way stated a few

minutes ago by the Senator from Rhode Island, to carry out the intent and purposes of the Whitten rider. That is what Chairman Ramspeck told us he will do; he has set that forth in his letter.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, if we knew that would be the administrative arrangement and procedure, we would have no fear. However, we are fearful that if we make such action permissive on the part of the various agencies, including the Civil Service Commission, they will follow the specific language of the Civil Service Act, to the effect that when an employee is on the job and has served his probationary period, he will be eligible for employment in a permanent status, and, when qualified for promotion, will be eligible to be promoted to the upper grades. All those are matters of the civil-service law.

If no better law is provided, the question is whether the Civil Service Commission will disregard the intent of Congress in the case of the permanent agencies, and will proceed to bring in new employees and to put them through their probationary periods and then will proceed to qualify them for employment on a permanent basis. That is the question we must consider insofar as the temporary agencies of the Government are concerned. If employees of those agencies are frozen into the Government service, later they will be transferred to some of the permanent agencies, with the result of forcing out of Government employment persons who have just entered the permanent agencies on a probationary basis. In that way the present employees of the emergency agencies will be frozen into jobs in the permanent agencies and there they will do work which some of the qualified, deserving employees of the permanent agencies, who still are on what might be termed a probationary basis, are performing today.

Those are questions which we cannot and should not overlook.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I understand exactly what the Senator from Minnesota fears. That is why I wanted to add the letter of Chairman Ramspeck to this discussion today, in order that it might show what the intent of the Commission was, and how he intended to carry out the Whitten rider.

Mr. THYE. I still contend that, in case of an employee of OPS who has served for 2½ years, if the OPS should be entirely eliminated or disbanded, that employee, having a permanent status, would seek employment in another agency. Ordinarily he would bump an employee who is on probation. Those are questions with which we must concern ourselves.

That is the only reason for my having recognized that there was merit in the Whitten rider. But I also recognized what the Whitten rider was doing to the Post Office Department. I do not believe the Post Office Department is getting more than about 60 percent efficiency from the employees it is now able to employ, because no one is interested in taking a job with the Post Office De-

partment, for the reason that it is known that it would be strictly a temporary job, and that the temporary employee would be subject to being bumped at any time that anyone having permanent status desired to bump him.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I should like to add a further observation to what the distinguished Senator from Minnesota has said. On the present basis, when we are in a period of emergency, and when for that reason all appointments should be of a temporary nature, if we were to use it as a criterion, this emergency might continue for 15 or 20 years, and we would not have any permanent employees. That is what is making it doubly hard for the Federal Government to recruit persons of capacity and qualifications.

Mr. THYE. I have joined with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] in an amendment to the Whitten rider, in respect to postal employees, because we know there is a deficit in that Department. We know that we must obtain 100 percent efficiency from the worker, or there will be a greater deficit. Therefore, insofar as postal employees are concerned, if the Whitten rider remains in the act, we must in some manner correct the situation in which the Post Office Department finds itself. Therefore, I have joined with the Senator from Michigan in this amendment. At the same time I recognize the other problems which the Whitten amendment has created in the Post Office Department, in that the administration of the Whitten rider by the Civil Service Commission within the past year has made that rider absolutely a blockade in solving their personnel problem.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island has the floor.

Mr. PASTORE. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I had the same fear, and, under date of March 25, 1952, I addressed to the Honorable Robert Ramspeck, Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, the following letter:

DEAR CHAIRMAN RAMSPECK: The committee would like to know, in general, what procedures would be followed and what rules and regulations would be established by the Civil Service Commission with respect to appointments, transfers, promotions, and reinstatements during the continuation of this emergency period in the event section 1310 of the Appropriations Act of 1952 (the Whitten rider) is repealed during this session of the Congress.

The committee would appreciate your furnishing this information by Tuesday, April 1, if possible.

In reply to that letter, among other things, Mr. Ramspeck had this to say:

1. Permanent-type appointments would be authorized in the postal field service. The recruitment for this service can be undertaken under a permanent appointment program without disadvantage to the defense agencies.

2. Generally, a new type of competitive appointment would be authorized in the rest of the service. These would be called civil service reserve appointments. They would

grant the appointees civil service status but only indefinite tenure. In this way the permanent force (comprising those employees having permanent tenure) could be kept below the September 1, 1950, or comparable level while at the same time maintaining a uniform appointment system which would not place the defense agencies at a disadvantage.

I think that answers the Senator's question. This goes into the RECORD. This is what he says he will do, in case the Whitten rider is repealed. That clarifies the point, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. PASTORE. I desire to make a further observation. In the event that the intent of the Whitten amendment were not carried out, it would not be very long until Congress would enact something similar to it. After all, this would be more or less a mandate or a declaration to the Commission as to the intent of Congress. I agree with the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I will yield in a moment. I agree with the Senator that we have no written, air-tight guaranty that the intent will be entirely followed. I realize that. But it strikes me that in view of the letter written by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], which asks a very specific, point-blank question, and the answer of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission that this will be their policy and their procedure, it strikes me that we could not get a better assurance than that. I now yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, it has occurred to me that the point made by the Senator from Rhode Island is simply this, that we could correct the situation. Yes, we could. But we never could retrieve the excess of expenditure in which the United States Government would be involved, in the event the Civil Service Commission did not adhere to the provisions of the Whitten rider, and we would have many permanent employees, in the event the Civil Service Commission should not function as the Whitten rider intended it should.

Mr. PASTORE. That is perfectly true. I do not dispute that statement. But it strikes me that with the assurances we have received there would be very little fear of the situation which the Senator from Minnesota suggests.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE].

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, Representative WHITTEN had a very fine idea in mind in proposing his original amendment, but he discovered that, as construed and interpreted by the Civil Service Commission, it was not working as he desired and as he originally proposed. That Commission, originally, before the adoption of the Whitten amendment, instead of doing what is indicated by their letter, did not do a thing about this matter. The Commission does not want on the statute book any law on the subject. Their position is that, if we were to wipe out all law in relation to the pyramided Government

employees, they would take care of the situation themselves. But in my opinion, the time has come when we must act. I think Representative WHITTEN, when he offered his amendment, which is the one now in this particular supplemental bill, took care of the situation contemplated by him. It reads:

Provided further, That, notwithstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission, when requested by the head of the agency involved, may authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious nature.

That would permit the Commission to take care of this situation. I also want to read from the RECORD what Representative WHITTEN said:

Mr. Chairman, these amendments were worked out by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], chairman of the Committee on Civil Service—

That is, of the House of Representatives—

and myself, with the cooperation of representatives of the Civil Service Commission and the Comptroller General.

These amendments—

He is talking now about the amendment which is now sought to be stricken from the bill.

These amendments do not change the basic policy nor objectives of section 1310 of Public Law 253, the so-called Whitten rider.

These amendments, if adopted, will prevent certain interpretations placed on section 1310 of Public Law 253, which were not intended and which, in my judgment, in most cases were not required by that act, from bringing about results not intended.

Mr. PASTORE. I desire to make an observation at this point. If the result was so satisfactory, because it was worked out by Mr. MURRAY and the members of the Commission, why did it not exclude the postal field service?

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall explain that. I am reading what Mr. WHITTEN said:

These amendments preserve the intent to hold the average grade and salary, and to limit the total number of employees to that of September 1, 1950.

As I say, it has been worked out with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MURRAY], and others, and it has also been worked out with the Civil Service Commission representatives, and with the Comptroller General's office.

Mr. President, the Civil Service Commission is interested in wiping it off the statute books, so much so that it has a man now on the floor of the Senate.

I think the time has come when Congress should determine the policy of the United States, rather than that the Civil Service Commission should determine it. That Commission had an opportunity. Originally it could have done this thing, but it would not do it.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, may I make another observation?

Mr. FERGUSON. I decline to yield at the present moment.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I have the floor. I yielded to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not desire to take the floor from the Senator from Rhode Island. I will take it later in my own right, but I want to say that the

Commission had the opportunity to put the policy into effect and did not do it. When Congress acted, the Commission wanted it entirely wiped out.

Mr. President, I do not think we should wipe it from the statute books. I am going to propose a perfecting amendment on behalf of myself, the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE], on page 50, after line 20, to insert at the end of subsection (d) a new subsection (e) reading as follows:

This section shall not apply to the field service of the Post Office Department.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, is the Senator amending my amendment or the committee amendment?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am perfecting the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would ask the Senator from Michigan to send the amendment to the desk, and the clerk will state it.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 50, after line 20, it is proposed to insert at the end of subsection (d) a new subsection (e) reading as follows:

This section shall not apply to the field service of the Post Office Department.

Mr. PASTORE. Is it my amendment which is being perfected, or is it the committee amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is being offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan to perfect the language of the bill.

Mr. PASTORE. The pending amendment is my amendment, is it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This is an amendment to perfect the language, and it takes precedence over the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the rider known as the Whitten amendment or the Whitten rider has been the subject of attack by many departments of the Government. There has been a barrage of propaganda against it. We have now to consider what should be done with the legislation. Three avenues are open. The first is to eliminate it, which would do what the Senator from Rhode Island desires to do. The next would be to retain it in full or to amend it. It would seem that any move that would prevent building up a vast army of permanent Government employees is most desirable. Any move which would force Government agencies to think once again about the all-too-often haphazard method which has characterized much of the hiring and many of the promotions should not be dismissed too lightly. We know what has happened in all departments.

I think there is an exception in the case of mail carriers. Their salaries had not been increased by the so-called emergency pay to any extent, as had salaries in other departments. An evidence that the shoe is pinching is the fairly well organized attempt which is being made to eliminate the rider from the statute books.

It is said that no one has appeared in behalf of the taxpayer. That is true. We do not find any appearances before

the Appropriations Committees in behalf of the taxpayers. It is the tax consumer who appears before the Appropriations Committees. Tax consumers are the ones who are in the employ of the Government, and while they are drawing their salaries from the Government they are appearing before the Commission and before the Appropriations Committees. They are now on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, does the Senator from Michigan attribute that statement to the junior Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, no; the Senator from Michigan does not attribute it to the Senator from Rhode Island. I am talking about what has happened. We find only those who are interested in abolishing the law and further building up bureaucracy appearing before the committee. The person who has not yet obtained a Government job is not interested in paying his way to Washington to protest. Neither is the taxpayer willing to come here at his own expense, except in very rare cases. So I say, Mr. President, that we who represent our respective States have got to represent the taxpayers. We need not think we are going to get help from the bureaus in the pyramided program. They want their employees to become permanent.

I want to be fair in this matter. Personally I believe we should all try to play the game for the best interest of the Nation. For that reason I am suggesting to those who are trying to kill the Whitten rider to hold off, to give it a chance, to let it work and see just how much progress it makes toward its goal—a goal, incidentally, which we in the Senate must admit is earnestly supported by the taxpayers of the Nation.

Representative WHITTEN had the testimony of representatives of the Civil Service Commission and of the Comptroller General. The Commission said that it was in thorough agreement with the policy expressed in the Whitten amendment that excessively rapid promotions should be prevented. That is what Representative WHITTEN was trying to accomplish.

Incidentally, Mr. President, this entire body must watch the growth of bureaucracy and control it.

I said I wanted to be fair, and I hope that what we are trying to do by this perfecting amendment is fair and that the amendment can be worked out with the House. No one could hope that this rider, seeking, as it does, a widespread reform, would be entirely successful immediately. No one can suppose there would not be inequities. So the House and the Senate committees have advanced the proposed amendments to the Whitten rider seeking to eliminate the trouble spots. I hope the Senate will support the proposed changes, and that the perfecting amendment will be adopted, for I sincerely believe it makes an exception which in the provisions of the rider should be made, because without it, the rider is working a hardship not only on employees of the Post Office Department, but on citizens as a whole.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that this amendment applies only to the field service—that is, to employees who sort and deliver the mails.

Because of the operation of the Whitten rider, the right type of employee is not being attracted to the service. I believe most Senators have received complaints indicating that that is the fact, and that it is difficult to get men to enter the field service of the Post Office Department when no permanency of employment can be offered them. That has seriously impaired the efficiency of the Post Office Department. I believe we are today receiving more complaints about the Postal Service than we have in many a year.

In post office work there is a period of long, intensive study required before any of the clerks, carriers, or other employees can acquire the intimate knowledge required to dispatch mail in the speediest manner. Testimony has shown that temporary employees will not take the trouble to learn the system which will send a letter along the speediest route to its receiver.

As a matter of fact, Department officials reported they have been forced to hire 28,000 temporary employees to supplant 12,000 permanent employees who have become separated from the service because of this attitude on the part of temporary personnel. Such an obvious inequity must be eliminated in order to preserve the efficiency of the Post Office Department.

That is the reason why we are proposing the perfecting amendment, and I certainly hope it will be adopted. I hope the Whitten rider will then stand as perfected and will remain the law of the land.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I am in favor of the perfecting amendment suggested by the senior Senator from Michigan, but I wish to say that what can be said for exempting the field service of the Post Office Department can also be said for other agencies. I think it is abundantly clear in the minds of all exactly what the intent of Congress is.

I agree that the purposes of the original Whitten rider were honorable and in the proper direction. I believe it was intended to accomplish something good and wholesome, namely, to restrict bureaucracy. I am against bureaucracy as strongly as anyone else is. But after an experience of 19 months I believe the Whitten rider has not worked so well, and we are beginning to recognize that fully, insofar as the postal field service is concerned. With equal force I think the same thing can be said about other agencies of the Government.

I hope the perfecting amendment will be adopted, and I hope also that the entire Whitten amendment will be repudiated by the Senate, leaving the responsibility exactly where it belongs, in the hands of the Civil Service Commission, with all the flexibility needed to carry out the intent of Congress and to carry out the purposes of the Whitten rider.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, in connection with this bill, there appears to be a question of appropriations for

public libraries. No money has been earmarked for public libraries. In fact, no money has been earmarked for any of the items with respect to housing or under the heading "Defense community facilities and service."

Much to my regret, the House Appropriations Committee materially reduced the recommendations of the Budget Bureau with respect to defense areas, and also, in some instances, on the floor the House itself reduced the recommendations of the Committee on Appropriations.

I am not suggesting that Congress should appropriate more money, but I am suggesting that in connection with appropriations we might make, public libraries, which are so essential in critical areas where defense housing facilities are being constructed, are very badly needed and would be a great attraction. When I use the word "attraction," I mean they would offer attractive benefits to the many people who have left their homes to toil in the installations erected to expedite the atomic energy and other defense programs.

My attention was called to this yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL]. I believe he conferred with certain officials in respect to the matter. He and I are members of the Committee on Appropriations. I desire to make this statement, and I am pleased the Senator called the matter to my attention, because the Federal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is under the able chairmanship of the Senator from Alabama. I suggest that perhaps the matter might be considered jointly by his subcommittee and the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of which the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] is chairman.

Mr. HILL. I may say that the Senator from South Carolina is not only chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, but he is also chairman of a subcommittee of that committee which deals with appropriations for the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Mr. MAYBANK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HILL. It is my understanding that the authority to provide such community facilities as libraries is contained in Public Law 139, which was reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. MAYBANK. The bill was passed unanimously by the Senate and by the House. It authorized the appropriation of about \$65,000,000 for community facilities last year, but the money has not been appropriated.

Mr. HILL. That law includes authorization for library facilities.

Mr. MAYBANK. The Senator is absolutely correct.

Mr. HILL. In other words, nothing in that law would prevent the use of some portion of these funds to relieve the library situation. On the other hand, it was contemplated that some of the funds might be used for that purpose. Is not that statement correct?

Mr. MAYBANK. The Senator is correct.

During hearings on the first supplemental appropriation bill, a witness appeared and testified, and he urged that something be done in this field. I might say that library executives from my own State realized the situation existing in the atomic area—that is, in the Savannah Valley—and they have sent me some information on that subject.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letters I have received may be included in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY BOARD,
Columbia, S. C., March 20, 1952.

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK,
Senator from South Carolina,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAYBANK: I understand that the Senate Appropriations Committee will soon meet to consider the Supplemental Appropriations bill. I am particularly interested in the Housing and Home Finance Agency's supplementary appropriation because of the possibility of earmarking funds for library facilities within this appropriation which will implement Public Law 139, the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act of 1951.

Public Library needs in the Savannah River area have long since passed the point where they can be met by local appropriations. Public library service in Aiken, Barnwell, and Allendale Counties has been developed over a period of years by local effort, and though certainly not of the caliber of service available from large centers, was nevertheless quite adequate to meet the needs of the people in the three counties. Since the beginning of the Savannah River project the population in the three counties has increased by approximately 58 percent. The people coming into the area have few recreation facilities available and have made an immediate demand upon the library facilities. The libraries in the area have neither the books, the staff, or the equipment to meet this need. South Carolinians are without exception generous and hospitable and the local library boards have tried to stretch their meager book collections to meet the needs of the new people coming into the area. The result has been that local people whose efforts and money have gone into building up the service are being penalized by the unprecedented demand for service by the workers on the H-bomb project.

That the immigrants need public library service is incontestable. There is a thirst of adult education and recreation facilities in the Savannah River area. The new people crowd into the little towns in the area, which are completely unprepared to take care of their recreation and educational needs. They are coming to the libraries for books on technical subjects which the libraries are unprepared to supply and for books just to read for fun. With few recreation facilities and with little or no library service, these new people—the workers and the families of the workers on the H-bomb project—are forced to while away their leisure time in dull and profitless activities. The libraries in the area have the organizational framework to take care of the library needs of the new people, but they do not have the funds to supply the books and the equipment.

I know that you understand the value of good public library service in any community. I hope that in considering the Supplemental Appropriations bill, it will be possible to earmark some of the funds for libraries in the Savannah River project. All of the

services in the area are important, but no other service reaches so many people with both education and recreation, as does public library service.

Sincerely yours,
ESTELLENE P. WALKER,
Executive Secretary.

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY BOARD,
Columbia, S. C., April 8, 1952.

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK,
Senator from South Carolina, Senate
Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAYBANK: All of us who are interested in the public libraries in the Aiken area are much concerned that funds be earmarked for public libraries in the supplemental budget of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Under the section called Facilities in Public Law 139 libraries are specifically mentioned. We are afraid that if funds are not definitely earmarked for libraries that they will receive no funds. We are dead sure of one thing—that unless some Federal assistance is forthcoming libraries in the Aiken area have not a chance of serving the in-migrants who continue to beg for service. We know that public library service should be given to the new people, but local and State funds are not sufficient to meet the emergency. Please keep us in mind when the bill comes up in the Senate and see if at least \$950,000 can be earmarked for libraries in designated critical areas.

Sincerely yours,
ESTELLENE P. WALKER,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, there is perhaps no area more critical, from the standpoint of the impact of defense, than the area of the Senator's own State, to which he has just referred.

Mr. MAYBANK. The Senator is correct, but I may say there are many other serious or critical areas, as the distinguished Presiding Officer [Mr. FREAR] knows from his experience when we wrote the so-called defense housing bill, particularly the community facilities section of the bill, toward which the Senator from Alabama so ably contributed during the floor debate on that bill. In fact, there are similar situations in Alabama and in the States producing aluminum. I am hopeful that the regular appropriations bill will specifically earmark funds for public libraries and other facilities.

Mr. HILL. The Senator is exactly correct in his statement, and I wish to thank the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which handled the legislation which became Public Law 139, for making it definite and clear that funds authorized in that law may be used for library facilities.

Not only is there nothing in that law which would prohibit their use for library facilities, but on the contrary, it was contemplated that some of those funds would be used for library facilities.

Mr. MAYBANK. The Senator is correct, as the distinguished Presiding Officer knows. He examined some of the sites. I have seen some of them in other sections of the country. As I understand, a bad situation exists in Mississippi, and in many other areas because of the impact caused by thousands of new workers coming in, without any advance provisions for any facilities whatsoever. I believe that it would be a

good thing to provide some library facilities so that the workers may have books and magazines to read during their off-hours.

Mr. HILL. I join the Senator in the expression of the sentiment that the contemplation of the committee should be carried out, and that some of the funds should go to meet the need for library facilities.

Mr. MAYBANK. I thank the Senator. I trust that in the independent offices appropriation bill, which is not now before the Senate, but which will come before it later, the Senate may restore some of the appropriations for defense housing and for so-called critical materials in critical areas throughout the country. There is not enough now to go around. Although the amount involved, \$25,000,000, seems large, yet when we are spending billions of dollars for the Army and Navy, in comparison \$25,000,000 is a rather small amount for community facilities such as playgrounds, schools, and libraries.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE], to perfect the language beginning on page 49, line 20.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I wish to offer an amendment.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. What has become of my amendment?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I had intended to offer a new amendment. I understood that the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island had been disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE]. The amendment of the Senator from Mississippi would not be in order at the present time.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE].

Mr. FERGUSON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask that the order for the quorum call be vacated, and that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE].

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike out from page 17 the words beginning after the semicolon on line 4 to the colon on line 11, and to insert in lieu thereof the following: "And the limitations under this head in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for expenses of National Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Management, and on the amount available for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Servicing, are hereby repealed."

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, this amendment does not involve any additional funds. It merely repeals, for the last quarter of the current fiscal year, some limitations which were placed in the 1952 appropriation act with reference to the use of funds appropriated for the Selective Service System, in the operation of the national office, State offices, and local offices at the county level. The provision which this amendment would strike out for the last quarter of the current fiscal year has already been omitted by the House of Representatives in the passage of the appropriation bill for 1953.

I have conferred with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON]. They agree that the amendment should be taken to conference and analyzed by the staff, where it may be ascertained whether it can withstand the close scrutiny to which it may be subjected.

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe that it is a matter that can be taken to conference, where it can be carefully analyzed. I understand that the Senator from Mississippi believes that it is a proper amendment, which would permit the switching of funds in order to take care of the program, that it would not add one dollar to the bill, and would merely provide a method of using the money. Is that correct?

Mr. STENNIS. Yes. The facts have been examined by the Bureau of the Budget. They say it would take care of fluctuations and changes in conditions which are hard to anticipate.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, there is only one question which I should like to ask in connection with this amendment. The matter involved was not brought to the attention of the Committee on Appropriations. At the time we had the bill under consideration a letter was received by the chairman of the committee from General Hershey, in which he made no mention of the matter, but in which he asked for an increase in funds. From a conversation which I had with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT], who had conferred with General Hershey, I understand that General Hershey does not intend to ask for an increase in funds provided this amendment is adopted. Is that correct?

Mr. STENNIS. That is the way the Senator from Mississippi understands the situation, although he has not talked to General Hershey himself.

Mr. HAYDEN. I understood that the Senator from Wyoming had talked with General Hershey and that the understanding was that if this amendment were adopted it would not be necessary to comply with the original request for an increase in the appropriation.

Mr. STENNIS. That is the way the Senator from Mississippi understands the situation, namely, that the removal of the limitation would provide legal authority to meet fluctuating conditions, and would dispense with the necessity for increasing the fund.

Mr. HAYDEN. Under those circumstances I have no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MAGNUSON in the chair). Without objection, the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] is agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state it.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 16, after line 25, it is proposed to insert:

RENEGOTIATION BOARD

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses," \$300,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Renegotiation Board has been re-created. We had a Renegotiation Board during the war, which saved the Government many millions of dollars. Under the new law, contractors are required, beginning on the 1st of May, to submit their operations to the Board. There is no money available for the Board to carry on its work.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. MAYBANK. I merely wish to state that the reason the proposed appropriation should be provided in the supplemental appropriation bill is that the Board was created after the regular appropriation bills were passed last year. They have many pending cases. The old Board was abolished and a new Board has been set up. My information is that approximately \$10,000,000 has been collected by it and that there is a possibility that countless millions of dollars could be collected by the Renegotiation Board if more contracts could be studied by the Board.

Mr. HAYDEN. It is perfectly obvious that the Board must be provided with money in order to function.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, this item would establish two field offices. I believe that the Board should function properly and renegotiate contracts as speedily as it is possible for the Board to do so. However, it seems to me that an appropriation of \$300,000 for two field offices to function for the remainder of the fiscal year is a great deal of money.

I hope that the so-called plan, which is referred to as an organization plan, is not the type of plan which will cost us \$150,000 a month for two offices. If it does cost that large amount of money there certainly should be a great number

of contracts renegotiated. I am in favor of renegotiation and have always been in favor of a renegotiation law. However, while speed is essential I hope we will not find that in getting speed we will have set up another organization which is composed of chiefs and no one to do the work.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. Does the Senator from Michigan know how many cases will be before the Renegotiation Board?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not know.

Mr. HAYDEN. The record shows that there is a backlog of 8,161 cases.

Mr. MAYBANK. One of the witnesses, who is a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and who was associated with the Renegotiation Board during the last war, told me—because I believe I presided at the hearing on that day, in the absence of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]—that there would be approximately 10,000 cases pending by the time legislation passed. I agree that we should vote for a \$300,000 expenditure provided contracts can be promptly renegotiated.

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe, too, that the agency should report to Congress as soon as it has established the offices and show how much of the \$300,000 it is using.

Mr. HAYDEN. That will be developed in the regular appropriation bill.

Mr. MAYBANK. They will come before our subcommittee in connection with the independent offices appropriation bill. The Senator from Michigan is a member of that subcommittee. I understand the offices will be opened in San Francisco and Boston.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I should like to have the Senator from Arizona advise me—and I hope some of my colleagues are interested in the question also—why there is any necessity for making an appropriation of \$300,000 in a supplemental appropriation bill when only 2 months, approximately, remain of the current fiscal year. We will have an opportunity to go thoroughly into this question in the regular appropriation bill and make the money available at least by the 1st of July this year in an amount which a careful consideration will show to be necessary. That amount may be shown to be \$300,000 or perhaps \$100,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. As the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] has stated, the Renegotiation Act was recently enacted by Congress. It provides that contractors must go before the Board with their contracts beginning May 1. There is now a backlog of approximately 8,000 cases, which have not been disposed of. The amount of money involved in the contracts will run into many millions of dollars. I have a letter written by the Board to the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee in which he states that although the filing date is May 1 of this year, the sum of \$2,400,000 has already been returned to the Treasury through the Board. That was done voluntarily by some of the contrac-

tors. On the other hand, other contractors are avoiding renegotiation. I believe the sum of money requested to be reasonable. Of course, the amount can always be reduced if it is necessary to do so. I believe that we should provide the amount of money which the Commission has stated it needs at this time.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I have no objection to establishing a renegotiation board and to giving it every dollar it needs to perform the work entrusted to it. On the other hand, we should not provide even \$1 it does not need. I merely raise the point that we do not have what I think is a sound basic showing that \$300,000 is needed at this time to operate the Board from today until the 1st day of July.

Mr. HAYDEN. All I know is that the Bureau of the Budget submitted an estimate in that amount of money. The Bureau of the Budget is supposed to do some checking.

Mr. CORDON. If that be the case, I am opposed to it, because if we follow that argument we shall have to appropriate \$84,000,000,000; and I am not going to agree to that on the basis of any showing made by the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. HAYDEN. I simply wished to indicate that I did not pull the figure out of the air.

Mr. CORDON. I understand.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield for a question?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is it not indicated that for each of the offices to be established, \$150,000 will be available for a period of 2 months? That seems to be an enormous amount. I wonder whether the Senator from Arizona will agree to take to conference an amendment calling for \$100,000 for this purpose. Let me inquire whether this item has been before the House of Representatives.

Mr. HAYDEN. No; this matter came up in the form of a supplemental estimate, sent to the Senate Appropriations Committee, in the amount of \$300,000; and the estimate was accompanied by a letter.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is the Senator from Arizona able to state how many employees the agency would be able to hire in one of the offices for \$150,000 for a period of 2 months? Does the record contain figures showing the number of employees? It simply would seem unreasonable for a newly created office to spend \$150,000 for 2 months, inasmuch as a new office will not get started for a little while.

Mr. HAYDEN. This justification appears in the record:

JUSTIFICATION

The purpose of a proposed supplement in the amount of \$300,000 to the funds available to the Renegotiation Board for the fiscal year 1952 is to enable the Board to (1) further develop its field organization by establishing regional boards in Boston and Detroit and balancing the staffs of the newly established New York and Chicago regional boards; and (2) reduce the significance case inventory resulting from the transfer of cases under

the Renegotiation Act of 1948 to the point where contractor filings under the 1951 act may be processed without undue delay.

The requested supplement provides for an additional 28 man-years of personal services which when added to the present staff will enable the Board to economically and efficiently administer the act during the balance of fiscal year 1952 and enter fiscal year 1953 with an adequate key staff.

Mr. FERGUSON. Will the Senator from Arizona tell us how much it will cost to have 28 new employees for the remainder of the present year?

Mr. HAYDEN. I am sorry that I can give nothing but the record which appears in the hearings. I do not have the information the Senator from Michigan requests.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As a member of the Armed Services Committee and as a member of the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, I have a little general information on this subject. The Renegotiation Board is a most important agency. It has been set up with the idea of renegotiating contracts, and thus reducing their amount, so as to save as much money to the Government as possible.

I cannot go into the details of the cost of running the Renegotiation Board, but I think it would be helpful to make some of the requested appropriation, if not all of it.

I should be glad if the Senator from Arizona would agree to take to conference an amendment for this purpose in the amount of \$150,000 or \$200,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. I was going to ask the Senator from South Carolina about that. He handles the independent offices appropriation bill.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I appreciate what the Senators have said about this matter. When the Renegotiation Board gets fully under way, it will renegotiate contracts in such a manner as to return to the Government millions of dollars. The law under which the Board will operate is the same as the law which Congress passed in 1941, under which great benefit accrued.

I would not request anything that was not essential. I have not requested additional funds for housing or other programs. However, this agency should be put to work. It has before it approximately 10,000 cases calling for renegotiation, so I have been informed. I believe the Administrator to be able and sincere. These offices will be expanded later on by the agency.

If the Senator in charge of this bill is willing to accept a modification of the amendment so as to provide \$200,000 for this purpose, I hope that will be agreeable to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HAYDEN. The original request was dated in March. Therefore, at this time we can decrease by one-third the amount requested, and thus make the amount \$200,000, which would be about right.

Mr. FERGUSON. On page 388 of the hearings there appears the following statement by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar]:

You have borrowed or obtained from the Department of Defense \$549,339.

So it is obvious that we have not been skimping the appropriations for this Board.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I am not suggesting that that has been done.

The Board has been set up as an independent agency, and is not under the Army. Let us get the Board to work. If we appropriate \$200,000 for it, with the consent of the acting minority leader, as well as the Senator in charge of the bill, then if later we find that the amount thus provided is excessive, we can reduce the amount for this purpose carried in the regular appropriation bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from South Carolina is willing, is he not, to have the modification made in the amendment, and that if thereafter it is found that the amount thus provided is greater than is needed, he will take action to reduce the amount carried for this purpose in the regular appropriation bill?

Mr. MAYBANK. Yes; I assure the Senator from Michigan that I will.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the modified amendment of the Senator from Arizona, on page 16, following line 25, which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 16, following line 25, it is proposed to insert the following:

RENEGOTIATION BOARD
SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses," \$200,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified, offered by the Senator from Arizona.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 46, in line 16, before the period, it is proposed to insert a colon and the following: "Provided further, That (1), the position of Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury established by Reorganization Plan No. 26 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General established by Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior established by Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce established by Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1950,

and the position of Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of Labor established by Reorganization Plan No. 6 of 1950, shall be filled without reference to section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress, as amended, shall be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be placed in the highest grade set forth in the general schedule of such act without regard to section 505 (b) of such act, as amended, and shall be in addition to the number of positions authorized to be placed in such grade under such section, and (2) in the case of any other position for which compensation is expressly established by law at a rate equal to the rate payable prior to the enactment of Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress, under the highest grade of the Classification Act of 1949, the rate of compensation shall hereafter be equal to the rate payable for such grade under said Public Law 201."

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have spoken about the amendment to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], who is handling the bill on the floor, and also to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON].

This amendment will give to 37 employees the pay increase which other Government employees received last year when Congress increased the pay of the various employees of the Federal Government. After that pay-increase bill was passed, it was found that there were 37 employees whose salaries were paid at the rate of \$14,000, and therefore they could not receive any additional pay. After the increased pay went into effect, those 37 employees had working under them certain employees whose pay under the new schedules would amount to \$14,800. Certainly such an arrangement does not have a good effect in any way.

In order that there shall be no mistake regarding the employees who will be affected by this amendment, let me state that on page 450 of the hearings the employees affected will be found stated by title.

I understand there is no objection to this amendment on the part of the Senator who is handling the bill.

Mr. SCHOEPPPEL. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield to me?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I yield.

Mr. SCHOEPPPEL. Does this amendment constitute only an arrangement for equalization of salary?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Yes, and it applies only to the employees to whom I have referred.

Mr. President, in order to clarify the matter, I ask unanimous consent that page 450 of the hearings be printed at this point in the Record, so there will be no mistake as to what this amendment proposes to do.

There being no objection, the list referred to was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Number of positions at statutory \$14,000 rate which would be increased to \$14,800 by proposed amendment

Group I. Positions at \$14,000 under sec. 6 (a) of Public Law 359, 81st Cong. (Executives' Pay Act): ¹	
Director of the Bureau of Federal Supply.....	1
Director of Selective Service.....	1
Members of the Displaced Persons Commission.....	3
Members of the Indian Claims Commission.....	3
Members of the War Claims Commission.....	3
Associate Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director.....	1
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence.....	1
Director of the Bureau of Prisons....	1
Commissioner of Public Buildings....	1
Commissioner of Community Facilities.....	1
Commissioner for Social Security....	1
Commissioner of Reclamation.....	1
Chief of the Soil Conservation Service.....	1
Commissioner of Customs.....	1
Commissioner of Narcotics.....	1
Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.....	1
Chief Forester of the Forest Service.....	1
Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration.....	1
Manager of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation.....	1
Assistant Architect of the Capitol...	1
Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress.....	1
Deputy Public Printer.....	1
Subtotal, group I.....	28

Group II. Positions at \$14,000 under Reorganization Plans Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, and 26, respectively, of 1950:	
The Administrative Assistant Attorney General (plan 2 of 1950).....	1
Administrative Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior (plan 3 of 1950).....	1
Administrative Assistant Secretary, Department of Commerce (plan 5 of 1950).....	1
Administrative Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor (plan 6 of 1950).....	1
Administrative Assistant Secretary, Department of the Treasury (plan 26 of 1950).....	1
Subtotal, group II.....	5

¹ 18 positions for which sec. 6 (a) of Public Law 359 fixed compensation at \$14,000 will not be affected by the proposed language: (a) The Office of the Housing Expediter was abolished by Executive Order 10276 of July 31, 1951; (b) the Philippine War Damage Commission (3 members) ceased to exist on Mar. 31, 1951, pursuant to provisions of General Appropriation Act of 1951, Public Law 759, 81st Cong.; (c) the compensation of the Associate Director of the FBI has been fixed at \$17,500 by sec. 606 of Public Law 188, 82d Cong.; (d) the compensation of the 13 commissioners, U. S. Court of Claims, was increased from \$14,000 to \$14,800 by Public Law 201, 82d Cong.

Group III. Positions at \$14,000 under sec. 2 (a) of Public Law 585, 79th Cong. (Atomic Energy Act of 1946):

Director of the Division of—	
Research.....	1
Production.....	1
Engineering.....	1
Military Application.....	1
Subtotal, group III.....	4
Total.....	37

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a brief statement regarding the amendment.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHNSTON OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The purpose of this amendment to H. R. 6947 is to make clear that the positions of Administrative Assistant Secretary in the Department of Treasury, Interior, Commerce, and Labor, and the position of the Administrative Assistant Attorney General, are under the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, and to place them in the highest grade of the schedule of that act.

The Reorganization Acts establishing these positions made it clear that the positions were created to fill a demonstrated need for a highly trained administrator to assist the head of each named Department in the administration and management of his programs and responsibilities. A properly qualified individual, acting in such a capacity, would free the Department head for the policy decisions necessary if he is to hold and exercise full responsibility for the conduct of his Department.

In order to accomplish specific improvement in management, the Reorganization Acts also made clear that continuous attention to effective performance of such aids to management as budgeting, financial review, personnel, and management analysis, was necessary. For this reason the acts provided for the appointment of career employees from the classified civil service. The adoption of this amendment will make it clear that such employees are, for all intents and purposes, under the regular civil service merit system and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

The original acts and this amendment will make it possible to achieve continuity without regard to changes in officials concerned mainly with direction of policy. The complexity of our Government demands the presence of men experienced in Government management and administration, to advise such officials with respect to the means and methods of accomplishment and to translate policies into action. It was intended to establish a career pattern for the positions extending across departmental lines with a Government-wide approach to management problems. The demands of these officers are so great that standards for performance must be of the highest order so that the officers must be outstanding and must remain so. The method of appointment of these officials would not be changed by the proposed amendment.

The salary for the holder of these offices was fixed at the time the offices were created. In October 1951 this Congress, by Public Law 201, recognized that, to attract and keep competent personnel in the Government, adjustments should be made to reflect increased living costs. Because these positions were not clearly subject to the Classification Act, the benefits of the adjustments were not available to the incumbents. This omission

indicated a deviation from the basic purpose of maintaining these positions at the top of the career civil service, and providing for the necessary continuity in the positions. Acceptance of this amendment will correct this deviation.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I should like to have a vote taken on the amendment. It probably will take only a minute to vote on it.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon seek recognition on the amendment of the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. CORDON. I intend to make a point of order against the amendment. At this moment I hope the Senator from South Carolina will agree to withhold action on the amendment until I can study it. I am frank to say that I intend to make a point of order on the amendment, but I shall appreciate it if the Senator from South Carolina will be willing to have action on the amendment withheld until we can determine whether the amendment calls for the addition of substantive legislation to an appropriation bill.

On the other hand, if the Senator from South Carolina will agree to withhold action on the amendment, it may be that I can join in the request to have the amendment taken to conference.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I should like to suggest that an amendment on the same subject was adopted in the House of Representatives. Therefore I think the only question is whether this particular amendment is germane to this bill. I believe it is germane in that it is dealing with the same subject matter.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the proposed amendment is legislation on an appropriation bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina raises the point of germaneness in this matter. The Senator from Oregon has made a point of order. The Chair quotes from rule XVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, on page 21:

All questions of relevancy of amendments under this rule, when raised, shall be submitted to the Senate and be decided without debate.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I would ask that the Senator from South Dakota proceed. He wants to speak at this time, and we may be able to work this out without further action by the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the point of order will be temporarily withdrawn, and the Chair recognizes the Senator from South Dakota.

MISSOURI RIVER FLOOD

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, Tuesday morning, under the leadership of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the chairman of the Public Works Committee of the Senate, a delegation from the United States Senate, from the House of Representatives, and from the Army Corps of Engineers, flew

to the Midwest to make an inspection of the flooded areas of the Missouri River Valley. We returned from that trip late last night. I do not intend to detain the Senate at any length this afternoon in describing that tragedy, but I should like to read into the RECORD for the benefit of Senators who did not make the trip, and who have not had an opportunity to have a summation of the damage which has been done, some statistics which have just come to my attention in connection with that very serious flood.

For the area between Bismarck, N. Dak., and the present crest of the flood, which is at Omaha, Nebr., where the crest is presumed to reach its fullest height some time after dark tonight, the present statistics, up to now, have been made available and have been authenticated.

The flood has cut major line railroads in 27 different places in that farming area and in that region where transcontinental railroads and other rail services taking care of the rural and urban areas of that section operate.

The flood has now broken 83 main highways. That does not include county roads or township roads, but covers State roads and United States Highways. At 83 different places they have been covered with water, so that they are no longer usable by motor vehicles.

As of today, more than 87,000 persons have had to be moved from their homes on the farms, or from their homes in the towns, to places of safety, as a consequence of this flood.

Fifty-one towns and cities have been inundated to the point where their public services are in jeopardy, and where people have had to be moved to higher ground. In most of those cities and towns, business has come to a stalemate, and the people are living under what would be martial law if martial law were necessary—which it is not, in that area—in order to get them to conform with the mayors' proclamations to desist from their normal activities and to fight the floods and help maintain the levees.

The land flooded as of now comprises 2,073,000 acres of farm land which constitutes much of the richest farming land in the United States today. It is a part of the farm land to which our country and the world have been looking for food as we do battle against communism. It is a part of the farm land, the productivity of which is quite as essential to victory in the battle for freedom as is the productivity of an arsenal or the productivity of a plant producing atomic bombs.

Nobody at this stage can tell how long it will be before that land can be cultivated, or whether it can be cultivated at all during the current growing season.

In the river valley the floods have brought about a tragedy almost without parallel and completely without precedent in that sector of the river valley which is presently bearing the brunt of the flood and where 153 private levees have been breached up to now. Those are levees which communities and farmers have built out of their own finances, through their own efforts to

help safeguard property from the floods of the river. Those are not levees which have been built by the Army engineers. They are not levees which have been built by Federal funds. Those are 153 private levees.

The damage up to this time can only be estimated, because nobody can tell definitely as of now. The river has not yet been whipped, it has not been contained; the danger is not over at Omaha and at points down the river where the larger populations live. But the best estimate available from the figures supplied by the Army engineers is \$200,000,—000 worth of damage to date.

I am happy to report one encouraging element in the picture in that area, Mr. President. There are 195,000 acres of farm land protected by Federal levees, and up to now those levees have held. Up to now, not one single acre of farm land, protected by a levee which is complete and which is maintained by the Army Engineers, has been flooded.

I call this to the attention of the Senate merely as a brief summary. Those of us who made the trip are going to make a much more complete report, when all the evidence is in. It certainly highlights for all of us the wisdom of the program for which the Senate year after year has been appropriating funds, the program which has come to be known as the Pick-Sloan plan, for the completion of the flood-control project in the Missouri River Valley.

The President's party, at Omaha, yesterday afternoon, was told by Gen. Lewis A. Pick, of the United States Corps of Army Engineers, that had the program which was started and which has been in operation since 1946, been completed, the present flood would have been impossible. They told the President that, had the plan moved forward as rapidly as the Army Engineers had been seeking funds with which to move it forward, they would have completed it to a sufficient extent that the floods from which the area is now suffering would have been impossible.

I salute the Senate on being far ahead of the other body in the matter of flood-control in the past few sessions of the Congress. The Senate has restored repeatedly the budget funds which had previously been deleted by the House of Representatives. The Senate Appropriations Committee, especially its Civil Functions subcommittee, at this time is confronted with exactly that same situation once again. The House, lacking, of course, the evidence which the current flood has provided, has slashed rather heavily and seriously the flood-control program recommended by the Army engineers, the President, and the Bureau of the Budget for the current building year in the Missouri River Valley. I certainly hope that the Senate will not only restore those funds, but that, in recognition of the fact that for a second consecutive year we have had these tremendously devastating floods in this very same area, the Senate will also move forward with this program on an emergency basis, and on a forced-feed basis, in recognition of the fact that in a war against floods, as in a war against Reds,

we either have to win the war or lose it, and that a stalemate battle against floods is a battle which is tremendously costly to the people of the valley affected and to the country.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. THYE. I should like to ask whether the distinguished Senator from South Dakota flew over the Mississippi River or the Minnesota River?

Mr. MUNDT. We did not. The President's party did. We had a report at Omaha that conditions were very tragic and were very serious.

Mr. THYE. The Minnesota River has taken its toll in cities along its banks, but the Mississippi River has broken all records of high water. It is so high that it has covered some of the major streets in the loop of St. Paul. Never before has the water of the Mississippi River been that high.

I should like to commend the Senator from South Dakota for inviting the attention of the Senate to the need for an adequate appropriation to fight against a recurrence of floods in the same manner as we would fight against a human enemy. The flood is as devastating to the property owner as any war damage could be. We have seen property owners take a loss from which they will require a lifetime of effort to recover. Some of them will never regain what they have lost in the flood.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from Minnesota is correct. Only this afternoon I read of a very tragic case of a lady in the Senator's State who was moving in a rowboat. The boat capsized and the lady drowned. That loss of life is just as serious as if the lady had lost her life by enemy bomb or by enemy gunfire. We must recognize that in this kind of war it is not enough to come within nine-tenths of winning, but we must appropriate funds to proceed with a program that can win against these disastrous floods.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. I was interested in what the distinguished Senator had to say about General Pick's statement in Omaha yesterday and in the Senator's reference to the 1946 recommendation on the part of the Army engineers. Can the Senator tell us whether the 1946 recommendation included the Fort Randall Dam?

Mr. MUNDT. Speaking from memory, in 1946 I believe the recommendation started with the Garrison Dam in North Dakota, because the program was to start with the one dam which is completed on the river at Fort Peck and to move down into North Dakota and then into South Dakota, harnessing the river as it moved on.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. Was not a great deal of the work in 1946 for which appropriations were made suspended by Executive order?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. Had that suspension not have occurred, probably Garrison and certainly Randall would now have been closed, which

would have reduced tremendously the floodwaters now cascading down the valley.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. I am glad to have that information in the Record.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I shall cease at this point by asking to have incorporated in the Record as a part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Aberdeen American News of April 16, 1952. It is entitled "Demand Speed-up in Flood Control."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEMAND SPEED-UP IN FLOOD CONTROL

Nature has provided "exhibit A" in the case for generous appropriations for Oahe and Gavins Point Dam.

The spectacle in waste of resources, presented so dramatically these past few days by the uncontrolled floodwaters of the Missouri River and its tributaries, should convince Congress—if anything can—that large main-stem dams are needed without delay in the Missouri Valley development program.

It would have been helpful in getting the Missouri River flood story before the Nation if leaders in Congress could have accepted the invitation extended by Gov. Sigurd Anderson to fly to South Dakota and study the problem at close range.

Congressmen could have observed the loss of natural resources as fertile topsoil was being washed away.

They could have seen the material damage to homes, business places, and power plants.

They could have measured the human efforts expended in a losing battle aimed at protecting property from the irresistible force of the powerful water current.

An on-the-scene study would offer convincing proof that money appropriated for the South Dakota dams in question would be an investment in preserving resources sorely needed by the Nation.

Economy mindedness in an election year is good. Economy mindedness, in fact, is a virtue that has been too long hidden in Congress.

But in the instance of the Missouri River program it will be an economic benefit of long range to hasten the completion of the projected dams.

The natural wealth saved plus the new wealth created by the development program will more than offset the present cost, high as it may seem.

This graphic economic picture must be presented to Congress by Dakotans and others interested in preserving and developing the resources of this great area of present and potential productivity.

Dakotans will be aided in this endeavor by their representatives in Congress, some of whom are en route to this area now for the purpose of investigating and reporting their findings to colleagues in Washington.

The factual story that can now be presented to Congress should cause Members to reverse completely their stand on reducing Missouri River improvement appropriations.

Instead of considering cutting appropriations for Oahe Dam at Pierre, and Gavins Point and Randall Dams, near Yankton, Senators and Representatives should demand increased appropriations.

The present floods show the necessity for speeding up rather than retarding the entire Missouri River program.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supple-

mental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask for a vote on my amendment.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I desire at this time to withdraw the point of order I raised with reference to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I have three minor amendments which I should like to have acted upon.

I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, after line 12, it is proposed to insert:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Effective April 15, 1952, the appropriation for salaries of officers and employees of the Senate contained in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1952 is made available for the compensation of one camera man, Joint Recording Facility, at the basic rate of \$3,600 per annum.

Mr. HAYDEN. The amendment makes available money heretofore appropriated for a cameraman.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It establishes a television man in the rooms upstairs, but requires no additional money now, so that on an annual-salary basis there will be a new man for the purpose of operating television.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. I offer another amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, after line 1, it is proposed to insert:

Folding documents: For an additional amount for folding speeches and pamphlets at a gross rate not exceeding \$2 per thousand, \$10,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I offer another amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 5, line 20, it is proposed to strike out "\$575,000" and insert "\$750,000."

Mr. HAYDEN. This amendment relates to the support of United States prisoners who are in jails and whose subsistence is provided for by contract. The money has become exhausted.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I understand the report of the Prison Board shows that there are now more prisoners than there were heretofore.

Mr. HAYDEN. The number has increased.

Mr. FERGUSON. Are the terms getting longer as indicated by the report?

Mr. HAYDEN. I could not say as to that; but those in charge of Federal prisons are out of food-money at the present time.

Mr. FERGUSON. I think we can take congressional notice, Mr. President, of the fact that there are more prisoners going to Federal prisons for crimes in connection with conditions in Washing-

ton. I, for one, am all in favor of the amendment. I am for feeding them in prison rather than allowing them to pursue their criminal careers outside of prison.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, does the Senator feel that the statistics may also be subject to the interpretation that there is a little better law enforcement?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think that is true. It has been brought about by congressional investigations. The law has to be enforced better than it was before the congressional investigations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

The amendment was agreed to.

RECESS

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, in keeping with my promise, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 59 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, April 18, 1952, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate on April 17 (legislative day of April 14), 1952:

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of major general:

Christian F. Schilt

Thomas J. Cushman

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of brigadier general:

Gregon A. Williams

Frank H. Lamson-Scribner

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of brigadier general, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Arthur H. Butler

Thomas A. Wornham

Calendar No. 1383

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6947

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 17 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. DOUGLAS to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, viz:

- 1 On page 6, line 25, strike out "\$69,500,000" and insert
- 2 in lieu thereof "\$19,500,000".
- 3 On page 7, line 3, strike out "\$55,009,000" and insert
- 4 in lieu thereof "\$5,009,000".

Calendar No. 1383

82ND CONGRESS
2ND SESSION

H. R. 6947

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Douglas to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

April, 17 (legislative day, April, 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 1383

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6947

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 18 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. FERGUSON (for himself, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. KNOWLAND, and Mr. CAPEHART) to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, viz: On page 50, after line 23, insert a new section as follows:

- 1 SEC. . No part of any appropriation contained in
2 this Act, or any funds made available for expenditure by this
3 Act, or any funds heretofore or hereafter made available by
4 appropriation or otherwise for expenditure during the fiscal
5 year ending June 30, 1952, shall be used for the purpose of
6 acquiring, seizing, or operating any plant, facility, or other
7 property, unless the acquisition, seizure, or operation of such
8 plant, facility, or other property is authorized by Act of
9 Congress.

82ND CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Ferguson (for himself, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Knowland, and Mr. Cavenhart) to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

APRIL 18 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1952

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 21, 1952
For actions of April 18, 1952
82nd-2nd, No. 65

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated third supplemental appropriation bill.

SENATE

1. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Continued debate on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 4146-86). Agreed to an amendment by Sen. Hayden to increase the item for Division of Disbursement from \$400,000 to \$414,000 (pp. 4148-9). Debated an amendment by Sen. Ferguson barring expenditure of funds in the bill for operation of the steel plants (pp. 4146, 4149-86).
2. DISASTER RELIEF. Sen. Carlson spoke in favor of a disaster-insurance program (pp. 4146-7).
3. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. Sen. Humphrey inserted various resolutions by the Minn. Electric Cooperative to further rural electrification (pp. 4145-6).
4. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Wiley inserted several resolutions favoring this proposed project (pp. 4143-4).
5. RECESSED until Mon., Apr. 21 (p. 4186).

ITEM IN APPENDIX

6. EXPENDITURES. Sen. McClellan inserted an Arkansas Democrat editorial favoring economy in Government expenditures and an Arkansas Gazette editorial favoring his budgeting bill (pp. A2497-8).

COMMITTEE HEARING ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR APR. 21: Grain-storage investigation, S. Agriculture. Foreign aid, S. Foreign Relations (ex). Road authorizations, S. Public Works (ex). Interior and independent offices appropriation bills, S. Appropriations (ex).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 105A.

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will not be able to have the benefits or pleasure of shooting.

When it is brought up in the Senate please try and see what you can do to help us.

Yours truly,

JACK SANELBERG,
President.

AMERICAN MARKSMEN'S CLUB,
Fond du Lac, Wis., April 12, 1952.

HON. SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: Representing the American Marksmen's Club, senior and junior divisions of Fond du Lac, with an active membership of 101; the Fond du Lac Police Pistol and Rifle Club of 35 active members; and also over 60 other men and boys who have been receiving rifle and pistol marksmanship instructions periodically, we would like to submit the following for your consideration.

We understand that all of the financial assistance (the sum of which is \$130,000) being given to the Director of Civilian Marksmanship is being cut from the 1953 Federal Budget by the House Military Appropriations Committee. This means that all parts, rifles and other supplies which have been available to our group through the Director of Civilian Marksmanship will be entirely eliminated, and furthermore the rifles which we are now using will be recalled. We will then have the very minimum of equipment with which to operate, in other words, none other than we can round up ourselves through our local membership, to conduct our very commendable and thoroughly worth-while program of training.

At present we are running four classes weekly—one senior and three junior groups—in addition to that we have spare-time instruction on an individual basis. We cooperate with the local office of civilian defense's program of firearms handling and with the recreational program of the city and schools.

As we review this situation we believe that so far as our local organizations are concerned, it will mean the end of our rifle and pistol instructions, and eventually the complete dissolution of our units. We are always sympathetic to budget readjustments and the lowering of taxes; however, in this particular instance we feel that the minimum of \$130,000 upon which the national program is being financed should be kept on for the coming year. This would still mean that the \$669,000 item would still be in abeyance as far as our suggestion is concerned. We could in this way, through the present program purchase rifle ammunition at a low price, and eventually increase the scope of our organization.

Reviewing the above; we urge you to consider our request for the reinstatement of the \$130,000 for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, in the Federal budget, and urge you to support the program to that extent when it comes before the Senate for final action.

We sincerely hope that you will help us in this matter and also give us any suggestions regarding further correspondence or contact which will help our group.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM PHALEN,
President.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., April 15, 1952.
SENATOR ALEX WILEY,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Return to budget the appropriation for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. Letter to follow.

DANIEL BOONE HUNTERS'
LEAGUE, INC.,
WALTER HAUPT,
Senior President.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR FEDERAL HOUSING IN MINNESOTA—RESOLUTION OF CITY COUNCIL OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the City Council of Minneapolis, Minn., at its regular meeting on March 28, be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point. The resolution memorializes the Congress to appropriate further Federal housing funds for the State of Minnesota in general and the city of Minneapolis in particular.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution memorializing Congress to appropriate further Federal housing funds for the State of Minnesota in general and the city of Minneapolis in particular

Whereas Congress has heretofore appropriated funds in aid of the Federal low-rent housing program to eliminate substandard housing in the several States; and

Whereas the city of Minneapolis has initiated a slum-clearance and low-rent housing program in harmony with the Federal laws and appropriations, looking toward the alleviation of substandard housing in certain areas of the city; and

Whereas the city of Minneapolis has applied to the Federal Housing Administration for Federal funds for the building and completion of 1,000 units of low-rent housing in the city of Minneapolis; and

Whereas the said application has been granted subject to the appropriation of sufficient Federal funds to carry out the commitments of the Federal Housing Administration; and

Whereas it appears that there is agitation and legislation to reduce Federal appropriations for housing purposes below the levels required to meet the commitments of the Federal Housing Administration; and

Whereas such a reduction in Federal appropriations would seriously handicap the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority in the development of the said project for slum clearance and low-rent housing in the city of Minneapolis: Now, therefore, be it hereby

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Minneapolis, That it adopt this resolution to memorialize the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient Federal housing funds to permit the Federal Housing Administration to meet its commitments heretofore made to the State of Minnesota in general and to the city of Minneapolis in particular; be it further

Resolved, That the city clerk of the city of Minneapolis be authorized and directed to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and to the United States Senators and Representatives from the State of Minnesota.

Passed March 28, 1952.

STANLEY ANDERSON,
President of the Council.

Approved March 28, 1952.

ERIC G. HOYER, Mayor.

Attest:

IMOGENE M. CLAY,
Assistant City Clerk.

RESOLUTIONS OF MINNESOTA ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a series of

resolutions adopted by the Minnesota Electric Cooperative of St. Paul, be inserted in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE MINNESOTA ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT ST. PAUL, MINN., MARCH 24 AND 25, 1952

Resolution 2

Whereas a committee of the United States Senate is studying problems of reorganization to streamline the Department of Agriculture; and

Whereas pending bills which have been considered by the committee propose, among other things—

(a) To change the name of the Rural Electrification Administration;

(b) To eliminate the appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate of the Rural Electrification Administrator;

(c) To make possible the disintegration of the Rural Electrification Administration as an entity in the Department of Agriculture;

(d) To absorb its services in other agencies of the Department: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our feeling that these proposals would not achieve economy and efficiency, but on the contrary, would disrupt the dynamic and semiautonomous Rural Electrification Administration and rural electric program in general.

Resolution 3

Whereas the Keating amendment as applied to the United States Bureau of Reclamation for fiscal 1952 restricts the ability of the Bureau of Reclamation to construct those facilities necessary for marketing electric power to rural electric cooperatives and public agencies; and

Whereas the ability of the cooperatives to function in a businesslike manner and discharge their obligations to the Government is directly contingent upon their opportunity to purchase power at a reasonable rate; and

Whereas said Keating amendment is also unduly restrictive upon the cooperatives in the construction of necessary facilities for adequate transmission of their power and control of their own operation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minnesota Electric Cooperative now in convention in St. Paul urge the repeal, in both principle and practice, of such restrictive language as the Keating amendment that may be applied to future appropriations bill or bills concerning Federal power agencies.

Resolution 4

Whereas the St. Lawrence seaway development will provide a vital and economical transportation facility and electric power for defense and for farm and industrial production; and

Whereas the area involved has vastly increased its demand for electric power as it seeks to meet the needs of the area and the national economy; and

Whereas the demands for such transportation and electrical development is pressing and urgent, and should be met: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minnesota Electric Cooperative Association does insistently request the Congress of the United States at its present session to exact legislation for the development of the St. Lawrence seaway, in cooperation with the Canadian Government, and in accordance with the statement of policy heretofore adopted by this association as to the development of such natural resources: Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be immediately forwarded to each member of the Congress, and to such other public

officials as may be interested in or have responsibility for expediting this development.

RESOLUTION OFFERED FROM THE FLOOR

Whereas it has come to our attention that the Civil Function Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives has suggested to the Corps of Army Engineers that a new study be made to determine whether or not the formula now used to determine the proportionate cost that hydroelectric power bears to the whole cost of the construction of dams should be changed, and

Whereas there is a threatened shortage of power in many of these districts; and

Whereas the production of more food is of vital importance at the present time; and

Whereas there is a shortage of farm labor and the use of electricity can be used and should be used to mitigate this shortage, now: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Minnesota Electric Cooperative is of the unanimous opinion that the present formula used to determine the proportionate costs that hydro should bear in the cost of the construction of these dams has proven fair and equitable and should be continued.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BRIDGES (by request):

S. 3032. A bill for the relief of Bonnie Jean MacLean; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. 3033. A bill to amend section 204 (c) of the Career Compensation Act of 1949 to reduce and equalize the monthly rates of certain categories of incentive pay prescribed for members of the uniformed services for hazardous duty;

S. 3034. A bill to provide for the reduction of certain station allowances provided by section 303 (b) of the Career Compensation Act of 1949, and for other purposes;

S. 3035. A bill to abolish special pay for physicians and dentists of the uniformed services; and

S. 3036. A bill to amend section 204 (b) of the Career Compensation Act of 1949 to reduce and equalize the monthly rates of flight pay and submarine pay prescribed for members of the uniformed services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 3037. A bill for the relief of Maria Cornala Louwerenburg; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

INCREASE IN LIMIT OF EXPENDITURES BY COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. MURRAY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 307), which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Eighty-second Congress, \$10,000 in addition to the amount, and for the same purpose, specified in section 134 (a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act approved August 2, 1946.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT TO THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. FERGUSON submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move on behalf of myself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 50, after line 23, insert a new section as follows:

"Sec. —. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or any funds made available for expenditure by this act, or any funds heretofore or hereafter made available by appropriation or otherwise for expenditure during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, shall be used for the purpose of acquiring, seizing, or operating any plant, facility, or other property, unless the acquisition, seizure, or operation of such plant, facility, or other property is authorized by act of Congress."

Mr. FERGUSON (for himself, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. KNOWLAND, and Mr. CAPEHART) also submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to House bill 6947, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. BRIDGES:

Address delivered by Senator JENNER, before the Sixty-first Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April 17, 1952.

Article entitled "Seizure Is What It's Called," published in Business Week of April 19, 1952, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

By Mr. STENNIS:

Address delivered by Gov. John Stewart Battle, of Virginia, before the Sixty-first Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April 14, 1952.

Address entitled "Safeguarding Our Future," delivered by Mrs. James B. Patton, president-general, before the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, April 14, 1952.

By Mr. McCLELLAN:

Editorial entitled "Steel Seizure Raises Grave Questions," published in the Arkansas Democrat of April 10, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Those Inherent Powers," published in the Washington Evening Star of April 14, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Another State Voice for Economy," published in the Arkansas Democrat of April 16, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Senator McCLELLAN's Proposal Is Sound," published in the Arkansas Gazette of April 12, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Abdication of People's Desire," published in the Texarkana (Tex.) Gazette of April 15, 1952.

By Mr. HOEY:

Several editorials relating to seizure of the steel mills, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

DISASTER INSURANCE PROGRAM

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for 2 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Kansas may proceed for 2 minutes.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, all of us indulge in hindsight from time to time. However, today I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues my statement of last August and September, also Senate bill 2148, introduced September 20 last year by me and jointly sponsored by the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPLE] and the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM]. I wish also to call attention to the President's statement in his budget message for fiscal 1953. All these matters deal with the Federal flood insurance or disaster insurance program.

Kansas and Missouri experienced one of the most destructive floods in the history of our Nation during the summer of 1951, and now we see again the chaos being wrought by rampant flood in the Missouri Valley area.

I have always felt, and still do, that if private companies can or could work out an insurance program which would insure against disaster at a reasonable rate, and assure the continued free flow of interstate and foreign trade and commerce, then we should not legislate in matters of this kind. I am of the conviction that a program of this magnitude will require reinsurance by insurance companies, and it was with this thought in mind that I introduced Senate bill 2148 on September 20 of last year. That bill, if enacted, would tend to promote the national welfare by alleviating the widespread economic disaster suffered from time to time within the United States from certain national disasters and the attendant impairment of the free flow of interstate and foreign trade and commerce by providing, through a program of reinsurance of insurance companies, for reasonable cost insurance against property loss or damage caused by flood, tidal wave, earthquake, or hurricane, these being fields not readily covered by private insurance companies.

It is my thought that the corporation would take over or reinsure only that portion of the risk which private insurance companies do not feel they can safely assume.

I did not and do not profess to have the answer to the many and varied technical questions which will be involved.

mean a delay in connection with such items as social security or pension checks, but would mean a delay in non-interest-bearing checks, such as dividend checks in connection with national service life insurance. In effect, the Department would be required to establish a priority schedule for the writing of checks.

Mr. President, this year the agency proposes to write 8,000,000 checks for veterans having national service life insurance, and the checks are called dividends. Are they dividends? No, they are not dividends. The veterans were merely charged more than they should have paid. Then the agency refunds overcharges to 8,000,000 of them. Those checks can certainly wait until the first day of July, in which event the Government of the United States—the taxpayers—would have \$414,000. Here are the items, the number of checks issued in a year: Veterans' Administration, regular checks, 68,762,800.

Refunds on National Service Life Insurance, 8,000,000.

Social Security Administration, 54,-289,000.

Other administrative agencies, 24,-322,800.

Income tax refunds, 30,250,000.

Issuance of savings bonds, 2,500,000.

That makes a total of 188,124,600.

Reimbursable items, 9,827,600.

The grand total is 197,952,600 checks. It is figured that the cost of merely issuing these checks is \$12,911,349.

I say that all the agency would have to do would be to reshuffle its work. Let it handle first the accounts that draw interest, keeping them up to date, and then issue checks for the others. The Government would then save \$414,000. There seems to be no reason why the Congress should appropriate that extra amount of money.

The agency comes before the committee and we ask, "What is the other excuse besides the question of interest?" We are told there is none. Interest is stated to be the sole reason. We have had this matter before us over and over again.

I am mindful of the fact that last year there was a desire to eliminate an item for the Weather Bureau. I was one of those who thought it ought to be cut out. The next day I received notice that the Weather Bureau was going to close the Weather Bureau station at Marquette, Mich., and also the station at Willow Run, which is the principal airport for the city of Detroit. That is the way the bureaus operate. That is why the Department comes before the committee today and insists that it is going to be necessary to pay interest unless it has this appropriation.

The average income-tax rebate check is issued for about \$55 and many people will believe that, instead of paying the income tax at the source, they are getting a rebate from the Government.

I do not blame the agency for wanting to issue 197,952,600 checks before the election. Even though we do not appropriate the money for them, they are going to issue every one of those checks before election. There can be no doubt about that. I do not think we ought to allow them \$414,000. They can wait

until after July 1 and still send out checks before the election in November.

Mr. President, I hope the Senate will reject this amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I call up amendment designated "4/16/52-J."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may suggest the absence of a quorum?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to have the amendment stated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 50, after line 23, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

Sec. —. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or of any funds made available for expenditure by this act, shall be used for the purpose of enforcing Executive Order 10340, dated April 8, 1952, directing the Secretary of Commerce to take possession of and operate the plants and facilities of certain steel companies, or any other order or regulation relating thereto.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield on condition that he will not lose the floor?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield on condition that I will not lose the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. For what purpose does the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Michigan be permitted to yield without losing the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Unanimous consent is requested that the Senator from Michigan be allowed to yield indefinitely to the Senator from California without losing the floor. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The absence of a quorum has been suggested, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hill	Robertson
Bridges	Hoey	Schoeppel
Carlson	Holland	Seaton
Chavez	Johnston, S. C.	Smith, N. C.
Dworshak	Knowland	Stennis
Eastland	Martin	Welker
Ferguson	McClellan	Wiley
Flanders	McFarland	Williams
Hayden	Murray	
Hendrickson	Neely	

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is not present.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. CAPEHART, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. ECTON, Mr. FREAR, Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. HENNINGSON, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. HILL, Mr. HOEY, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEM, Mr. MAYBANK, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MOODY, Mr. NEELY, Mr. O'CONOR, Mr. ROBERTSON, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. SEATON, Mr. SMATHERS, Mrs. SMITH of Maine, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. TOBEY, Mr. WELKER, and Mr. WILEY entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is present.

CONFIRMATION OF NOMINATION OF ROBERT D. MURRAY TO BE AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the nomination of Robert D. Murphy to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Japan be considered and confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, do I understand correctly that the nomination was unanimously reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. McFARLAND. That is my understanding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the nomination is confirmed; and the President will be notified.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself and other Senators. By unanimous consent, the Senator from Michigan has the floor.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, on the question of agreeing to the pending amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota will state it.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The pending amendment is the one which provides that none of the funds appropriated or made available by this act shall be used to enforce Executive Order 10340, direct-

ing the Secretary of Commerce to operate the steel companies, and so forth. Is that correct?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HUMPHREY. When the Senator from Michigan yields the floor, it is my hope to make some remarks on the amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall be very happy to have the Senator from Minnesota do so.

Mr. President, the pending amendment—

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President—

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I am glad to yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall be glad to have the Senator from South Carolina do so.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I understand the pending amendment provides that no funds appropriated in or made available by this measure shall be used for the purpose stated; is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; so far as funds appropriated in or made available by this measure are concerned.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does the Senator from Michigan know of any funds appropriated in this bill which could be used for such a purpose?

Mr. FERGUSON. Such funds could be taken from the emergency fund. As I understand, the President has a right to draw on the various funds appropriated, even though in this case they come by means of the supplemental appropriation bill. Furthermore, this bill carries some appropriations for the Department of Commerce; for instance, there is in this bill, under the heading "Department of Commerce," an item "Office of the Secretary: Salaries and expenses, \$100,000"; and there is another item, "Technical and scientific services, \$10,000"; and another item, "Salaries and expenses, defense production activities, \$2,500,000"; as well as other items in the bill which might be used in such a way.

So, various funds appropriated by this measure could be used in that way.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. In reference to the question asked by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina of the Senator from Michigan as to whether any funds appropriated in this measure could be used for the purpose stated, his question could be answered by stating that we do not know what the President would use. If he is attempting to amend the Constitution of the United States by his own action, he certainly could attempt to do almost anything. If the President has made this seizure without

statutory or constitutional authority, certainly we would be justified in writing into an appropriation bill any provision designed to prevent the carrying out of any such action. We do not know what he will do; we do not know into what emergency fund he may dip. So we are strongly urging the adoption of this amendment in order to accomplish what we regard as a most desirable objective.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the President yesterday had an unusual press conference with the newspaper editors of the United States. An item in the press indicates that he was asked pointedly whether he thought he could seize newspapers and radio stations. I read:

The President has the power to do what is right for the people, Truman replied grimly. His sharp tone cut off further discussion of the point.

Note the language, "The President has power to do what is right for the people."

Mr. President, I have read history to some extent, and I think I am correct in saying that no ruler, no matter how great a tyrant he may have been, has failed to contend that he was acting for the good of the people regardless of his acts. In other words, the implication is that the President knows best what is right for the people.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BRIDGES. The inference is that the President, himself, is to determine what is good for the people, rather than to allow the people to make the determination for themselves.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is why I am interested in saying to the Senator from Michigan that we have heard on the floor of the Senate a great deal about constitutional liberty. It has also been widely discussed throughout the country. Much has been said by a great many people on the subject of civil liberties, constitutional liberties, and personal liberties. I submit that now is the time for people to stand up and be counted. The present incident affords the greatest opportunity in the history of this country for a test of the legality of the President's action in proceeding, without either statutory or constitutional authority, to make such a seizure as the present one. Let us find out where the people who pose as the grand champions of constitutional and civil liberty stand. I want to have a vote in the Senate on this question.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I am about to read a brief statement, and I wonder how many Senators will know who made it. This is not suggested as being in the nature of a quiz program, but I desire to quote a remark which was made on February 19, 1948:

Conditions are too grave in the world at this time to put Congress in control of the purse strings of this country—a Congress which does not and cares not to understand what the facts are.

Mr. President, that statement was made by the present occupant of the White House, Harry S. Truman, on February 19, 1948. In other words we were told by the President of the United States that the Congress of the United States, in whose hands the Constitution placed control of the purse strings, is not to be trusted with the execution of this power; that "conditions are too grave in the world at this time to put Congress in control of the purse strings of this country." I declare that Congress must retain control of the purse strings. By this amendment we are saying to the President that the Constitution entrusted to Congress the control of the purse strings, and that we are going to tighten them, and that we are going to divest him of any right to use appropriations in this bill for the purpose of taking from the Congress of the United States its control of the purse strings, a control which affects the very lives of the citizens of the United States.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does the able Senator from Michigan recall that in October 1946 the President of the United States made a speech, in the course of which he said that serious consideration had been given to the seizure of cattle on the ranges of the country; that, though it was realized that would be a very far-reaching move, it had been given serious consideration by the executive department.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I remember that statement.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does the Senator recall the further statement that his only reason for not having taken such action was that it was found that cattle were so distributed throughout the country that to seize them would prove impractical? With that as a background, does not the able Senator feel that the Congress of the United States has a responsibility, insofar as it can be done through this appropriation bill, to prevent such usurpation of power on the part of the President of the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it is our solemn constitutional duty, in the light of the surrounding circumstances, to place this provision in the bill as a declaration of policy on the part of the Congress of the United States, that we do have control of the purse strings.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further at that point?

Mr. FERGUSON. I will yield in a moment. I consider that when the President made the statement about having given serious consideration to the seizure of cattle on the ranges of the country, he, as a candidate, was speaking in broad, general terms. However, his conduct since that time has indicated to me that what he has in mind is that he is above the Constitution and above the law of the land.

Mr. President, I think the time has come when we must check usurpation of power, whatever form it may take. We

must demonstrate to the President and to the world that the Congress still retains control of the purse strings; that this is a constitutional Republic; that the rights and liberties of the people are at stake; and that no one man, regardless of who he may be, can alone determine what is good for the people; since, if he should err, there would be no way of correcting him.

I am now glad to yield further to the distinguished Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I should like to say to the able Senator from Michigan that, quite recently, I was in my State of California for 2 days, and I have never found the people of California more concerned over a usurpation of power than they have been in the present case of the seizure of the steel industry without authority of law. Within my recollection, there have been but two previous occasions when the people of California have manifested such deep concern. One occasion was when President Roosevelt attempted to pack the Supreme Court of the United States.

That was prior to the time when I came to the United States Senate. But I remember very well that in my home community, as well as in other communities of California, because of the deep concern of the people over that threat to our constitutional form of Government, with its traditional three great coequal branches, mass meetings were held spontaneously. Since the time I have been in the Senate of the United States, the only comparable thing in the way of a public reaction was when the President of the United States summarily removed Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

I believe the people have a right to ask, and that they are asking, "What is the Congress of the United States going to do in order to prevent this evil precedent from becoming established?" They recognize, even if the Congress does not, that if this precedent were allowed to stand, the President could seize other basic industries of the Nation; and he could go from there to the seizure of the smaller industries of the Nation. He can extend his doctrine to seize cattle on the farms and farms from the farmers, and unless he is challenged here and now, in my judgment, there will be an instrumentality in the hands of the President of the United States which will permit complete socialization of this Nation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will have to remind the Senator from Michigan that he can yield only for a question.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, this is preliminary to a question which I am going to ask the Senator from Michigan.

I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to complete my statement and then to ask a question.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from California may make the preface to his question, because I think it is going to be a very good question.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Unanimous consent is requested

by the Senator from Michigan that the Senator from California be permitted to complete his statement and then ask a question of the Senator from Michigan. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from California may proceed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I desire to say to the able Senator from Michigan that I think the country is far ahead of the Congress in recognizing the grave dangers in the action taken by the President of the United States in reaching out into what he calls inherent powers. I hope that the Senator from Michigan—and I have had some preliminary discussions with him—will join with me and other Senators of like mind in this body in writing not only in this appropriation bill but in every appropriation bill which comes before the Senate of the United States from now on, supplemental or regular appropriation bills, such a provision as is contained in his pending amendment so as to prevent the President of the United States or any executive officer of the Government from using a single penny for the purpose of seizing either the steel industry or any other industry of the Nation without specific authority of law. If such provision should be violated, I think one ground of impeachment would be laid.

Mr. FERGUSON. I agree with the distinguished Senator from California.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. First, I should like to answer the question.

I agree wholeheartedly that the time has come when we must act. We must raise our voices. We are not like the executive department of the Government, which has 2,625 full-time employees engaged in public relations and publicity activities in the fiscal year 1952. We are not in the position of the Executive, who not only spends the taxpayers' money for those 2,625 full-time employees but for 1,007½ part-time employees engaged in publicity and public relations. The President has spent on them \$17,134,390.57. Some of them are engaged in statistical work. Much of the money is used by the same propaganda office. There are 1,136 full-time employees and 101 part-time employees so engaged. Part time, by the way, includes anything more than a week and less than a year. They spend \$5,427,241 in such statistical work. We know from experience in the Senate that the number listed as propaganda agents is never accurate. At times a whole department is engaged in propaganda.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Will the Senator permit me to point out that I hardly think the amendment he proposes is adequate to accomplish the purpose which I judge, from the statements he has made, to be in his mind. It seems to me it would have to cover more than the seizure of the facilities of certain steel companies. It could possibly be made to include all facilities the seizure of which is not specifically permitted by law. I think it would have to be broadened.

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it is broad enough, if I may reply to the Senator from Vermont, in covering the enforcement of Executive Order No. 10340. It is merely descriptive of that Executive order. I agree that it should not only cover the taking over of steel plants, but labor unions, collective bargaining, and so forth. In my opinion, however, we should not consider in connection with the amendment anything the President has not done up to date. He may rectify his thinking. Yesterday he indicated that he could take over the press and the radio. I do not know why he omitted television, but he did. He said that if it were good for the people, he could do many things. I am inclined to think that if public opinion reacts as I think it will react, the President will shortly come to the conclusion—at least, some of his officers will come to the conclusion—that he has gone too far.

Mr. AIKEN. I had in mind that even though the President is prohibited from using any of the funds to operate the steel mills, nevertheless, suppose Congress adjourns and there is a series of strikes in the copper industry or the aluminum industry or in any other industry. The President might exercise the same divine authority to seize them without any restriction whatever as to the use of appropriations. So I wondered why the Senator from Michigan did not broaden his amendment to cover such a situation.

Mr. FERGUSON. I tried to limit it to the funds involved in this bill, so it would not be subject to a point of order as legislation on an appropriation measure.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the bill contain appropriations of funds which might be used specifically for the purpose of operating the steel mills?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I have been very greatly interested in the colloquy between the distinguished Senator from Michigan and the distinguished Senator from California, and I should like to ask a question. Is not the Congress of the United States almost as much to blame if we do not take action as is the executive department?

Mr. FERGUSON. I agree that we must act; otherwise, we are waiving our rights. I say that because we find that the pleaders from the Department of Justice and the Solicitor General, when they appear in court, cite as precedents the fact seizure has been made in previous cases. For instance, they say that the President on one occasion seized Montgomery Ward. But when the cases which went to the court are analyzed it appears clear that it was specifically held that the President had no authority to seize a business unless he could point to the authority of a statute of Congress. Yet each one of the cases is cited as being authority for the action taken. The claim is made that we have waived our rights. As the Senator from Pennsylvania knows, because he is an able and distinguished lawyer, it is said that we

are guilty of what is known in the law as laches. I think the amendment will provide an effective weapon. A similar provision can be placed in all the other appropriation bills.

Mr. President, I always hesitate to raise the question of impeachment upon the floor of the Senate, because the Senate does not have the power to draw up an indictment for impeachment. That lies solely in the House of Representatives. We, as Members of the Senate, should not prejudice what acts can be used as a basis for impeachment, because we must sit as judges, with the Chief Justice of the United States presiding. But it may come to the point of impeachment if the President commits a high crime or misdemeanor on which the House of Representatives can base impeachment.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN. I was very much impressed in what the Senator said to the effect that if Congress asserts itself, it will be backed up by public opinion. Is it not true that by nonpartisan action in Congress, outstanding Democratic Senators and outstanding Republican Senators opposed the court-packing plan, which would have practically destroyed the greatness of the Supreme Court, and that the public then got behind the movement, and the proposal was finally defeated on the floor of the Senate? Is not such action a part of the duty of Congress? It is not pleasant to deprive a department of appropriations, but that seems to be about the only power we have to keep the departments in line.

Mr. FERGUSON. It is a remedy which Congress possesses. The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania is correct in saying this is not a partisan matter; it goes beyond partisanship. I expect that Senators on the opposite side of the aisle, Democrats, will vote for the amendment. I have no doubt that they will vote for it and include a similar amendment in all other appropriation bills.

When the court-packing bill came before the Senate, distinguished Senators on the opposite side of the aisle saw that there was no partisanship in the issue. That bill attacked one of the great fundamentals of our Government. The question was whether the very body established to administer justice was to be abolished.

Were we to remove from the Supreme Court Building, opposite the Capitol of the United States, the words carved in stone: "Equal justice under law"? Were they to be changed to read: "Justice under political decree," or "Justice under the whim of the President of the United States"? No. The Senate rose almost as a man and voted down the proposal to pack the Supreme Court.

I say that we are today faced with an equally important issue, namely, shall there be taken away from Congress the power to control the purse strings of the Nation?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MARTIN. The question I am about to ask the Senator is not relevant to the issue before the Senate, but are there not two powers which the Congress of the United States must have in order to perform its functions and to operate our form of government, namely, control of the purse strings and the guns of the country?

Mr. FERGUSON. The distinguished general, as I will now call him, who is also a distinguished Senator, knows well that those are two inseparable instrumentalities, the purse and arms. The founding fathers realized that when in the Constitution they limited appropriations for the Army to a period not longer than 2 years. It was because they knew it was vital to American liberty, independence, and freedom for Congress to have control of the purse strings and control of Army funds. That is why Congress, and not the President of the United States, has the power to raise and support armies. It is not the province of the President to raise and support armies. The Constitution says that that shall be the province of Congress.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] raised a question as to whether the Senator's amendment was sufficiently broad. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan, my colleague on the Committee on Appropriations, if it is not true that the Committee on the Judiciary reported, and the Senate passed the other day, I believe, a measure which has now become law, extending the temporary emergency powers of the President until June 1. In that amendment to the law there was a provision declaring that the act did not give the President the authority to seize any plants. As that was not law when the steel mills were seized, it did not apply to the steel mills, because the President was acting under his constitutional power. But is not that the answer to the question raised by the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe that to be true. I do not believe the bill has been signed. It was on the desk of the President on April 10, having been passed by the Senate on April 9. It said that nothing in the War Powers Act authorized seizure. I think this amendment is sufficiently broad to cover what Congress is now trying to do, namely, regain control of the purse strings.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If I am correct in my understanding, and if the Senator from Michigan is correct in his judgment, then, until after July 1, there can be no seizure under the emergency powers of the President, unless he acts under the constitutional powers which he claims to have.

Mr. FERGUSON. What the President calls his inherent powers.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I would say, and I think the Senator from Michigan will agree with me, that there

is no appropriation for the Department of Commerce contained in this supplemental bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, there are some items.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. But they do not apply to salaries, do they?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are not for that purpose.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Then this amendment still is pertinent to the bill, because it is a warning to the departments not to ask for funds in another supplemental bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Office of the Secretary has an item of \$100,000 in the bill for salaries and expenses.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Is it the purpose of the Senator to give warning by his amendment that Congress will not pass a supplemental bill appropriating funds for this purpose?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I wish to congratulate the Senator from Michigan for the courageous leadership he has shown on this issue, and I also wish to congratulate the Senator from California [Mr. Knowland] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] upon bringing this very important amendment before the Senate.

I wonder if the Senator from Michigan does not agree with me that we now have before us what is virtually the same issue Congress had before it when the President was endeavoring to usurp the powers of the Supreme Court.

Mr. FERGUSON. I think the issues are very similar. In the first instance, the President was trying to take judicial power unto himself. In this instance he is trying to take legislative power unto himself.

Mr. MUNDT. Precisely. In both cases there was a threat by the Executive to disturb the equilibrium of our pattern of balance, the balance of powers, the coordination of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Government.

In the first instance, because of courageous efforts and high statesmanship on the part of Democrats and Republicans alike, the President's threats were nullified. They were nullified in the first instance because he had asked for specific authority, which was denied.

In this instance, the President has usurped authority, and if Congress is not to become a mere tool of the Executive, this is our first opportunity to assert ourselves on a yea-and-nay vote and say that we refuse to become puppets of the President. Is not that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan ask unanimous consent that I may speak for a few minutes with reference to the statement made by the Senator from California in connection with cattle seizure?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from South Dakota may raise that question. I may wish to comment upon it later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Without objection, the Senator from South Dakota may proceed.

Mr. MUNDT. I am very happy the Senator from California brought the question of cattle seizure into the picture, because there is in these matters a pattern of violation. In the first instance, there was a threat to seize the cattle industry. Then the President seized the railroad industry. Now he has seized the steel industry.

I wish to elaborate briefly upon the statement of the Senator from California that the President did not go through with the seizure of the cattle industry, because cattle are so widely distributed throughout the country. I think that was a factor, but in that case there was another factor, which unhappily is lacking in the present case. I believe the victims of the present seizure may learn something from the attitude of cattlemen whose property was not seized.

The President in his threat to seize cattle encountered some of the sturdiest Americans in the Republic. When he made the threat that he was going to take cattle off the farms, he was defying private ownership in the face of people who have consistently had the courage and the capacity to defend their right of private ownership.

I call attention to the fact that the cattle owners have never been fair-weather friends of totalitarian government when it has seemed to move in their direction. The cattle owners and farmers have consistently opposed great expansion of Executive power in the Presidential office. So, at the time the President issued his challenge, the cattlemen gave open defiance and made public announcement that he would have to pick up the cattle through the use of the United States Army, that he would have to take them by force. The cattle owners and farmers knew that the Constitution protected them in the rights of private ownership. They have demonstrated that for a long time. Through their organization spokesmen they have repeatedly come to Congress and opposed efforts of the President to assume authority as against them. By the way in which they have voted in great national referendums and presidential elections the farmers have made it clear that they are not in favor of the concentration of political power in one office or one man in Washington. The caliber and nature of the representatives in Congress of the rural people of America, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, has been noteworthy. Invariably they have selected representatives who would stand opposed to any threat by the President to make the Congress a mere creature of the Executive.

Unhappily the railroad executives and the steel executives have not had such a long record of sterling opposition to the growth of big government. The railroad industry is now operated under the terms of national socialism, because the President has seized them. We have found high executives in the railroad

industry and high executives in the steel industry who, for one reason or another, have courted and carried the favor of the White House. They have associated themselves with other White House efforts at aggrandizement of political power. They have associated themselves in political campaigns to continue in office the proponents of a philosophy which believes in the concentration of power in Washington. At the moment, of course, when the steel boot has started to pinch the iron toe of the steel industry, we hear plaintive calls for help. I want to help them, because I am interested in a principle.

However, I believe that this is a good time to make clear to all concerned that if we are to stop socialism in this country, if we are to stop the trend toward dictatorship, we must stop it wherever it reaches out to seize power.

The cattlemen have had a clear-cut record in that respect. I believe that repentance is good for the soul. I hope that the railroad executives and the steel executives will learn from this lesson that the thing to do is to fight for freedom, not only when their own particular corporations are in jeopardy, but whenever a proposal is presented to the country for the concentration of power and the socialization of authority in the Executive.

I wished to raise that point as a salute to the cattlemen, who long ago did what the railroad executives and the steel executives in large part failed to do until they themselves were caught in the bear trap of political control.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. I wonder if the able Senator from Michigan would accept a modification of or an amendment to his amendment, in line 3, after the word "Act", to insert "or any unused funds previously appropriated."

In other words, not only should we put a stop to the use of any of the funds specifically appropriated in this bill, but we should put a stop to the use of any funds previously appropriated.

Would the Senator accept such an amendment?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan has been laboring on this amendment with other Senators. The question which arises is whether or not the addition of the language suggested would make the amendment legislation rather than a limitation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As the Chair understood the proposed modification—

Mr. FERGUSON. The parliamentary inquiry is this: Would the additional language "or any unused funds previously appropriated" constitute legislation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair, after consulting with the Parliamentarian, is of the opinion that such an amendment or modification of the pending amendment

would constitute legislation, and would be subject to a point of order. It would remove the pending amendment from the status of being merely a limitation upon the expenditure of money appropriated in this bill.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CAPEHART. How can we modify the Ferguson amendment so as to put a stop to the use of any previously appropriated funds?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the distinguished Senator that that is not a proper parliamentary question.

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall be glad to discuss that question later with the distinguished Senator from Indiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair doubts that the pending amendment could be so amended or modified as to attain the objective which the Senator from Indiana seeks, without making it subject to a point of order.

Mr. CAPEHART. I should like to ask unanimous consent to amend the pending amendment. Then I presume the Chair will rule that it is legislation, and I shall have an opportunity to appeal from that ruling and debate the subject.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I am sorry, but I shall have to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair correctly understand the Senator from Indiana to make the unanimous consent request?

Mr. CAPEHART. I made the unanimous consent request to amend the amendment. However, the able Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] objects to that request, so I shall later offer an amendment to the amendment, when I obtain the floor in my own right. My point is that if we are serious and sincere, we should do something to put a stop to the use of unused appropriations, as well as the appropriations which we are discussing at the moment.

I shall vote for the pending amendment. I think it is an excellent one, but it does not cure the disease or solve the problem. If we want to prevent the President from doing what he is doing, we should stop him from using any money previously appropriated. Then we shall be striking at the root of the matter, and we shall get the job done. Otherwise we are merely indulging in hope.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the distinguished Senator from Indiana that under the rule if he offers the amendment, unless it be by unanimous consent, he will have to give 1 day's notice, because such an amendment would be legislation on an appropriation bill. Then, of course, a two-thirds vote of the Senate would be required to suspend the rule.

Mr. CAPEHART. I shall obtain the floor in my own right later.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I invite attention to the fact that today we are speaking not only on the question of the seizure of material property such as bricks, mortar, and machinery, but upon a more fundamental question. The

President did not take over merely bricks, mortar, and machinery, he took over the jobs of the working men. He took away their right of collective bargaining.

I again point out to the Senate two sections of the executive order. Section 1 reads as follows:

The Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized and directed to take possession of all or such of the plants, facilities, and other property of the companies named in the list attached hereto, or any part thereof, as he may deem necessary in the interests of national defense; and to operate or to arrange for the operation thereof and to do all things necessary for, or incidental to, such operation.

Section 3 of the same order reads as follows:

The Secretary of Commerce shall determine and prescribe terms and conditions of employment under which the plants, facilities, and other properties, possession of which is taken pursuant to this order, shall be operated.

In other words, he not only takes over the property, but he also takes over the means of operation.

The order further provides:

The Secretary of Commerce shall recognize the rights of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining, adjustment of grievances, or other mutual aid or protection, provided—

We must underscore the next words:

Provided that such activities do not interfere with the operation of such plants, facilities, and other properties.

Mr. KNOWLAND and Mr. MOODY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield first to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague reads:

No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or of any funds made available for expenditure by this act, shall be used for the purpose of enforcing Executive Order 10340, dated April 8, 1952, directing the Secretary of Commerce to take possession of and operate the plants and facilities of certain steel companies, or any other order or regulation relating thereto.

Are there any funds provided in this bill which would be used for that purpose?

Mr. FERGUSON. There are funds that could be used. On page 35 of the bill the following items appear under the heading "Department of Commerce":

Salaries and expenses, \$100,000.
Technical and scientific services, \$10,000.
Salaries and expenses, defense production activities, \$2,500,000.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, then may we assume that the statement of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is not accurate. If, I understood him correctly to say that this would be merely a gesture?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is not a gesture. We are serious with respect to this point.

We are doing all that we can do in this particular bill. Those of us who are sponsoring the amendment considered very carefully the problem of providing a limitation while at the same time bringing it within the rule of the Senate prohibiting legislation on an appropriation bill, because otherwise it would require a two-thirds vote to suspend the rule, which we did not believe would be a fair requirement under the circumstances.

Mr. MOODY. If the Secretary of Commerce were unable to operate the plants under the present situation, would the result of the amendment be to close the plants?

Mr. FERGUSON. No. The amendment would merely stop the President from seizing the plants.

Mr. MOODY. The President has already seized them. If it would not close the plants, what would be the effect of the amendment?

Mr. FERGUSON. I take it for granted that the plants would be operated. The President has said that he has seized them and that he is going to operate them under his own terms. If it is not legal to do so and we go along with him, we would also be violating the Constitution.

Mr. MOODY. That is not what I was inquiring about. I should like to know what the practical result would be if we were to adopt the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague. Would the result be to rescind the action of the President and shut down the plants, or would the plants continue in the status in which they now find themselves? What would be the result?

Mr. FERGUSON. The President of the United States now can act under a law, the Taft-Hartley law. Notwithstanding what he has already done, he could still act under the Taft-Hartley law, and the plants would continue to operate.

Mr. MOODY. Is that quite true?

Mr. FERGUSON. Why is it not quite true?

Mr. MOODY. It is not true because the President would have to give notice and appoint a new board, and in the meantime the plants would be shut down.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Is it not correct to say that the President is acting under his constitutional power, or at least he claims to be acting under his constitutional power?

Mr. FERGUSON. He has said so.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. He is not acting under any statutory law. Is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. He has not stated any specific statute under which he is acting.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. He is acting in the face of a statute which says that he cannot do what he is doing.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Therefore, he is trying to act under the Constitution?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what he says.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. He says it. If that be true, and if the Senate were to adopt the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, would he not still continue to act as he has acted?

Mr. FERGUSON. He could not use any of the money in the appropriation bill.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. He could not use any money provided in this particular bill, but there are many other appropriation laws we have passed under which he could use money.

Mr. FERGUSON. But he could not use any of the money appropriated in this bill. That is all we have before us at the present time. That is all we can do.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. But in effect if the Senate were to adopt the amendment, it still would not stop him.

Mr. FERGUSON. It would tell him how Congress felt.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. That is all it would do.

Mr. FERGUSON. It would tell the people of America.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I feel the same way about it, but I want the people of the United States to know that we are not stopping him by adopting this amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. We are doing the very best we can do. We are demonstrating that we are not willing to abdicate our powers and responsibilities.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I am not protecting the President. I am asking these questions in order to get the facts before the people. I do not want them to think that by adopting the Senator's amendment and then enacting this appropriation bill into law we can stop the President.

Mr. FERGUSON. If we adopt the amendment and it becomes law we have done all that we can do in this particular bill. As the Senator has pointed out, and as it has been understood on the floor, we cannot legislate on an appropriation bill except by a two-thirds vote. It is unfair to ask for a two-thirds vote on this amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Is it not correct to say that the three authors of the amendment did give consideration to the possibility of being able to prohibit the use of funds which have already been appropriated, and that the only reason such a provision was not included was that there was grave doubt as to whether it would be considered a limitation, but, instead, might be considered legislation?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. The Chair has ruled on that point, sustaining the opinion of the Senators who drafted the amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield further?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield further.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Apropos of the question raised by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], I should like to make a suggestion. It is not in final form, but

I should like to suggest language substantially as follows, which may meet the problem raised by the Senator from Vermont:

No part of any appropriation contained in this act or any funds made available for expenditure by this act shall be used for the purpose of acquiring, seizing, or operating any plant, facility, or other property, unless the acquisition, seizure, or operation of such plant, facility, or other property is seized by act of Congress enacted prior to the date of the enactment of this act.

I am speaking of future appropriation bills, as they come along. It would apply not only to the steel industry, but to any other industry if there were no specific authority at law. Does the Senator from Michigan agree that such language might meet the point raised by the distinguished Senator from Vermont?

Mr. FERGUSON. Would the Senator from California restate the language?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I hand a copy of the proposed language to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. It reads:

That no part of the appropriations contained in this act or any funds made available for expenditure by this act or any funds hereafter or heretofore made available by appropriation or otherwise for expenditure during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, shall be used for the purpose of acquiring—

The Senator from California has in mind only the last part. Is that correct?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. Not the legislative part?

Mr. KNOWLAND. No. All I have in mind is the regular appropriation bills which are now before the Committee on Appropriations, which will cover the fiscal year ending in 1953, rather than the fiscal year ending in 1952.

What I have suggested would be general in nature. As I understand the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan, for himself and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and the senior Senator from California, it is aimed specifically at the executive order of the President of the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. It is aimed at this particular seizure. There was a specific order issued. That is the reason the order number is used, so as to prohibit the enforcement of that order by the use of any funds appropriated by this bill.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I am not proposing a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Michigan; I am merely asking whether in the judgment of the Senator from Michigan such broader language, if offered as an amendment to future appropriation bills, might meet the point raised by the Senator from Vermont, who was fearful that the amendment of the Senator from Michigan applied only to the seizure of the steel companies, whereas the Senator from Vermont was worried that under the same doctrine of inherent rights the President might seize other industries.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct; but I think we should limit this amendment to the funds provided by the pending appropriation bill.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wonder whether the Senator from Michigan has had an opportunity to read the constitutional analysis of the President's act, prepared by Donald R. Richberg, of the University of Virginia Law School.

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I have not had the privilege of reading it.

Mr. MUNDT. If the Senator from Michigan has not read it, I should like to read one or two paragraphs of Mr. Richberg's analysis. Then if the analysis appeals to the Senator from Michigan as it appeals to me, perhaps the Senator will request that the entire analysis be printed at this point in the RECORD. I make that suggestion because I think all of us are aware that Donald R. Richberg is one of the outstanding lawyers in America. He is a distinguished attorney and author; and was formerly general counsel and chairman of the NRA, was co-author of the Railway Labor Act, and for a number of years was conspicuously identified with various governmental administrative policies.

In his analysis of the President's seizure of the steel companies, Mr. Richberg says:

The seizure of the properties of the steel companies by President Truman is the most inexcusably lawless act of any President in our entire history. Presidents have sometimes exercised a doubtful power when it seemed that no other action would avert a national calamity. But no President ever before has refused to use a lawful power available to him to meet an emergency and, instead, has deliberately chosen to do what he is forbidden to do by the Constitution.

I believe that is the precise point the Senator from Michigan has been making so eloquently today, namely, that the President has committed two errors, as follows: Not only has the President acted unconstitutionally, in attempting to use a power which he does not possess; but the President has refused to use a power which, by act of Congress, he does have.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Furthermore, in response to the straw-man argument that the steel mills will close if the President does not take this action, let me ask this question: Is it not true that the steel industry will not close down unless the President persistently refuses to use the legal means he now has under the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. FERGUSON. Certainly. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the Taft-Hartley Act is quite sufficient to meet the present situation, for under that act there is provision for a period of time in which the President can appoint the board which that act authorizes him to appoint, and in that period of time the board could make its findings, and the action legally authorized by the Taft-Hartley law could be taken. In that way, the Taft-Hartley Act could be used in the present situation, and the operation of the steel industry would not be interfered with in the way that has been claimed.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me for a further question?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. If the present effort succeeds and if by means of future appropriation bills the Congress succeeds in again obtaining control of the appropriations, is it not true that the only way the steel industry would be closed down and the only way production would be stopped would be either by a stubborn refusal of the President to use the power he has under the Taft-Hartley Act or by a walk-out on the part of the labor unions?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, and in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

If the Senator from Michigan will permit me to do so, I should like to read further from the analysis written by a great Democrat, Donald Richberg, of the University of Virginia Law School:

Instead of using his lawful powers to prevent a strike, President Truman adopted a lawless course of action designed either to force the steel companies to satisfy the demands of the union or, if they refused, to fortify the union in calling a national strike. The first arbitrary act of the President was to direct a hearing of the entire steel dispute by the Wage Stabilization Board, which was notoriously packed in favor of the union. In this Board the so-called public members were well known to be pro-labor, and, with the partisan labor members, made a biased majority against the management members.

If the Senator from Michigan will permit me to do so, I should like to read another statement in the analysis, and then I should like to ask whether the Senator from Michigan would like to have all of this analysis or legal opinion printed in the RECORD.

In concluding his analysis, Donald R. Richberg says this:

The President has no power which is not granted to him in plain language by the Constitution or granted by Congress acting under the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution.

Let me interpolate here that, as a matter of fact, the President is specifically prohibited by the tenth amendment of the Constitution from exercising flamboyant powers which he might wish to exercise, for the tenth amendment of the Constitution makes it clear that the President cannot usurp powers which he does not have, and that the powers which are not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, remain in the hands of the individual States or of his majesty, the individual American citizen.

I continue to read from the analysis by Donald R. Richberg:

The President has been granted power to "execute the laws." As the Supreme Court has held, he has no power to make the laws. Even if one believed that the President had any unwritten "inherent" power to deal with a national emergency, only a fool or a knave would claim that the President had an "inherent" power to make a law to take the place of a law that he had refused to execute.

Mr. President, let me point out that that is the strange, paradoxical situation with which we are confronted in this instance. In this case the President is trying to make a law which he has no right to make, to take the place of a law which Congress has made and which

Congress had a right to make, but which the President has wilfully and flagrantly defied.

I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan whether he would like to have the entire analysis from which I have read printed at this point in the RECORD.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, Mr. President; I ask unanimous consent to have the entire analysis printed at this point in the RECORD.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from Michigan very much indeed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**STEEL SEIZURE MOST INEXCUSABLY LAWLESS
PRESIDENTIAL ACT IN NATION'S HISTORY**

Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.: In response to your request I am submitting herewith a brief opinion as to the legality of the seizure of the steel industry by President Truman.

The seizure of the properties of the steel companies by President Truman is the most inexcusably lawless act of any President in our entire history. Presidents have sometimes exercised a doubtful power when it seemed that no other action would avert a national calamity. But no President ever before has refused to use a lawful power available to him to meet an emergency and, instead, has deliberately chosen to do what he is forbidden to do by the Constitution.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act President Truman had the duty as well as the power to appoint a board of inquiry to report upon the facts of the steel dispute, without making any recommendations. Thereafter he had the power to stop a strike of steel workers for at least 80 days during which Federal mediators could try to settle the dispute, and the employees would have the opportunity to vote by secret ballot to accept or reject the final offer made by their employers. But, under this lawful procedure labor bosses would not have been able to mislead or deceive the workers into supporting an unjustifiable and unpatriotic strike. So, to favor these labor politicians, and to avoid again proving the value of the Taft-Hartley Act, President Truman refused to perform his duties under the law.

Instead of using his lawful powers to prevent a strike, President Truman adopted a lawless course of action designed either to force the steel companies to satisfy the demands of the union or, if they refused, to fortify the union in calling a national strike. The first arbitrary act of the President was to direct a hearing of the entire steel dispute by the Wage Stabilization Board, which was notoriously packed in favor of the union. In this Board the so-called "public" members were well known to be pro-labor, and, with the partisan labor members, made a biased majority against the management members.

This packed Board then made recommendations for a settlement so unreasonably favorable to union demands that union acceptance and management rejection were inevitable. President Truman still had lawful power to avert the calamity of a national strike by obtaining an injunction and compelling further negotiations with the aid of Federal mediators. He still had the power and the duty to call upon Congress to enact a law, either to provide for a compulsory settlement of the dispute which would be fair to all concerned, or, if necessary, to authorize a temporary Government operation with legal protection for the rights and interests of the workers, the owners and the public.

But, again, the President chose to follow a partisan and lawless procedure. He announced his unqualified support, not only of union demands for heavy wage increases, but also of the union fraudulent claim that these wage increases should be paid without compensating price increases. Then, having actually promoted and made inevitable a strike disastrous to the national welfare, President Truman, by an executive order not authorized by any law, seized all the private properties of the steel companies and directed the Secretary of Commerce to operate them so long as might be "necessary or expedient in the interest of national defense."

Over 85 years ago the Supreme Court of the United States rebuked President Lincoln because, under the terrible strains of a civil war, he had assumed to exercise a power which had never been granted to him. The Court said that the President "is controlled by law, and has his appropriate sphere of duty, which is to execute, not to make the laws." The Court also held: "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances."

When President Truman made himself the tool of a labor union to deprive thousands of American citizens—workers, stockholders, and managers—of their constitutional liberties and property rights, without lawful authority or anything resembling "due process of law," he violated his oath of office in which he solemnly swore to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." He showed the American people how easily a faithless President could make a scrap of paper out of the Constitution, a lesson which they should not forget when they choose a new President in November. Certainly no favored disciple of Harry S. Truman should seek to follow him.

There are, of course, lawyers of good and ill repute who will try to justify usurpations of authority by the President with learned babbling about inherent power. The answer to that sophistry is short. The President has no power which is not granted to him in plain language by the Constitution or granted by Congress acting under the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution. The President has been granted power to execute the laws. As the Supreme Court has held, he has no power to make the laws. Even if one believed that the President had any unwritten inherent power to deal with a national emergency, only a fool or a knave would claim that the President had an inherent power to make a law to take the place of a law that he had refused to execute. That glaring fraud in any argument to justify Truman's lawlessness should be evident to even a very small and very biased mind.

Respectfully submitted,

DONALD R. RICHBERG.

Mr. FERGUSON. I have only a few more remarks. I wish to refer to the provision of the Executive order which allows the Secretary of Commerce to prohibit collective bargaining, if in his opinion he believes it is desirable to do so. This point was further brought to light by means of an editorial appearing in today's Washington Post. In the editorial, reference is made to James P. Shields, grand chief engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and to a statement he made when he was speaking about seizure of the railroads. Certainly labor is awake to the facts involved in this case.

I now read the portion of the Washington Post editorial which quotes Mr. Shields:

In the light of the Cleveland rails decision and the seizure of the steel industry, this Nation now is faced with the specter of continued and expanded involuntary servitude unless present seizure tactics are wiped out on constitutional grounds. * * * If men's earnings, profits, and collective bargaining, all can be placed in deep freeze without restrictive legislation, we'd better know it as quickly as possible.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial may be printed at this point in the RECORD, so that the extract I have read from it will not be taken out of context.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOK AT THE RECORD

CIO President Philip Murray pegged most of his talk before the National Press Club Thursday on a "look at the record." "What are the facts?" Mr. Murray asked about the steel dispute. It is unfortunate that he did not himself consult the record and the facts before he compared the Government seizure of the steel plants with the 1950 seizure of the railroads—situations which he contended were similar.

There is one essential difference—perhaps a slight one to Mr. Murray, but important for the record. In the rail case, the President had the benefit of a 1916 law authorizing the Executive to seize the rail system in time of war. In the steel case Mr. Truman had no such authority, nor did he make reference to any law of Congress. For recommended reading—for the President as well—on the implications of the steel seizure as they may ultimately affect labor, we suggest to Mr. Murray the comments of James P. Shields, grand chief engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers:

"In the light of the Cleveland rails decision and the seizure of the steel industry, this Nation now is faced with the specter of continued and expanded involuntary servitude unless present seizure tactics are wiped out on constitutional grounds. * * * If men's earnings, profits, and collective bargaining all can be placed in deep freeze without restrictive legislation, we'd better know it as quickly as possible."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I wish to say that I have spoken on this subject on Thursday, April 10, as appears on page 4007 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and on Wednesday, April 16, as appears on page 4083 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I hope we may have a vote on this amendment at an early hour after proper debate.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for one or two questions?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. First, does not the Senator from Michigan feel that in the Congress today we are actually faced with one of the gravest constitutional questions which has confronted Congress in many years?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; the issue involved is very grave, indeed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for a further question?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I am glad to yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does not the able Senator from Michigan believe that the present action of the President, which might be regarded as a precedent—namely, the effort of the President to establish, by means of a usurpation of power, what he calls his inherent powers—constitutes as grave a danger to organized labor in the United States as it does to business, or agriculture, or any other segment of the Nation's economy?

Mr. FERGUSON. Absolutely. In fact, all the rights and liberties of the people and all property rights are involved; the inalienable rights protected by the first ten amendments to the Constitution are involved in this matter and are hanging in the balance. If the President can seize one, he can seize all.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for another question?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I am glad to yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does not the Senator from Michigan base a considerable part of his argument in favor of the adoption of the pending amendment on the fact that he recognizes that, under the Constitution, the Congress is a co-equal branch of the Government?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. Congress is a coequal branch of the Government.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does not the Senator from Michigan press for the adoption of his amendment at this time because he has in mind the fact that the other branch of Congress is in Easter recess, and at the moment the Senate of the United States is the only part of the legislative arm of the Government which can function at this time to protect the rights of the people and also to take some affirmative action against the President's usurpation of power?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. In other words, I believe Congress should take action which is within its power, in addition to making speeches on the floor of the Senate. I think that is the situation with which we are faced, and that is why I believe we should vote on this question today, if possible.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield again?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I am glad to yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Let me say to the Senator from Michigan that time after time I have found that in the State of California the members of the public are saying, "It is all very well for Congress to adopt resolutions, and it is entirely proper that speeches pointing out the dangers involved in this matter should be made in the Senate and in the House of Representatives; but when is the Congress going to act?"

Has not the Senator, as well as those associated with him in this amendment, for the first time given the legislative arm of the Government a chance to act in such a manner as to serve notice on the Executive that we look upon his action in the steel case as a bald-faced usurpation of power which he does not

have either under the statutes or under the Constitution?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator speaks the facts. That is exactly what we are trying to do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself and other Senators.

Mr. HUMPHREY obtained the floor.

Mr. BRIDGES. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield for that purpose?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield, provided I do not thereby lose my rights to the floor. I ask unanimous consent that I may have the floor immediately at the conclusion of the quorum call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The absence of a quorum is suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be rescinded and that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of its business today the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon on next Monday.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I should like to address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I should like to know, if unanimous consent is granted, whether a motion entered today to suspend the rules for the purposes of adding legislation to an appropriation bill would still be in order so that it could be acted upon when the Senate meets on Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair, after consulting with the Parliamentarian, advises the Senator from California that a motion entered today would be subject to consideration if the Senate adjourns or recesses until Monday.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I wanted to be sure that we would not be foreclosed.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, may I say, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that the reason for my request was that if it were developed that a quorum of the Senate were not present, we would not have to meet tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Arizona? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself and other Senators.

The Senator from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the amendment to which I wish to address myself is one which, if agreed to, would deny the Government of the United States the authority—if not the authority, at least the means—of keeping steel production at its present level. I think we should all know what the amendment is about.

It is not an economy amendment; it is not an amendment to save a few dollars. It is an amendment which is directed to one purpose, and one purpose only, namely, to check the exercise of the executive order of the President for the seizure of the steel mills so that steel and iron ingot production can be maintained. That is its purpose.

I want the Senate to appreciate what would happen if the amendment should be adopted, and I want the Record to be perfectly clear as to what would be the nature of the disaster which would befall us if in this back-handed, back-door, slipshod manner, we should attempt to upset an action which has been taken to keep the steel mills of the country producing steel at maximum quantity. That is what the fight is about; that is what the debate is about, and that is what we are going to decide.

As to the constitutionality of the President's seizure, I was of the opinion that I was elected to the United States Senate, not to the Supreme Court. I know there are undoubtedly persons who have a great ambition to be judges, but there are no judges in this body. There are legislators; there are Senators. The Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives have the exclusive power to legislate. If this body feels that the President's action in seizing the steel mills was beyond his power under the Constitution, that it was a usurpation of power, as was stated on the floor this afternoon, the Constitution of the United States provides an appropriate remedy. It provides impeachment procedures. If the President is as guilty as some Members of the Senate say he is, then it is their solemn obligation to seek to have impeachment proceedings instituted. If he has usurped power, if he has violated the Constitution, if he is guilty of malfeasance or nonfeasance, if he has seen fit to go far beyond the prerogatives of the executive office, the founding fathers have provided in the Constitution of the United States an honorable, legitimate remedy.

A committee of this House is about to hold hearings on the question of whether

the President's action is constitutional. I refer to the Committee on the Judiciary. The question is within the jurisdiction of that committee. I do not think the committee can do anything about it, but it will not be the only hearing that has been held when it has not been possible to do anything about the question involved. The courts will have to decide whether the President acted within the powers of the Executive as provided for in article 2 of the Constitution.

I may say to the distinguished legal minds of this body that article 2 of the Constitution is very short, and they will have to look through the fine print, if there is any, to find some of the powers exercised during past years.

The Constitution provides that the Executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States, and that the President of the United States shall be Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Those are the two pillars upon which rest the great powers of the Executive.

Mr. President, I am no expert on constitutional law, nor am I ignorant of it, but I say, name one Supreme Court case which has decided this specific question. There is not a case in the Supreme Court in which such a question has ever been determined.

There seem to be some new judges, persons who have read decisions which have never been written, who are able to glean out of thin atmosphere a doctrine of law that has never been substantiated by a court order or a court writ.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. There are some judges who have never read decisions that have been written. Have we not an Executive who has interpreted laws or situations whose interpretations certainly have not been adjudged correct?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I would say to the Senator from New Hampshire, rather than answer in my own words, that a distinguished former Chief Justice of the United States, I believe it was Charles Evans Hughes, said that the President frequently, at the risk of having his actions called unconstitutional, has had to do things to save the Constitution. In other words, he has had to take action in an emergency.

I say to the distinguished leader of the Republican Party in the Senate that it was less than a hundred years ago when a great President of the United States suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Does the Republican leadership now want to stand on this floor and assail him for that, in the name of defending the Union, in the name of protecting the Union?

The President of the United States has as his first obligation the duty to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and this Republic.

Mr. President, I am not going to argue whether the President had the legal or constitutional power to do what he did. I am the junior Senator from Minne-

sota; I am not the Chief Justice of the United States. Neither am I speaking in the spirit of Brandeis, Cardozo, or Holmes, Marshall, Taney, or White. I have heard of those distinguished jurists. But today I ask my friends who set themselves up as the new constitutional lawyers of the United States Senate, where is there a court order, where is there a court doctrine, where is there a case, where is there a citation, where is there in the Federal Register or in any books or documents, a sound basis for the great argument against the President which is now being made? They find none, and they can find none, because there has never been a case. Now there is a case pending. The steel companies have jointly pressed suit against the Government. Do not Senators think it would be well to let the normal procedures of law prevail? Do they not have men who are honorable, trained in the law, and who will be able to defend themselves and their interests? Are there those in this body who believe the courts of the United States are incapable of making an honorable, objective judgment?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Would the Senator from Minnesota, who has a very eloquent way of expressing himself, be just as eloquent, just as forcible, if some other President were involved and he had seized labor unions?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I may say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I have witnessed the seizure of railroads by the President of the United States, and since the seizure there have been two freight rate increases and no wage increases, but I have not been on the floor assailing the President.

I am not one who happens to like seizure. I was not one of those who voted for the seizure bill introduced by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] during the debate on the Taft-Hartley Act, providing for seizure injunctions, but the Senate passed such a bill.

I may remind the Senator from New Hampshire that when there is talk about denying the President funds in order to prevent seizure, what is an injunction but the seizure of the rights of labor for its work at its price?

What loss do the steel companies have under the seizure order, except what I consider to be a loss that is significant beyond dollars, namely, the intangible but broad value that attaches to private property? The steel companies are not losing their profits. Their officers are not going to lose their salaries. They are not going to lose any of their rights in terms of production and management of their business. As one might say, this is a seizure in theory. The same persons operate the plants. The purpose of the seizure is plain—to maintain the production of steel.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota has not answered my question. I asked him if he would be just as strong and just as eloquent in his argument on the floor of the Senate if some future President of the United

States should use claimed inherent powers to seize labor unions. The Senator has not answered my question.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I may say to the Senator from New Hampshire that if the safety of my country and its future welfare and well-being should depend upon the Chief Executive being able to protect our national interest through seizure, then indeed I would go along with him.

Let me say to the Senator from New Hampshire that it is quite strange that I have heard no one seek to impeach the President because he called up reserves and sent them off to die. He called up thousands of young men. But the moment the Government touched somebody's business in the name of common defense, in the name of preparedness, in the name of a national emergency which was declared by the President, this honorable body could have protested by resolution, but it did not.

A national emergency was declared. It was perfectly obvious the country was in a critical situation, indeed, according to the speeches I have heard on this floor, the present situation is not only critical, it is supercritical, it is almost catastrophic. If things are that bad, am I to infer that the President of the United States must let the country fall apart at the seams?

Mr. BRIDGES. Will the Senator from Minnesota support as eloquently and strongly a future President, or the present President, if he proceeds to seize the dairy herds in the State of Minnesota?

Mr. HUMPHREY. If the choice is between the safety of America and the dairy herds of Minnesota and New Hampshire—I do not even have to answer that question; I do not think it should have been asked.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota prides himself upon being a liberal—a liberal Democrat. It has always been my understanding, and I believe the Senator can inform me if I am not correct, that liberals stood for constitutional liberty, for civil liberties, and for the restraint of Executive power.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator is in an odd position arguing his case here.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Is the Senator asking a question?

Mr. BRIDGES. Let me quote Woodrow Wilson, who the Senator says was a great Democratic President: He said:

The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it.

I do not understand the Senator's position in defending the seizure of steel mills or anything else. I am surprised. I would expect to find him in the forefront of advanced thought and standing up for personal liberties.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am very grateful for the Senator's solicitude for the junior Senator from Minnesota. I am appreciative of his interpretation of my philosophy of liberalism. But one part he left out. I believe also in due process of law. I believe in judicial process. The Senator from New Hampshire did not mention those items.

I believe the question of the seizure of steel plants is not one to be settled in the Senate, unless Senators wish to legislate. Do Senators have the courage to legislate? I will help legislate, but I cannot stand for any backdoor attempts to legislate. Come out in front and legislate. Congress can restrict the power of the Executive by legislation. Indeed we can legislate.

But in this instance, I submit that the place to determine whether the President of the United States violated the Constitution is in the Supreme Court of the land.

In the meantime, there is a bill before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, introduced by the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. I trust all those who are so thrilled and moved by the desire to amend the pending appropriation bill—H. R. 6947—will study the bill of the Senator from Oregon. That bill is before the committee. In addition, there is before the committee a bill S. 3106, which I commend to the attention of the Senate, upon which a legislative committee is now holding hearings.

I may say further that, if I recall correctly, the Selective Service Act, unless it has been amended and I am unaware of it, confers some powers on the President of the United States to protect, by way of seizure, those who are defending their Nation.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator referred to the fact that the President called out Reserves and troops in the case of the Korean emergency, and he said, or attempted to say, I think, that that was a situation similar to that with which we are faced today. Let me point out to him that the Reserves and the National Guard were created by law, and the law expressly designated how the President should proceed to call them out. In that case he was following a statutory provision.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator. I think he would make an able and distinguished judge. I have never seen a man of more judicious temperament. He already has the decision, even before the testimony. He already has ruled upon the powers of the President. Of course, since the time of John Marshall up to the present case, since the time of the first case of John Jay, the courts have not come to grips with this basic conflict in the Constitution, the basic issue involved in this case, namely, the question of the inherent powers of the President of the United States as the Chief Executive in such a situation as that which we are now confronting.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am delighted to yield for a question, but not for a speech. I am making the speech.

Mr. BRIDGES. Very well. Perhaps the reason why this question has never been tested in the courts is the fact that no other President has ever attempted to use such powers without statutory authority.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am not sufficiently aware of all the history of the country to be able to answer that question. However, I do know that on other occasions, under other acts, the President of the United States has seized property. I know that the Congress of the United States could not enact seizure powers unless they came within the Constitution of the United States. Even this body must respect the Constitution.

Mr. President, I wish to get down to the issue. I shall not engage further in intellectual polemics. Perhaps the discussion is short on intellect, but it is long on polemics. I wish to get down to the issue before us.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Not at this moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota declines to yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I wish my colleagues clearly to understand that if this amendment is adopted the end result can be nothing more than this: The Department of Commerce will be denied the funds with which to carry out the Executive order relating to plant seizure. That will mean that the Department of Commerce can no longer perform its functions. That will mean, obviously, that the plants must be returned to their rightful owners—the individual stockholders and the management. That will mean a strike because this dispute is not settled. We are not arguing the merits of the strike. If we were to go into that question, we would be here a long, long time.

The only other weapon the President of the United States would have would be the one which has been talked about so openly, so eloquently, and so simply, namely, the weapon of injunction under the procedure of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is automatic, so it is said. It is interesting to note how much information some persons seem to have about something which they have never even looked into.

What is the testimony before our committee? The testimony before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is that an average of 9 days are required to obtain an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act. I call that fact to the attention of the minority leader. I ask the minority leader a question. Does he want 9 days of shutdown in the steel industry?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; but I want—

Mr. HUMPHREY. Does the minority leader want 9 days of no production? That is the issue here.

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I decline to yield at this time.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota asked me a question.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That was a rhetorical question.

I say to the minority leader that it is easy to rise in the Senate and talk about the law. In the Middle Ages learned philosophers argued the theoretical, academic point as to how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. That

was intellectual gymnastics. However, the simple, sad fact is that had the President not acted as he did the furnaces and the steel plants would be cold today. The sad fact is that if that had happened the production program for national defense would have been severely jeopardized. If that should happen, it would become clear to the enemy, and that fact would seriously threaten the defense of this country.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota has referred to the testimony before his committee. Who gave that testimony? Who are the great authorities who told us how long a time would be required to obtain an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act procedures? I have seen injunctions obtained very simply and quickly.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Indeed. That is exactly why the Taft-Hartley Act afforded some protection under the national emergency procedure, so that injunctions could not be obtained so smoothly, quickly, and automatically.

Mr. BRIDGES. Does the Senator want the procedure to operate smoothly and quickly?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Minnesota wants the procedure followed according to the processes of the law.

Mr. BRIDGES. So do I.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from New Hampshire asks who gave this testimony. It was someone who knows something about the subject.

Mr. BRIDGES. Who was it?

Mr. HUMPHREY. One of the greatest men in America in the field of labor-management relations, Nathan P. Feinsinger, Chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board.

Mr. BRIDGES. I do not think I will take his advice.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Then take the advice of Paul M. Herzog, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, or the advice of the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. BRIDGES. Why does not the Senator mention some distinguished and outstanding constitutional lawyer?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I suggest to the minority leader that he relax for a moment.

While it is wonderful to be an expert in all these fields, occasionally the Government of the United States calls upon men who have had more than a short course. Occasionally it calls upon men in public life who have devoted half a century, a generation, or a decade to the service of their country in a particular field of endeavor. We have such men in the field of labor-management relations. Not only have we their opinions, but we have the record.

We know, for example, that it takes time, under the procedures of the Taft-Hartley law, under title II, I believe, which contains the national emergency procedure, for an injunction to become

effective. Perhaps the procedure could be speeded up so that only 5 days would be required. But 5 days of no production in the steel industry would be a disaster in these days, because time is required to cool the furnaces, and time is required to reheat them. It requires time to stop all the processes of an integrated industry such as the steel industry, and to start such processes, again and get the industry back into production.

What is the issue? I shall not argue constitutionality any further. I have my opinion. But I am not a Justice of the Supreme Court. Neither is the minority leader, nor any other Member of this body.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. This issue will be settled in the courts of the United States. It will not be finally settled in the Senate, unless we wish to settle it by impeachment or by legislation.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Not at this moment.

As I understand, the amendment before us says nothing about impeachment. It says nothing about legislation. The Parliamentarian has so held. It is said to be a limitation upon appropriations. It sounds simple. It seems to be somewhat innocuous. All I am saying is that if this limitation is adopted, it will be a type of mandate. It will say to the Secretary of Commerce and to the President that the Congress of the United States insists that these plants be immediately returned. If the plants are immediately returned, without some kind of settlement of the dispute, without any prophetic vision, but simply through the simple operation of a mind which knows what some of the facts are, we shall have trouble; and trouble at this hour would be very disastrous.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I now yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota says that this amendment is innocuous, but he does not believe that it is proper. I should like to read the purposes of the Department of Commerce, as set forth in the Executive Manual:

The statutory functions of the Department are to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, mining, manufacturing, shipping, etc.

It does not say anything about seizure. There is not a word about seizure. The purpose of the Department is to develop, foster, and to maintain commerce. So I think the amendment is quite proper.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Of course the Senator from New Hampshire thinks the amendment is proper. I respect his opinion. I have great respect for the Senator's ability, opinions, and judgments. I believe that at times he is wrong. This is one of the times when I think he is wrong.

All I am saying is that we ought not to kid ourselves about the legal language

involved. I should like to indicate what I think would be the result if this amendment were adopted.

I think the result would be as I have stated. First, it would be an open, overt indication to the President and to the Secretary of Commerce and to the American people that seizure must stop.

Second, it would cripple the hands of the Secretary of Commerce, who was authorized under the Executive order to be the manager of the seized plants, to get out of the business. That would result in a cessation of production.

These are some of the things with respect to which I think we should have reasonable attitudes and reasonable conjectures.

On the other hand, to argue the constitutionality of the President's action is indeed enjoyable. That is one of the favorite subjects of all constitutional lawyers. It is a subject matter which is used repeatedly in law schools and on debate platforms. It is something on which Members of Congress love to debate, because they never can really settle the question. It is always fun to talk about something that cannot be settled.

Finally it gets down to the question of whether the President exceeded his power within the Constitution, which question can be determined in only one place. It cannot be determined in any other place, unless the distinguished minority leader has some new project in mind. I did not think that we were going to amend the Constitution, Mr. President. There is one title in the Constitution which pertains to the judiciary. It is only in the United States Supreme Court that that issue can be settled.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota said that he did not think we were attempting to amend the Constitution. That is one of the points at issue, Mr. President. I hope that we will not allow the President of the United States to amend the Constitution. We want to keep the present Constitution.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I join in that hope; I do not want the President to amend the Constitution either. All I know is that I am not in a position to say whether he did or did not amend it. The only place in which we can find the answer to that question is across the street in the Supreme Court Building. I will say to the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire: "You are in the wrong shop, Senator. You came to the right city, but you did not get into the right building."

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield further?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota said that we have had no decision from the Supreme Court. The Senator from New Hampshire has pointed out that perhaps the reason for it is that no other President ever attempted to take such action. Would not the Senator from Minnesota like to hear some good legal opinion from outstanding constitutional lawyers?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes. I will give the Senator from New Hampshire one.

Mr. BRIDGES. Some of them are Democrats, too.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me give an opinion by an outstanding constitutional lawyer, who is a Republican. I think it would be interesting to have that opinion.

Mr. BRIDGES. It would be, provided he were the right kind of Republican.

Mr. HUMPHREY. He is one of the best. He is a real leader in the Republican Party. If the Republican Party had more men like him, the Democratic Party would be a minority party for so long that it would be in the predicament of the Republican Party today.

Mr. BRIDGES. Perhaps we will bring that about.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me read the opinion of this outstanding Republican. Perhaps I should give the citation, since we are discussing law. I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Eighty-second Congress, second session, Wednesday, April 9, 1952, page 3890. I quote from the opinion of the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], a former dean of a law school and an eminent lawyer and a distinguished Republican, a man of great logic and ability, and one who has served his country and his party with distinction and honor. He gives what I believe to be a frank and honorable opinion. He does not set himself up as a court.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] said:

There is one further point which I wish to make on the merits of the steel case itself before I close. I marvel at how easy it is for some people to express curbstone opinions as to how a case as complicated as this case should be settled.

Listen to this:

People who have not seen a single exhibit involved in the case, people who have not read a page of the long record in the case, people who have not attended a single argument in the case, know exactly how it ought to be settled.

I think he clearly had the power and the duty to take action. If we do not like his action, then I say that we have a legislative power to proceed to enact legislation which will provide what we consider to be a better and more orderly way for handling emergency disputes such as this. That is why I have introduced today a bill which I think will provide a more orderly procedure for the handling of seizure cases than would be followed in the absence of some such legislation.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I want to complete the documentation of my authority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota declines to yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am talking about a man who sits in this body and who is also a lawyer. I am talking about a man who was a member of the War Labor Board, in which he earned a record for his understanding of the intricate problems involved in production and labor-management relations.

The constitutional question cannot be settled in the legislative chamber. It

can be settled only in the place where questions of law are settled, and that is in the Supreme Court of the United States. That is exactly where this case is going. The only trouble is that someone is always trying to get into the act before the judges do. Someone always wants to beat them to the punch. I remind my colleagues that this case will not be settled on its constitutional merits in the halls of Congress. It will be settled only in a judicial tribunal.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. As I understand, the Senator from Minnesota a few minutes ago was deriding all Members of the Senate for expressing any legal opinion and said that this was no place in which to get an opinion.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I was saying merely that the case could not be settled in Congress.

I am saying that every man has his own legal view, whether he be a lawyer or not. While this is a most interesting debate—and I hope also somewhat enjoyable—I should like to say that after all is said and done, and even if we adopt the pending amendment, it will not settle the question which we have heard discussed so much: "Was the President's act of seizure constitutional?"

Mr. President, every man has some deep frustration in his soul, and there seems to be an overflowing of frustration with respect to every Senator's desire to be a judge.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota said in the same voice that he did not expect us to be discussing whether anything was constitutional. Does he not think that that question should be taken into account in passing any legislation, namely, whether a piece of legislation is according to the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I may say to the Senator from New Hampshire that the power of Congress to pass seizure legislation has been upheld by the courts of the United States. There can be no doubt about it.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not arguing that point.

Mr. HUMPHREY. What point is the Senator from New Hampshire arguing?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am talking about the assumed or so-called inherent powers.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from New Hampshire has one point of view with respect to that question. I have another point of view. I went to school for about as long as the Senator from New Hampshire. I studied the same books. I came out with a different point of view. Who is right, and who is wrong? The only place in which that question can be answered is in that beautiful building across the street where nine distinguished men sit, in the Supreme Court of the United States. I think we should leave it to them. Of course, they will be delighted to look at the RECORD and peruse the pearls of wis-

dom and interesting announcements and dicta, but I am sure that all of it will not change their minds.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from New Hampshire never expected to see the day come when the seizure, without statutory authority, of private property, whether of an individual or of a corporation, would even be debated on the floor of the United States Senate.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I regret that it has happened. Indeed I regret it. I say the fact that it has happened is our own fault. We have given up by default a power which was contained in the Emergency Powers Act. We have allowed it to die. We have left our Executive without the legislative mandate that he needs as the Chief Executive at a time of peril. Therefore he has acted.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Minnesota is saying that the President should proceed anyway without legislation, as I understand. I do not think the Senator from Minnesota wants to stand on that statement.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I stand on this statement, Mr. President, that when this Nation is in peril, when the lives of its people are in peril, and when the safety of our country is in peril, it is time for the President to act. Let me say to my distinguished Republican friend that the failure to act in a great emergency is why his party lost the election in 1932. It was because the Republicans looked at the Constitution and they did not see in it anything about unemployment; they did not see anything in it about hunger; they did not see anything in it about farm mortgage foreclosures. So Mr. Hoover said, "The Constitution does not say that I can do anything." So the people did it instead. They have been doing it four consecutive times since then.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Just a minute.

Mr. BRIDGES. When the Constitution of this country—

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Minnesota does not yield at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota declines to yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I decline to yield at this time. I heard something else on the floor of the Senate this afternoon with reference to what one might call a diversion from the main argument.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Not at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota declines to yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I heard the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] say that there were two shocking examples of Presidential abuse of power. One shocking example was the packing of the Supreme Court. Mr. President, the President of the United States did not pack the Court. The President recommended legislation which people said would pack the Court. Congress defeated the legislative proposal. That is all right, Mr. President. Let me remind

the Senator from California that the President who was guilty of that terrible thing was immediately reelected overwhelmingly by the American people for a third term, which was unprecedented.

Then I also heard it said on the floor of the Senate that the President of the United States had again abused his power—and this was the second shocking example—when he removed General Douglas MacArthur.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me? I am sure he does not want to misquote me.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield, for I surely do not wish to misquote the Senator from California. If I did misquote him, I apologize to him. I ask him please to state what he did say.

Mr. KNOWLAND. What I said was that I had just returned from California, and there I found the people to be more disturbed than I had ever before found them to be, except on two other occasions, one of which was when President Roosevelt attempted to pack the Supreme Court, at which time there were mass meetings to express the indignation which developed immediately when that attempt was known; and I said the other one was when the President of the United States removed General MacArthur. I was speaking about public reactions to something the President of the United States had done. At that point I was not discussing the question of usurpation of power.

I believe it is a usurpation of power for the President to seize the steel industry or any other industry without specific authority of law, and I do not believe the President has any such inherent power. Furthermore, if the President has any such power in this case, I point out that in my judgment the President then can broaden the use of that power to the extent of seizing other industries and ultimately socializing the Nation.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from California for the correction. I shall have the RECORD brought in, for I believe there may be some difference between what the Senator from California originally said and what he has said now. However, I thank the Senator from California for pointing out what he has.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield further to me?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Let me state that I have not had the RECORD changed or corrected.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I would not distrust the Senator from California under any circumstances; I take his word without question, for he is a man of honor, and all of us have the greatest respect and esteem for him. That settles that point, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. President, in reference to seizure, let me say that this body has its own sense of guilt about this matter, and I think that is what is developing. The Senate has not legislated in this field when it has had an opportunity to do so. I make that point at this time, since

Senators are pointing the horny finger of scorn and criticism at someone else.

Congress was perfectly willing to let the bodies of young men be seized, and that is what Congress has permitted to be done. However, some in Congress seem unwilling to give the President the power of seizure to protect the Nation so as to protect the bodies and hearts and lives and souls of those young men and their families by making sure that the arms for defense are ready and available.

So, Mr. President, let us consider what the President has done. In testimony before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, when Dr. Feinsinger, of the Wage Stabilization Board, was testifying, we found that the President of the United States had considered the use of the injunctive process provided by the Taft-Hartley Act. We also found that the President did not use it for the very reasons I have stated here today.

Furthermore, let me point out that the President of the United States has previously used the injunctive process provided by the Taft-Hartley Act. Therefore, let us not have anyone say that the President is unwilling to use that process or power.

Furthermore, Mr. President, I did not hear any Member of the Senate raise a question of seizure at the time when the President seized the coal mines and when John L. Lewis was getting kicked around. I did not hear any Member of the Senate talk about the question of seizure when the railroads were taken over.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The coal mines and the railroads were seized by statutory authority; in the case of the coal mines, that authority was provided by the Smith-Connally Act; in the case of the railroads, the authority was provided by the act of 1916. Those were entirely different propositions.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am saying that Congress has a part in this difficult mess because we now find ourselves in a national emergency. Senators on the Republican side of the aisle have said a war is now going on, and they have said it is President Truman's war and that he is the one who got us into the war. Yet at this time, when we are confronted with a question of protecting the national interest, we have no seizure law on the statute books.

Mr. President, I do not know for sure whether the President of the United States has done the proper thing in terms of the Constitution, although I believe the President has acted in accordance with his Executive powers. I merely am saying that that is not the issue before us at this time.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I shall yield in a moment.

Mr. President, I simply say that so far as the matter now before us is concerned, the seizure of the steel mills is for all

practical purposes through. I am glad it is through, for I want this dispute settled. All I can say is that it will not be settled by the kind of back-door legislative action now proposed in the guise of a limitation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. President, I yield at this time to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to ask a question: Does the Senator from Minnesota believe the President was within his constitutional powers when he said to the press yesterday that if in his opinion it was good for the people, he had the power to seize the press and the radio of the Nation?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am not going to pass judgment upon every statement the President of the United States makes. I am not talking about the future.

Mr. FERGUSON. However, is not that statement of the President exactly in line with the subject we are discussing at this time?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; for we are talking about the steel case.

Mr. FERGUSON. Furthermore, is not that statement by the President in line with the statements which have been made in regard to control of the purse strings?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; for we are talking about the steel case. Will the Senator from Michigan tell me how much purse-stringing he will save by means of his amendment, if it is adopted? How much "stringing" does the Senator from Michigan have in his amendment?

Mr. FERGUSON. It would attach a "string" to the use of the funds provided in this appropriation bill.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I ask the question, How much string?

Mr. FERGUSON. We would like to have the Senator from Minnesota go along with us and say that the President cannot use for such a purpose any of the funds provided by this bill. We would like the Senator from Minnesota to join us in that way, rather than to raise a point of order in regard to the amendment.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am not raising a point of order on the amendment. Instead, I am arguing about the amendment. I would not attempt to take a back-door approach, by means of raising a point of order. I simply think the amendment is wrong. I shall not try to defeat the amendment by means of trickery. Instead, I am trying to defeat the amendment by logic, for I think the logic is on our side of the case.

Mr. President, I still wish to know how much stringing is going on here and how much purse string is involved in this amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes; for I should like to have the Senator from California answer that question.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Let me say that if the Senator from Minnesota does not think the pending amendment sufficiently tightens the provisions in connec-

tion with the pending appropriation bill, we shall have for him on Monday an amendment providing that none of the funds heretofore appropriated can be made available for use in connection with the seizure of an industry or the operation of a seized industry, without specific authority on the part of the Congress. So if that point is what is worrying the Senator from Minnesota, he will have a chance to vote on a somewhat broader amendment.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am delighted to know that I shall be given that alternative, for I always like to have a choice, and I do not wish to be confined to such a miserable amendment as the pending one.

Let me say to the Senator from California that I did not know this amendment was supposed to constitute another economy move. I thought we were primarily concerned with the question of seizure.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield further to me?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I am frank to say that I find it a little difficult to understand how broad is the power which the Senator from Minnesota believes the President has, for as I interpret the remarks of the Senator from Minnesota, although he is critical of the Congress for not having provided some specific legislation in regard to seizure, apparently he goes on from that point to say that inasmuch as the Congress in its judgment did not legislate in that way, the President of the United States has unlimited powers to seize anything he may wish to seize. I think such a doctrine is dangerous, and I am surprised that a great liberal Member of this body, who should be interested in preserving our constitutional freedoms, would be willing to give to any President or to abdicate to any President, be he Democrat or Republican, any such broad expansion of power, by means of which the people's freedoms may ultimately be destroyed.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to thank the Senator from California for his testimonial to my liberalism; I deeply appreciate it.

However, I wish to say now that the Senator from California, above all others, knows that in a period of war, in a period of national emergency, in a period of crisis, the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief, can exercise great powers; and he has exercised great powers. Indeed he has. He exercised powers which have been attacked time after time in this very body. For instance, the President sent our troops to Korea. Our troops have been sent abroad not only by President Truman but by Presidents before him. That is also an issue. The President's power in that connection was not necessarily provided by statute; it is provided under the term "Commander in Chief" and the right to use the Armed Forces.

Mr. President, I submit that this case must be decided, and I want it decided. As a matter of fact, I happen to be hold-

ing hearings; I am working on this matter, not simply talking about it. I am working toward a solution and decision in this case, by holding hearings in an endeavor to perfect legislation which will give to the President certain seizure powers in times of emergency, along with certain restraints and checks upon those powers.

But in the meantime, here is what the facts are: The injunction process under the Taft-Hartley law would not have been effective soon enough really to have been adequate. That is fact No. 1.

Fact No. 2 is that there was a dispute which had been delayed for 100 days. One hundred days, Senators; the voluntary postponement of a strike for 100 days.

Fact No. 3 is that the negotiations had broken down and that the President waited until the last minute of the last hour of the last day before he seized these plants.

Fact No. 4 is that under seizure the President of the United States has not denied profits to the steel companies; has not in any way injured the stock value or the plant, and has not in any way disrupted the management.

It is a seizure in theory; is it not? For what purpose? For purposes of steel production. I do not like it. I agree with Senators, I do not want seizures; indeed, I do not. But I ask the Senate of the United States, which is getting all supersteamed up about this matter, why not enact legislature that will do the job?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I would say most respectfully to the Senator from Minnesota that last Wednesday or Thursday the Congress passed legislation which provided that no emergency powers given to the President in the extension of the War Powers Acts should be construed in such a way as to permit seizure. The Congress specifically said that. That was the voice of the people, as expressed on the floor of the Senate and on the floor of the House of Representatives. I say that that is quite different from what the President has done in this instance. There is a distinction.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. And the Senator from Minnesota voted for that measure, too.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes; and the Senator from Minnesota also spoke against that proviso; and I want the Record to be quite clear about that. I may say that the seizure of the steel plants, if I recall correctly, took place before that proviso was agreed to.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I would say that the Senator from Nevada specifically stated in answer to a question that that act would not apply to what the President did in this instance.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It would not apply because, even though we passed

the act, the President acted under alleged constitutional powers, not under any statutory authority. That, it seems to me, makes a great difference. It is the difference between acting as a dictator, perhaps, and acting under the authority of the voice of the people, as expressed by the Congress.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I shall conclude my argument.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does the Senator from Minnesota not agree that under the Constitution the Federal Government is a government of limited powers, not of unlimited powers, and that the framers of the Constitution, insofar as they could foresee and protect the people of the future, reserved to the States and to the people thereof all powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government?

I ask the able Senator from Minnesota whether he does not believe there is some danger in stressing the point of the almost unlimited powers a President might have as Commander in Chief. There have been rulers in the history of the world who have exercised their powers as commander in chief to abolish legislative bodies such as the Senate and the House of Representatives. I think it high time that we make it very clear that Congress is a coequal branch of the Government, and that ours is a Government of laws, not of men. That is the fundamental issue we are debating here today.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I think the Senator from California has stated it well, and I concur in his statement that that is the fundamental issue. But let me say to the Senator that the place to test the doctrine and the philosophy, or the point of view, the Senator is now expressing is in the courts. I submit that the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief, has broad powers, almost exclusive powers, except as limited by the Congress. There are many court cases on this point; and the President of the United States has acted in accordance with what he feels to be the best interest of the people, in view of all the circumstances.

I am not underwriting his action; but, Mr. President, I will tell you what I want. I want the dispute in the steel industry settled. I want it settled on the basis of equity. I want it settled between the parties, management and labor. I do not think injunctions help in bringing about settlements, nor do I think that seizure helps. But I know that in the case of seizure, there is an opportunity to keep the plants going continuously; and continuous production of steel is absolutely vital. In the case of injunction a risk is taken, and not only a risk, but there is involved the very practical fact that the plants would have had to close down for a period of time before the injunction could have been obtained. The Senator from California is a man who believes in a government of law, not of men, and he knows it would take time

for the Attorney General to obtain an injunction.

Now, Mr. President, I desire to conclude by simply stating what the effect of this amendment would be. First of all, it would be a direct slap in the face to a major committee of the Senate. That is a minor issue, however. It would be a slap in the face to a legislative committee of the Senate which has been holding extensive hearings upon two bills proposing legislation in regard to certain emergency powers of the Executive, during times of national emergency. Moreover, at this time, another committee of the Senate, the Judiciary Committee, is about to study the so-called constitutional aspects of the Presidential seizure. Even more important, the lawyers, the legal minds of the large steel firms have joined together in a joint suit to restrain the Government, in order to test this seizure in the courts of the land. I am of the opinion that the Supreme Court, in its wisdom, is able to give a better decision upon the constitutional question than we are, following argument and debate on the floor of the Senate.

More than that, what will happen if this amendment is agreed to? I predict that it will cripple the Department of Commerce. If this amendment is made to apply to other departments in other cases of emergency, then it will literally deny the Government a chance even to carry out the Executive order. In this instance if the Executive order were not carried out, my friends and colleagues, I will tell you what would happen. The plants would shut down. And if the plants should shut down, the Secretary of Defense and others responsible for the defense of the country would tell you, Mr. President, that an almost mortal blow had been struck at our country.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Why does the Senator from Minnesota say that if this amendment should be agreed to, the plants would be shut down? Would not the President be able to obtain compliance with the Taft-Hartley law immediately, and proceed under that law?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Michigan is a very intelligent, experienced and able attorney. I want him to ask that question again, because he apparently has forgotten to read the law. I suggest that he read the Taft-Hartley law. Of course, the President could not do what the Senator says.

Mr. FERGUSON. Why not?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Because the President must first appoint a board of inquiry.

Mr. FERGUSON. Could he not appoint such a board today?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Ah, not considering the way we go after everyone who is appointed to a board. He would have to go to Alaska to find men who would serve on the board. Does the Senator think men like Dr. Feinsinger or William Lieserson, who are experienced and capable in the field of labor-management re-

lations, are going to be caught up in this sad business again? I say to the Senator, do not kid yourself.

Mr. FERGUSON. Will the Senator tell us of any of them who have resigned from such boards?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Just a moment, Dr. Feinsinger testified—

Mr. FERGUSON. Has he resigned?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Dr. Feinsinger testified as to the problems involved. But not only that: It takes time even to appoint an administrative assistant. It takes time around here to get a stenographer, much less to find a board member. Does the Senator from Michigan think that a board of inquiry could be appointed overnight? Now, let us be frank about it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; wait a minute. After the appointment of a board, what happens? Let us take the Senator's assumption. Let us assume that the whole thing is easily done, that everyone wants to come to work for the Government because no committee of the Senate is going to investigate him, none of his private life is going to be brought out, everything is just going to be fine, and we are going to pay tribute to them and give them glory, day after day. Mr. President, when that happens, it will be a new day. But assuming that it happens, then what does the board of inquiry have to do? The board of inquiry must read the evidence, because Senators would not want them to be prejudiced. They must go through the entire case from top to bottom. Senators surely would not want them to take a prejudiced view of the evidence, or of the Wage Stabilization Board's inquiry. That is the reason for their appointment. They would have to consider all the evidence, and the evidence has been collected over a period of 100 days. Let us assume that the members of the board came to Washington within 2 days and took their oaths of office. Let us assume for the moment, giving them the benefit of an impossibility, that it takes them 2 days to look over the evidence. Then what do they have to do? After reading the evidence, they must submit to the President a set of findings and recommendations.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield for a question?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Where does the Senator find anything about recommendations?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Not recommendations, but findings. I am sorry. The Senator is an expert in the law. I refer to findings.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further for a question?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. The fact is, is it not, that under the terms of the Taft-Hartley law the Board cannot present recommendations?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator is absolutely correct. Under the terms of the law it can present findings.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator know why the President, before he entered his order, did not undertake to comply with the Taft-Hartley law? Could he not perceive what was happening, and apply for an injunction?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Because the steel companies and the unions were in the midst of negotiations. Because the union voluntarily postponed the strike inasmuch as it thought it was better to have a settlement than to have an injunction. That is what is wrong with injunctions—they generally stop collective bargaining.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is not the purpose of an injunction to prevent stoppage of production while negotiations are going on?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is not the purpose. The purpose of an injunction is to enjoin an action.

Mr. FERGUSON. A strike or a lock-out?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct. That does not mean collective bargaining. When there is a strike or a lock-out it is the end of the trail.

Mr. FERGUSON. Collective bargaining goes on.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Does it? Instead of collective bargaining going on, injunctions generally stop them completely. Is that the way to settle a steel strike? I think it is time we became informed on the facts.

Mr. FERGUSON. Has the President settled the steel strike by what he has done?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; he has not, but he has kept steel production going, which is vital. In the meantime, the real sufferer is the workingman who did not receive any pay increase, though the steel companies are still making money. They are bellyaching over the fact that they have lost the name plate on the door temporarily. The only thing the seizure has done momentarily is to deny the right of workers to strike, but, in the meantime, steel is coming out of the plants, and we need steel, not only to carry on "Truman's war" in Korea, but for use back home.

I hope the President did not like to do what he did. I do not like the fact that he did it, because it has not only hurt management, but it has injured workers; it has hurt them greatly. We do not yet know how it may end, but I submit that it is not going to end any better by our choosing sides every time we get a chance.

Mr. President, I appeal to the Senate to let the Supreme Court decide the constitutionality of the President's action. I appeal to the Senate to let the Department of Commerce have a chance to administer the order. I appeal to the people of the United States to keep their tempers down and let production go on, and not to have the furnaces cool and keep workers off the job, because, if that happens, as the Secretary of Defense has said, it will be a major defeat for American military preparedness.

If that is what we want in order to win a debate, then I say the price is

too high. This is the most expensive amendment that has ever been proposed to the United States Senate. It is far too expensive.

There is a way to handle the question. The committee of which the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] is chairman—and he is an able and conscientious man—will report legislation as soon as it is physically possible. In the meantime, let us not permit our most vital industry to go to the wall by stopping the flow of pig iron, steel ingots, and fabricated products. Twenty percent of that production is used in national defense.

Mr. President, in terms of the judicial process, I rest my case.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to devote part of my discussion this afternoon to historical precedents. My comments on the amendment itself will be brief. I shall vote against the amendment because I think it is a proposal of indirection. I think it is the obligation of the Congress of the United States to pass clear delimiting legislation wherever it seeks directly to limit the powers of the President in labor disputes and other issues as well, Mr. President, when a President seeks to exercise broad undefined powers which the Congress thinks goes too far.

I have said that so many times in debate and in committee hearings on the question that I am willing to rest on the record in regard to it.

I do not like seizure, although at times it may be necessary. I think it was a mistake for the President to resort to seizure until he had at least tried other alternatives that I think were available to him. But I agree with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] that the question of the claimed power the President has, as I shall seek to show by references to historical instances this afternoon, has not been defined and limited or delimited by the United States Supreme Court. I think the Senator from Minnesota is quite right in saying that we are dealing here basically with a question as to whether, as a matter of constitutional law, the President of the United States in the exercise of the powers he has exercised in the steel case has exceeded his constitutional authority.

For decades we have been waiting for a decision of the United States Supreme Court that would definitely settle that great constitutional question, but no decision has yet been handed down on that subject.

I want to buttress what the Senator from Minnesota said before I turn to the discussion of the historical matters which I want to raise this afternoon by expressing my view as to why the Taft-Hartley law in this case, as in most emergency cases, is not worth the paper on which it is written. In fact, I am still waiting for the first emergency case involving the health, safety, and security of the country in which the Taft-Hartley law has been contributing factor to the settlement of the case. Oh, it has been applied, Mr. President, but anyone who knows anything about labor relations problems knows that cases have been set-

tled in spite of the Taft-Hartley law and not because of it.

Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota is quite correct in outlining the steps that would have had to be taken by the President if he had applied the Taft-Hartley law. There is no escaping the conclusion on the facts, Mr. President, that the application of the Taft-Hartley law would have closed the steel mills. Instead of preventing the closure of the steel mills, it would have closed them.

Some mention has been made in debate on the point that an injunction might have been obtained to prevent closure. That is not so, Mr. President—not under the law. Under the Taft-Hartley law, the President would have had to proceed to appoint a board of inquiry.

It is true, he might have proceeded to do that before the eleventh hour, but let us put ourselves in his position for a moment. I am somewhat amused at the attempt to paint Harry Truman as a dictator. It is really funny. Some of those portraying him as a dictator know him personally. My record is clear, of political opposition to the President on many issues and on party alinement, but I am never going to permit my political opposition to cause me to present to the American people a picture of Harry Truman as a little dictator. He just has not got it in his blood. It is not a part of his make-up. It is foreign to his heart and mind.

He has exercised some bad judgment, on some issues, but there was no motivation behind his judgments either looking to the usurpation of power or of becoming a dictator. It is both poppycock and unfair partisanship to represent him as a dictator. Even in a presidential election year people should stop misleading the American people by building up great mythical arguments about dictatorial tendencies on the part of Harry Truman. Before I conclude this afternoon I shall read some language about Jefferson and Lincoln used by their critics. The same old political tactics were used against those great American Presidents because they held to the point of view that under the language of the Constitution they had a duty to protect the public interest in an hour of great emergency, at least until Congress acted contrariwise.

To get back to the Taft-Hartley law, the President would have had to appoint a board of inquiry, and the mills would have shut down. Why would they have shut down? Because the steel moguls had made very clear that unless they were permitted to economically rape the American people by securing a price increase more than twice the amount necessary to absorb the cost of all the increases granted by the Wage Stabilization Board, they were not going to operate the mills. Some may call that position on the part of the steel operators patriotic if they care to, but I put the letters "un" in front of the word "patriotic." It was an unpatriotic position on the part of the leaders of the steel industry, just as I think that the demagogic, misrepresenting speech of Randall, of Inland Steel, to the American

people over the radio the other night was clearly an unpatriotic utterance, because he owed the duty to the American people to give them the facts, and in many places in that speech he did not do so.

The mills would have closed down. For how long? Who can say? I do not know how long it would have taken the Board of Inquiry to act, but the testimony before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare makes it very clear that the record of the case is a voluminous one, and I assume that when the President appointed a board it would be a board which would act on the facts, and make findings of fact. It would take time to make those findings before they handed them over to the President.

Of course, they are estopped, under the language of the act, from making any recommendations to the President, to the Congress, or to the American people, as to what ought to be done in the case by way of settling it. I wish to call attention to the testimony of Mr. Feinsinger before the committee a few days ago. I would that my colleagues in the Senate would read the testimony, and then, if any felt they could do so, stand here on the floor of the Senate and point out the flaws in it. I believe Mr. Feinsinger performed a great act of statesmanship before the committee the other day. He presented the economic data involved in the steel case, which I am still waiting to see successfully rebutted. He pointed out, as did Governor Arnall the next day, the cost figures and the profit figures.

Mr. President, we have there a record of profits after taxes. Let the American people keep in mind the fact that steel companies, after taxes, including excess-profits taxes, are today making profits per ton greater than they made during World War II. They are making those profits out of the blood of American boys shed in Korea.

I repeat, as I shall continue to repeat to the American people, because we have got to drive the point home: In some way, somehow, we must arouse the American people into a greater consciousness of the fact that America is headed for a tremendous economic collapse if we in this country do not put the brakes on greed and excess profits. Our economy cannot continue to stand the upward inflationary movement that greedy forces in this country, trying to make their economic killing, are forcing upon the American people while boys are being killed in Korea.

Yet where is the support for a public policy principle, the soundness of which no one can deny, that what we ought to be doing is taking the profits out of the Korean war and putting them into the Treasury of the United States, protecting the value of the American dollar, and paying on the debt? It is a sacrifice our generation ought to make economically, as our men in uniform make their sacrifices in blood. Yet when we say these things, we are slapped in the face with insulting accusations that we are proposing a socialist state.

Mr. President, those of us who argue for this kind of sacrifice on the part of the American people these days are the

ones who seek to preserve a private-enterprise economy in America, because if we go down the road to economic disaster, into the kind of depression that I think is facing the American people if we do not stop this inflationary trend, it will be the end of private enterprise in America for years to come.

Is one proposing a socialistic state when he proposes that, in time of great national crisis such as the present, the profits which should be allowed are only those profits which yield a reasonable return on the dollar invested and are necessary for the further strengthening of the private-enterprise system?

If anyone wants to know what I mean about the need for taking the profits out of war, let him look at the profits of the steel industry of the United States after taxes today. Moreover, look at the steel mills, the plants which the American taxpayers are building for the steel industry free of charge—plants which will not cost the industry a single dollar. They will be given to the industry, when we are through, by means of the little legislative device on the books for amortizing out of taxes the cost of the plants.

Yet the steel operators have the guts to ask the American people—and that is who they are asking, in the last analysis—for a \$12 per ton increase in price, to take care of what the record shows, based on their own figures, would be a maximum cost of \$6 a ton if all the benefits given to the steel workers by the Wage Stabilization Board were finally included in the decision in this case.

The thing which makes my heart heavy is the question, What can happen to the ethical values of men? What can happen to the people of a country which will cause them to tolerate that kind of greedy selfishness? Are the steel operators without conscience? Is there no limit to their avarice? Can they not see that they are playing the role of Samson of old? If they do not watch out, they will pull down on their heads their own steel plants, because if they follow an economic course of action which jeopardizes the soundness of the American dollar, they will be injuring themselves as well as the American public.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Oregon was commenting in general terms on the subject of tax amortization certificates—in other words, certain tax benefits to the steel companies which have been provided for by the Defense Production Act and the Tax Act. I should like to read from the record made before our committee the official report from Mr. Paul Sweeney, of the Defense Production Administration:

Tax amortization certificates issued to the steel industry for construction of new plants and equipment to December 31, 1951, a total of 265 certificates with a total tax amortization write-off of \$2,631,000,000.

Since December 31 there have been substantial amounts in addition. I think that is a part of the record which the

Senator from Oregon is now so brilliantly describing.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator from Minnesota for his contribution.

To come back to the application of the Taft-Hartley law, we have reached the stage of our findings, and now the Board sends them to the President, as provided for under the law. The President, cognizant of the findings of the Board under the Taft-Hartley law, is now satisfied that an injunction should issue, so he calls upon the Attorney General to proceed with the necessary legal action looking toward an injunction.

That is not done in a minute. It will require a day for that step. Then the matter will be before the court. I hope we are not to return, under the Taft-Hartley law, to the old system of Government by injunction, under which injunctions were issued sometimes in chambers without a hearing, without any consideration whatever of the factual basis upon which the petition for an injunction was asked. So I take it for granted that any Federal judge who is true to his oath of office will look into the facts in deciding whether or not an injunction should issue. I am satisfied that that process will require a day or more. So I think the testimony before our committee is correct, when it is pointed out that in a case of such magnitude as this it would require from 10 days to 3 weeks for the Taft-Hartley law procedure to run its course in the first stages. The steel mills would be shut down. Then we would have the injunction. The men would be ordered back to work. That would not solve the dispute.

Let the record be clear that I do not condone any dragging of feet in the face of an injunction. I happen to be one so devoted to the judicial process that I believe that once a court speaks, under the terms of the injunction every worker and every member of management has the patriotic duty to proceed to use his best efforts to get production rolling.

However, I know something about human beings, too, Mr. President. What I think ought to be the clear duty of fellow human beings functioning under such a situation does not change the fact that all human beings do not share that point of view. Hatred of the injunction is so intense, and the knowledge of past abuses of the injunction still so fresh in the minds of labor, that I do not know of anyone who could guarantee that after a Taft-Hartley injunction had issued we would have immediate and full production. We should. Make no mistake as to my view in that respect. But in a case in which feelings reach such a high pitch as they have reached in this case, I seriously question that we would attain immediate and full production.

As I have said to the Senate once before, let us never forget the warning of the great Brandeis, when he pointed out that in a democracy, when it comes to matters of enforcement of law, we should never get too far ahead of our ability to enforce. We would be in a fine situation some day, so far as concerns the tremendous damage which would be

done to Government by law, if we ever got into a position in which we were compelled to put about 100,000 people behind the bars. We might have to do it; and the junior Senator from Oregon would be the first to say that it must be done if there is a defiance of the law.

However, I would be the first to say that something is sadly missing in the handling of human relations in a democracy if we permit such a situation to develop to the point where we must use that kind of enforcement power.

Mr. President, the economic facts on the steel case are coming out day by day to the American people, in spite of the misleading and misrepresenting full-page advertisements which the steel companies are spreading across the country in the newspapers. Incidentally, they are advertisements which we are paying for, because when the final accounting of the Government seizure is made the steel companies will deduct the cost of the advertisements as a part of the cost of Government operation of the mills. Therefore the steel mills are able to advertise with financial immunity at the taxpayers expense. That is what they appear to be doing.

However, Mr. President, let us assume that we have an injunction and we have the men going back to work under the Taft-Hartley law. They go back either with maximum production or, if some of my fears prove to be warranted, with a dragging of their feet. Let us assume that production goes on for 80 days and the case is not settled. That is within the realm of probability. It is something that may likely happen in a case such as this. It is a great possibility.

The Taft-Hartley law provides that at the end of the eightieth day the injunction just automatically lifts and floats away in thin air. What are we going to do then? I shall make a legal interpretation today. It is one that I would support as long as the Taft-Hartley law is on the books. The interesting thing is, however, that there is not a word in the Taft-Hartley law with respect to what can be done at the end of the eightieth day. In fact, Mr. President, if you read the law from its four corners, if you read the Senate and House debates, and if you read the committee hearings and the committee reports, it is very difficult to escape the conclusion that the legislative history of the Taft-Hartley law is to the effect that Congress did not believe it would be possible that a dispute would go on for 80 days; and that at the end of the eightieth day it would not be settled.

However, Mr. President, it is possible. It is my opinion that if that were to happen and a new strike were to occur it could be found by the courts that sufficiently new conditions and facts had developed so that one could look upon it as a new case.

That is a curbstone opinion, Mr. President. There are many able counsel who would argue to the contrary and take the position that after the 80-day period nothing could be done, and the workers could go ahead and strike as long as they wanted to strike, or stay out as long as they wanted to.

However, I will not accept that premise, because there is another underlying principle involved in this whole matter, and that is that the whole purpose of this section of the Taft-Hartley law was aimed at providing for a procedure of handling emergency disputes which affected the national health, safety, and security.

I am of the opinion that need for action from that standpoint would be recognized and would continue to be so great after the 80th day that a court would have to find that in effect a new dispute existed and that it would be necessary to once again go through the whole process of applying the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. President, that is not my conception of the way to develop harmonious labor relations. Therefore, I agree with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] in his comment that the Taft-Hartley law is not an effective vehicle for the handling of a dispute such as this.

Let us turn to another facet. Was the President of the United States as a matter of law bound to follow the Taft-Hartley law? I think not. I think he could have followed it if he wanted to do so. I do not believe that he was bound to do it as a matter of law, for the reasons that I shall shortly state.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does not the Senator from Oregon feel that the Constitution, which provides that the President shall faithfully execute the law, required him to use the law that was on the books? Does he believe that the President has inherent right to seize the steel plants, the labor unions, and the collective-bargaining contracts?

Mr. MORSE. I shall discuss my view of the law very shortly. However, I think that the President had several alternatives that he could have followed. He could have used the Taft-Hartley law. I do not think he was compelled to use it. I think what he should have done, long before the 11th hour, was to get the people into his office and try to work out the problem with them by way of an acceptable arrangement or agreement among them. I believe that the President had the right to make a choice of procedure to be adopted by him from the standpoint of the question of fact: "Did the shut-down of the steel mills jeopardize the security of this country?"

If the President, in the exercise of his honest judgment, believed that the shut-down of these mills for a day or a week or 2 or 3 weeks would jeopardize the security of this Nation, I believe he had the constitutional power to proceed to follow a course of action—other than by following the procedure in the Taft-Hartley law—which would have assured the shut-down of these mills, in my opinion, for a minimum of 10 days.

Mr. FERGUSON. To the point of seizure and operation?

Mr. MORSE. To the point of seizure and operation in the absence of a statute prohibiting seizure.

Mr. FERGUSON. Then does the Senator from Oregon go so far as to suggest that the power of seizure, and so forth, go to the extent the President announced yesterday at a press conference when he said that if in his judgment it was for the good of the people he had the right to seize the press and the radio, which would be in direct violation of the constitutional guarantee of a free press?

Mr. MORSE. I do not go that far at all. If that is what the President of the United States meant in his press conference yesterday, I completely disagree with him. However, I want to say most respectfully that I think my good friend from Michigan is reading into the President's press conference a meaning that is unwarranted.

I think that the Senator from Michigan in the debate this afternoon has put language into the President's mouth which he had no intention of meaning in that way when he made the comment at the press conference. Let me read what he said at the press conference. I may tell the Senator from Michigan what some very conservative newspaper editors have told me about that conference and about that very point.

Mr. FERGUSON. I have read the statement of the President.

Mr. MORSE. I read from this morning's issue of the Washington Post:

One of the questions asked of Mr. Truman caused a good deal of discussion afterward.

"Mr. President," he was asked, "if it is proper to seize the steel mills, can you, in your opinion, seize the newspapers and radio stations?"

Mr. Truman, with a wave of his hand, said that under similar circumstances the President has to act for whatever is for the best interests of the country. That, he said, was the editor's answer.

Mr. President, I say most respectfully that I do not believe the Senator from Michigan this afternoon in debate has given the attention to the words "under similar circumstances" that the President's language warrants.

Mr. FERGUSON. I have read the President's statement.

Mr. MORSE. I will give my interpretation of it shortly. What the President clearly implied was that if he felt at any time that some great crisis confronted the country in which the security of our Nation was endangered he had the duty to proceed to take some immediate action to meet the crisis. However, he did not say that that took away from Congress the authority and power to proceed legislatively to take steps necessary to check the President if he uses a method which is unreasonable and out of proportion necessary to meet the crisis with which the President is confronted.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPARKMAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. MORSE. I yield first to the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON].

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I have quoted the Washington Times Herald. I now have before me today's edi-

tion of the Washington Evening Star, from which I read the following question:

"If it is proper to seize the steel mills, can you, in your opinion, seize the newspapers and radio stations?"

Under similar circumstances, Mr. Truman replied, the President has to act for whatever is for the best interests of the country. That is your answer, he said.

My question to the Senator from Oregon is this: Does not that statement imply that under such circumstances as existed last Tuesday evening, the President could, in his opinion, seize the press, if he decided to do so?

Mr. MORSE. It does not imply any such thing. If the Senator from Michigan will notice the very words he used, namely, "under such circumstances as existed last Tuesday evening," he will realize that those circumstances have nothing to do with the operation of the newspapers or the radio.

However, let us talk for a moment in terms of an extreme hypothetical.

Mr. FERGUSON. Let me ask the Senator from Oregon this question: What right has the President to suspend freedom of the press?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am answering one question the Senator from Michigan has raised, and I ask him not to ask me another question until I answer his first question.

Let us assume the existence of the following hypothetical situation, although I cannot imagine one of this nature: That there developed in the United States a national crisis, in connection with which some action or conduct on the part of a radio station or a newspaper was endangering the security of the United States. I hasten to state that I cannot imagine what kind of a situation that would be. However, as I interpret the President's remarks, he said that under similar circumstances—in other words, under circumstances that jeopardized the safety and security of the Nation—he would have to take such action as he deemed necessary to protect the Nation.

So my reply to the Senator from Michigan is that if there developed such circumstances involving the press or the radio—although I cannot imagine such circumstances—those circumstances would support, until the Supreme Court ruled to the contrary, the inherent right and power of the President of the United States to proceed to protect the security and safety of the Nation until the Congress acted. I think that is what the President meant. Incidentally, that is what the newspaper editors to whom I talked last evening clearly thought the President meant.

Mr. FERGUSON. In such a situation, would not everything depend on the judgment of the President as to whether the circumstances warranted such a seizure, thus giving to the President the absolute power to determine that fact, and then to determine whether to make such a seizure?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, whenever in the history of our country a President has proceeded to take executive action in an emergency, his action has been based upon his own judgment.

Congress has the power to place a check on the President's exercise of judgment. Congress should exercise some checks on the President's exercise of judgment in such cases if he acts unreasonably. If the President has proceeded to exercise a judgment which Congress believes to be clearly out of line with the emergency on the basis of which the President acted in the steel case, then why does not Congress enact legislation to limit the President's power?

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me at this time?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MOODY. Like the Senator from Oregon, I cannot conceive any circumstances under which it would be in the interest of the safety or security of the United States for the President to interfere with the freedom of the press, and certainly not to seize the press.

Mr. MORSE. I cannot, either.

Mr. MOODY. However, is it not a fact that if any President should usurp power over the press, Congress would have a right, under the Constitution, to impeach that President immediately and to remove him from office?

Mr. MORSE. In a minute or two I was going to say something about impeachment; but, instead, I shall do so now.

Mr. President, if it be true that any of my colleagues in the Senate or in the House of Representatives think the President has usurped power and has exceeded his authority under the Constitution of the United States I believe those Members of Congress have the duty, in pursuance of their oaths of office, to do everything they can do to have impeachment proceedings initiated.

Of course, impeachment proceedings would not settle the constitutional issue, although they would settle the political question. Impeachment proceedings would show that at least politically, as one of the three coordinate arms or branches of the Government of the United States, the Congress believes the President has usurped power. The power of impeachment could be exercised and if impeachment proceedings were instituted, on trial of the case by the Senate by the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present, the President could be impeached.

However, I do not think Members of Congress should talk about impeachment unless they are ready and willing to try to make good on their threat of impeachment. Frankly, I think all this talk of impeachment is a lot of campaign oratory in an election year. It is silly stuff because everyone deep down in his heart should know that Harry Truman is trying to keep the production of steel going and has no more intention of violating the Constitution than have his critics who are beating the political war drums over this matter.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield at this point?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MOODY. I, too, happened to be meeting with some of the newspaper editors last evening; and I should like to confirm the statement the Senator from Oregon has made regarding the inter-

pretation placed on what the President of the United States said at the press conference. I refer to the interpretation of some of my other conservative friends in the newspaper business who are editors. They say the President handled himself very well at that conference, and their interpretation of what he said regarding the press is in line with what the Senator from Oregon has said here this afternoon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in speaking of the press conference, let me say to the junior Senator from Michigan that the editors with whom I met last evening were unanimously of the opinion that that press conference was the best one they had ever attended in their long careers as newspapermen.

Mr. MOODY. As a matter of fact, they said the President conducted himself beautifully at that conference.

Mr. MORSE. Yes; they said the President conducted himself magnificently and met the issues directly. They also said that when the press conference closed—and, by the way, it lasted for an hour or more—there was an enthusiastic response on the part of the editors to the job the President had done.

I discuss this question specifically as to what the President said about his power of seizure because it was raised by one of the editors who, when I talked to him, had before him his notes in regard to what the President had said. I raised the question of what the President had said about the steel case.

In the opinion of those editors, the President just waved aside that question, and made very clear that he would exercise power only when he thought the circumstances warranted the exercise of such power—meaning, of course, when he thought the crisis was so great that, as Chief Executive of the Nation, he believed that the circumstances required such action on his part until another branch of the Government—either the legislature or the courts—proceeded to exercise a check upon his power.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Oregon think that all the newspaper editors have taken the view submitted by the Senator from Oregon, inasmuch as we realize that the article to which I have referred, quoting editors, appears in today's issue of the Washington Star?

Mr. MORSE. Of course I do not know what all editors feel about this matter. I simply have stated the views of the editors with whom I have discussed it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Let me read the headline which appears in today's issue of the Washington Star:

Editors astounded as Truman implies right to seize press.

I point out that the headline uses the word "astounded."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have told the Senator from Michigan what was said by the editors with whom I talked. I do not think there is anything to be astounded about in the President's

statement, if we pause at the words "under similar circumstances."

However, if we wish to read into that statement a meaning to the effect that the President is setting himself up as a little Hitler, of course I would become frightened, too, if it were true. However, I think such an interpretation of the President's views would be absurd. I am not scared, because such a position is about as far removed from the make-up of Harry Truman as anything could possibly be.

What the President said at the press conference was that, so far as he was concerned—and I am stating my understanding of his statement—in an hour of crisis he would do his duty to protect the security of the Nation.

Mr. President, I close my discussion of the Taft-Hartley law at this time by saying that I do not think it would have been a successful vehicle for the settlement of the steel dispute, any more than I think it was wise for the President to adopt the vehicle he did adopt, namely, seizure. In my opinion the President should have stepped into this case long before he did, because it was perfectly clear—certainly it was clear to everyone in the Senate, as we read the newspapers—that the chances of a negotiated settlement were not very good. Knowing that we could not afford to have the steel mills closed down for 1 hour, I think the President should have entered upon the scene long before he did.

I quite agree with Mr. Feinsinger in his testimony the other day in referring, for example, to the briefing which some of the officials had obtained from the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Lovett, in regard to what would be the effect on the defense and security of the Nation if the steel mills closed down. It is too bad that there cannot be made available to every American citizen the views of Mr. Lovett as to the relationship of a shutdown of the steel mills to the security of the Nation.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MOODY. I thoroughly subscribe to what the Senator from Oregon has just said. I should like to ask whether it is not also true that if the steel mills should be allowed to shut down in a period of extended strike, hundreds of thousands of people, not only in my home State of Michigan but throughout the country, would be thrown out of work, not only in military plants, but also in civilian plants.

Mr. MORSE. Yes, that is true. But let me say to the junior Senator from Michigan that, although great economic hardships would follow from the shutdown of the steel mills, that fact would be no justification for the President's seizing the mills.

Mr. MOODY. Is it not, however, a collateral fact the President could not afford to overlook?

Mr. MORSE. In my opinion he would not be justified inquiring any weight to it in reaching a decision as to whether he should seize the steel plants. Let me put it this way: I do not think a Presi-

dent of the United States would ever have the power to seize an industry because, if it were not seized, there would be a strike and some people would be thrown out of work.

Mr. MOODY. Not for that reason.

Mr. MORSE. No. But there is a distinct question as to whether the fact cited by the Senator has any relationship to the exercise of the power which the President actually exercised.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President—

Mr. MORSE. If the Senator from Michigan will stay with me for a moment, the fact that a shutdown of the mills would have caused unemployment would be absolutely no justification for a seizure of the mills by a President. If it is no justification for him to seize the mills on the basis of that operative fact, then he would not be justified in giving weight to that fact in determining whether he should seize the mills along with some other and more dominating reason. That is the point I want to make.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. MOODY. I thoroughly agree that the only justification or basis for any such action as that taken by the President, if there was a basis for it, would be on the ground of the national security, whether it was essential to the security and safety of the American people that he take the action he took. The question I asked the Senator from Oregon merely was whether it were not a fact that, if the steel mills had been shut down, great unemployment would have been created throughout the country?

Mr. MORSE. That is true whenever there is a strike in a major industry. But, now that this point has been raised, let me discuss it for a moment from another angle. The constitutional question in regard to so-called inherent power in an emergency, and in regard to the Commander in Chief or war powers of the President, is a very mooted one. But there are certain principles which stand out very clearly. Any such power, if—and I emphasize the word "if"—if there is a constitutional basis for a President's ever exercising it, would have to be exercised in a reasonable manner. The procedure, the program, the solution he adopted would have to be found by a court to be a reasonable exercise of the power.

There is no difference that I can see, Mr. President, between the application of this well-established rule in relation to inherent power, and its application in relation to the exercise of any other power on the part of the President. The Congress passes a statute. Administrative discretion is called for on the part of those charged with administering it. There is surprising leeway in the administration of most statutes. When the exercise of the discretion is challenged, when the question is raised as to whether the power which was exercised was exercised legally, the courts scrutinize the facts of the case closely in

order to determine whether there was a reasonable exercise of power under the statute. In my opinion, that is true in connection with the exercise of an inherent power. First, the Court must decide whether the President has inherent power, and then, second, it must decide whether his exercise of that power was reasonable.

Mr. President, when we consider that aspect, then a great deal of the fear argument that the President might possibly seize a grocery store or seize cattle upon a farm, or seize a radio station simply vanishes into thin air, and illuminates itself into the nonsense that it really is.

In an argument over a great question of constitutional law, as to whether there exists an inherent power in a President of the United States to protect the security of the Nation, why do some have to jump to the extreme of saying, "If you admit or contend that he has inherent power, then there is no limitation upon what a President may do"? Why do they rush to the extreme position of saying he can seize a grocery store; he can seize a radio station; or he can take cattle from a farm? Mr. President, it is all a lot of nonsense, because inherent power does not destroy the well-established legal check upon the exercise of any power of a governmental official, namely, that he must exercise it in a reasonable manner. So I am not going to be pushed into the position of some of the newspaper editors in their editorials of recent days, of spreading the fear argument, and of saying that if inherent power exists at all, then there is no limit upon it. I am not going to be pushed into the position of letting them get by with that fallacious argument, because it is not true. But if the power is found to exist, there still remain the checks of the courts upon any President of the United States, just as there are upon other administrators of Government, that the power must be exercised reasonably. The cases are as long as my arm upon the question of the exercise of arbitrary, capricious discretion. The courts have held many times that no administrator can justify exercising a power given to him under a statute unreasonably, capriciously, and arbitrarily.

The courts would step in to say, "But you went too far. You ceased to be the administrator of a law, within the legal boundaries of the law. You became a very arbitrary and capricious person, acting against the public interest."

And the courts would stop him.

During my remaining remarks this afternoon, Mr. President, I merely want to direct myself once again to the moot question of so-called inherent power, Commander in Chief power, war power, presidential power, and stewardship power. In legal literature it will be found that it is referred to in those terms almost interchangeably. We still do not know what are the limits of the power, if the power exists at all.

On the day before yesterday the very distinguished minority leader of the

Senate [Mr. BRIDGES] quoted from a letter which he had received from the man who I think is the greatest authority on this very important constitutional question, but an authority who has been very frank in his writings to make clear that he does not think he knows for a certainty what the limits are. He has been careful in his exposition of this very complex constitutional subject to indicate very clearly that he does not think anyone else can know until the question is finally placed in the bosom of the Supreme Court and that Court is called upon to decide on a set of facts which will not permit it to avoid rendering a decision squarely on the issue. I share every view which Professor Corwin expressed in his letter to the Senator from New Hampshire, but nowhere in his letter does he say that the power does not exist. He points out in the letter what is happening in this field, and he expresses concern about it. Let us listen to the part of the letter which the Senator from New Hampshire quoted. I dwell on it because we are dealing now, in my opinion, with the views of the greatest living authority on the subject; and I do not think we could get any group of lawyers together who would not agree that here is a man who probably knows as much about this question as does anyone else in the country. So Professor Corwin of Princeton says in his letter to the Senator from New Hampshire—and I quote from the Senator's speech of April 16 when he quoted from Dr. Corwin's letter:

One would find it difficult to imagine a subject of constitutional interpretation which calls more vehemently for investigation at this moment.

Believe me, Mr. President, I agree with that statement. I think it is important to have this constitutional question settled; but we shall not settle it by denying funds for administering the steel mills, which the Government is now operating. Under our system of separation of powers, under our system of three coordinate and coequal branches of Government, we should recognize the fact that the executive branch of the Government has seized the mills. So long as the American flag flies over those mills, we should provide the necessary funds so that they can be operated in the interest of maximum production, and we should not follow a course of action which might lead to a disruption of production. We should fight out the constitutional question by way of legislation which can be taken to the courts just as quickly as is possible and thus test the power of the President.

I want to say to my colleagues in the Senate who do not agree with me on my position with respect to this proposed amendment that I shall be right with them shoulder to shoulder in trying to have passed legislation which will raise the question for a court decision as to whether, first, the President exercised constitutional power when he seized the steel mills; second, whether he exercised his power unreasonably in the particular orders he issued in connection with the seizure.

I quote further from the letter of Professor Corwin to the Senator from New Hampshire:

Ultimately justification must be sought in the Constitution itself; that is to say, in the Constitution as it has come to be authoritatively interpreted. Current tendencies need a thorough going over.

Professor Corwin does not say that we must find language in the Constitution that specifically says the President has seizure power. He did not say that at all. He is too good an authority on constitutional law to say that. What he said was this:

Ultimately justification must be sought in the Constitution itself; that is to say, in the Constitution as it has come to be authoritatively interpreted. Current tendencies need a thorough going over.

If there is any one thing we know about constitutional law it is that we have to look to the interpretations of the Constitution to find out what the Constitution is. The Constitution is no longer the limited document which is lying in front of me—limited in terms of the amount of print that is required to publish the articles of the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution of the United States is a much larger volume than just the various articles found in the printed copy of the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States is a very voluminous document. It comprises not only all the articles of the Constitution but every decision of the United States Supreme Court that bears upon an interpretation of it. The Constitution happens to be the various articles it contains plus the interpretations of the Constitution as sanctioned and accepted by the Supreme Court of the United States.

That is what Professor Corwin was pointing out in his letter to the Senator from New Hampshire. Then he went on to say:

I should cite in this connection the fact that in recent years Congress has come to treat "national emergency" and "state of war" as substantially synonymous terms—

And he cites the case of Brown against Bernstein—

and the fact that the court has adopted the habit of piecing out delegated powers to the President by means of references to his powers "under the Constitution as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy."

Citing the recent United States Mine Workers of America case.

Professor Corwin is pointing out what the trend in recent years has been in the matter of the interpretation of presidential powers. He is running up, in the letter, some needed signal flags of warning as to the tendency to accept an enlargement of interpretation as to presidential power. He is saying that it needs a thorough going over. I agree. In fact, I believe that if we could get some decisions squarely on the nose on the question of presidential power and prerogative and authority, it would do much to stabilize Government by law in this country and would do much to check

a growing tendency of government by men.

But, Mr. President, because I know that danger exists, I am not going to go to the extreme position of saying that under no circumstances can a President of the United States act executively under a claimed Presidential power to protect the American people from some great tragedy in an hour of crisis. I want the Supreme Court to tell me how far the President can go. I have an entirely different view of how the matter ought to be handled presidentially from the view a great many Presidents of the United States have held. In my judgment, the President of the United States ought to bring the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue much closer together when great problems such as this arise. The President of the United States ought to take into consultation congressional leaders, and, if necessary, ought to come to Congress, assembled in joint session, to present a prospective program as to what he intends or is contemplating doing, in order to get the benefit of congressional reaction, suggestion, and co-operation. He should do that rather than do what too many of our Presidents in the past have done in regard to such matters, namely, take action which any one of them should have known would have precipitated just the kind of conflict between the White House and Congress that has been stirred up as a result of the steel case.

But my views as to what I think a President ought to do under such circumstances are entirely irrelevant to the fundamental question before the Senate, namely, the question whether the President had the power to do what he has done. I see nothing in the letter from Professor Corwin to the Senator from New Hampshire to indicate that Professor Corwin thinks he knows the answer to the question, because in the next paragraph he says:

Also there is the inclination on the part of the spokesmen for labor to rely on what is termed the President's "inherent power" to meet emergencies in referring to legislative provisions for heading off disabling strikes. (See hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 81st Cong., 1st sess., Senate, for repealing the Taft-Hartley Act; also Julius and Lillian Cohen, 1943, *Divine Rights of Presidents*, 29, *Nebraska Law Review*, March 1950.)

What is the last thing Professor Corwin says in the letter which was quoted by the Senator from New Hampshire?

What is happening in light of these developments to our concept of government, of laws, and not of men is all too plain to need emphasis.

I quite agree with Professor Corwin. If this problem is not delimited, if we do not get a clear Supreme Court definition as to the limits of presidential power, there is a great danger that, over the years, as Presidents come and go, our system of government by law can be weakened.

Let me take up another Corwin source, not his letter to the Senator from New Hampshire, but his outstanding treatise, recognized by all legal scholars on the subject of presidential powers, his book

entitled "The President—Office and Powers," in which he discusses the whole question of the constitutional powers of the President.

I wish to get this material in today's *Record*, because I believe it to be important, at least for reference purposes, to have available to those who really wish to study the historical precedents in the source material from Corwin's great book when we discuss the amendment on Monday.

On page 17 of the book, under the subject The Presidency from Washington to the Second Adams, Corwin discusses the very origin of the contest over presidential power. I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the *Record* at this point that section of the book, going down to page 27, the next subheading being "The Presidency occurred—Congress dominant."

There being no objection, the section of the book referred to was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

THE PRESIDENCY FROM WASHINGTON TO THE SECOND ADAMS

Of the three departments of the National Government the Supreme Court, as representing the judiciary, has been most uniformly successful, at least until recent years, in establishing its own conception of its authority and functions, the President next, and Congress the least successful. Judicial review has been, in fact, of somewhat minor importance in determining the scope of Presidential powers. While the Court has sometimes rebuffed Presidential pretensions, it has more often labored to rationalize them; but most of all it has sought on one pretext or other to keep its sickle out of this "dread field." This policy may be owing partly to the fact that the President has "the power of the sword," that is, immediate command of the physical forces of Government; partly to the related fact that while the Court can usually assert itself successfully against Congress by merely "disallowing" its acts, Presidential exercises of power will generally have produced some change in the external world beyond ordinary judicial competence to efface. Nor should it be overlooked that the same course of reasoning upon which "executive power" as conferred by the opening clause of article II has thriven is equally favorable to the pretensions of the bearers of "judicial power" under article III. In supporting "executive power" against Congress the Court is often fighting its own battle for "judicial power."

The two earliest contests over the "executive power" of the President, indeed, were fought anywhere else than in the judicial forum. The first was the debate in 1789 in the first Congress over the location of the power of removal in relation to "executive officers" appointed "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." The second concerned the validity of the so-called "Proclamation of Neutrality" which President Washington issued in 1793 at the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain. Both episodes are dealt with at some length later on in this volume; at this point all that is required is reference to the principal issue, which was the same on both occasions, namely, whether the opening clause of article II was a grant of power or not. In the 1789 controversy Madison said that it was; 4 years later he took the opposite view, while Hamilton supported the affirmative thesis, and practically it was this thesis which prevailed in both instances.

But this confrontation of Hamilton and Madison in 1793 is of importance for a second reason; it signaled the early differentiation of what may be termed the

quasi-monarchical and the ultra-Whig conceptions of the Presidency. Under the first two Presidents the former conception prevailed as of course. The Presidency at once furnished what Walter Bagehot would have termed the "dignified element of Government" and also directed the legislative process to a notable extent, although without diminishing in the least the spontaneous legislative initiative of the Houses themselves; exactly as in contemporary Britain before the younger Pitt, the legislative initiative was divided. The famous Judiciary Act of 1789 was elaborated in the Senate; the acts creating the great executive departments came from the House; Hamilton's financial measures exemplified the legislative leadership of the executive. This leadership Hamilton was encouraged to assume by the very terms of the act of Congress by which the Department of the Treasury was established. "The Secretary of the Treasury," this act read, in fact still reads "shall from time to time * * * make report and give information to either branch of the legislature in person or in writing, as may be required, respecting all matters referred to him by the Senate or House of Representatives, or which shall appertain to his office; and generally shall perform all services relative to finances as he shall be directed to perform."

Indeed, had it not been for the pedantry of Madison and the jealousy of Jefferson, Hamilton would probably have been asked to report to the House in person—a precedent which might in time have blossomed into something approximating the cabinet system. As it was, the ever-alert suspicion of Jefferson discovered that Hamilton's connection with Congress, whereby "the whole action of the Legislature was * * * under the direction of the Treasury," tended definitely toward the overthrow of republican institutions, and it was on this fundamental ground, according to his own later account in his famed *Anas*, that he erected against Hamilton's measures the opposition from which the Jeffersonian party in due course took its rise. In his words:

"Its [the opposition's] object was to preserve the Legislature pure and independent of the Executive, to restrain the administration to republican forms and principles and not permit the Constitution to be construed into a monarchy, and to be warped in practice into all the principles and pollutions of their [the Hamiltonian Federalists'] favorite English model."

For the rest the relations of the two departments were featured by considerable ceremony. The President gave his annual address in person, and it was answered by formal addresses from the two Houses, and to each of these was returned in due course an equally formal reply—all of which "trappings of monarchy" were incontinently consigned to the trash basket by "the revolution of 1800."

Jefferson's conception of executive power, on the other hand, was more Whig than that of the British Whigs themselves in subordinating it to "the supreme legislative power." At the time when the presidential election of 1800 was pending in the House, John Marshall predicted that if Jefferson was chosen he would "embody himself in the House of Representatives, and by weakening the office of President" would "increase his personal power. He will * * * become the leader of that party which is about to constitute the majority of the Legislature. Confined to the President's legislative role, this was uncommonly good prophecy. What we encounter in Jefferson for the first time is a President who is primarily a party leader, only secondarily Chief Executive. The tone of his messages is uniformly deferential to Congress. His first one closes with these words: "Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment, nor to carry that judg-

ment into faithful execution." His actual guidance of Congress' judgment was nontheless constant and unremitting even while often secret and sometimes furtive. The chief instruments of his leadership were the party caucus, which enabled the party membership to present on the floor a united front and over which he himself is alleged to have presided now and then, and his Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, whose own influence with Congress was also enormous.

Nor can there be any doubt that, despite its later repercussions upon the presidency, Jefferson's technique, as administered by himself, was remarkably productive in terms of legislative accomplishment. Comparing in this respect Jefferson's record with Woodrow Wilson's, Dr. Small remarks:

"In according him (Wilson) a primacy in this field of Presidential activity, one ought not to underestimate the significance of Jefferson's achievement. If allowance is made for the fact that, in 1800, the Federal Government was not subjected to any centralizing influence, that, consequently, it legislated upon a smaller number of problems immediately affected with a public interest, and finally, that its legislative machinery was not capable of churning out laws with the rapidity characteristic of the present day, the disparity between the accomplishment of these two Executives is readily explainable; and, when compared on the basis of the success with which they carried out their legislative programs, the leadership of these two Presidents approaches an equality."

What, then, of Marshall's prophecy that Jefferson would weaken the office of President? This, too, was justified by events when the Ulysses bow of party leadership passed to feebler hands. With the practical disappearance of the Federalist Party the Republican caucus became the congressional caucus, by which Madison and Monroe were successively put in nomination for the Presidency, while the younger Adams, although not its nominee, was virtually elected by it through the election being thrown into the House. So, for 20 years the plan rejected by the framers, of having the President chosen by Congress, was substantially in operation. During this period the practice grew up of each succeeding President continuing a considerable part of his predecessor's Cabinet in office; and when he convened them in council the Chief Executive counted the votes of the heads of departments as of equal weight with his own. Hardly more than *primus inter pares* in his own sight, he was glad if Congress accorded him that degree of deference. In short, the Presidency was in commission.

FROM JACKSON'S REVOLUTION TO LINCOLN'S DICTATORSHIP

With Jackson's accession this enfeebling tendency was checked as decisively as it was abruptly. Jackson's Presidency was, in truth, no mere revival of the office—it was a re-making of it. The credit, however, should not go to Jackson alone. He contributed an imperious temper, a military reputation, and a striking personality; and he had the good luck to have an admiring public in the shape of a new and ignorant electorate. But the lasting impact of the Jacksonian Presidency upon American constitutional practice also owed much to the constructive skill of his political lieutenants, and particularly to their success in engrafting the spoils system to the national Government and their invention of the National Nominating Convention. The precise significance of the latter institution is, to be sure, frequently misapprehended, as when it is said to have made the President the elect of the people at large. Jackson himself did not owe his being the people's choice to the national convention, which was not yet in existence when he became President; nor did the nomination of

Mr. Harding by a coterie of bosses in a smoke-filled room at 2 o'clock in the morning, nearly a century later, make him the elect of the people at large in any genuine sense. The national convention is the periodic reminder of the party's entity. It dramatizes and climaxes the procedures by which a party sustains the consciousness of its Nation-wide character and mission. Its primary business—almost its only business—is to select somebody to carry the party standard in an approaching Presidential election. If the person chosen is successful, is elected President, then, ordinarily, he remains party leader throughout his official term, and is able in that capacity to summon the party to the support of his policies, as well as to renominate himself or name his successor as party champion. When Jefferson retired in 1809 his party began at once to dissolve into local or personal followings. That the same thing did not happen on Jackson's retirement was due to the rise of the national convention and the political devices which cluster about it.

And backed by a party organization which reached far beyond the halls of Congress, indeed eventually penetrated the remotest corners of the Union, Jackson became the first President in our history to appeal to the people over the heads of their legislative representatives. At the same time the office itself was thrust forward as one of three equal departments of government and to each and every of its powers was imparted new scope, new vitality. The President became tridimensional, and all of the dimensions underwent more or less enlargement. Jackson was a more dominant party leader than Jefferson; his claim to represent the American people as a whole went to the extent of claiming to embody them; his claim to be one of three equal departments implied the further claim that all his powers were autonomous, even his purely executive powers.

The classic statement of this tenet of his creed occurs in his famous message of July 10, 1832, vetoing Clay's bill for rechartering the second bank of the United States. The salient passage of the message reads:

"The Congress, the Executive, and the Court must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval as it is of the supreme judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve."

The Supreme Court's ratification of this doctrine so far as it bears on the President's duty to the law is dealt with on a later page.

The logical implications of Jackson's position were not exaggerated by his Whig critics, although its practical effects were. "I look upon Jackson," Kent wrote Story early in 1834, "as a detestable, ignorant, reckless, vain and malignant tyrant. . . . This American elective monarchy frightens me. The experiment, with its foundations laid on universal suffrage and our unfettered press, is of too violent a nature for our excitable people." "The President," thundered Webster in the Senate, "carries on the government; all the rest are subcontractors. . . . A Briareus sits in the center of our

system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, controls everything." "We are in the midst of a revolution," lamented Clay, "hitherto bloodless, but tending rapidly toward a total change of the pure republican character of the Government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man."

Indeed, the framers of the Constitution themselves did not escape censure for their responsibility for this state of things, as we discover when we turn to Abel Upshur's essay on Federal Government, which appeared in 1840. Dealing with the Presidency, Upshur wrote:

"The most defective part of the Constitution beyond all question, is that which relates to the executive department. It is impossible to read that instrument without being struck with the loose and unguarded terms in which the power and duties of the President are pointed out. So far as the Legislature is concerned, the limitations of the Constitution are, perhaps, as precise and strict as they could safely have been made; but in regard to the Executive, the convention appears to have studiously selected such loose and general expressions as would enable the President, by implication and construction, either to neglect his duties or to enlarge his powers. We have heard it gravely asserted in Congress that whatever power is neither legislative nor judiciary is of course executive, and, as such, belongs to the President under the Constitution."

Eight years later so sober and generally well-balanced a critic as Reverdy Johnson of Maryland spoke in the Senate "of the overshadowing influence of power of a President," and added: "So great a latitude of construction has not of late prevailed in relation to the power of the other departments as to the power of the President. If he adheres to the letter of the Constitution, he is to be sustained, whatever departure there might be from the spirit of the instrument, while charges of usurpation of power are constantly made against Congress. . . . It may yet be that a diadem may sparkle on the brow of an American President."

This same year, 1848, the Swiss people framed a new constitution; but although imitating our national Constitution in several other respects, they steered conspicuously clear of the Presidency, because they felt it to be favorable to dictatorship.

Actually, prior to the Civil War, the menace was more apparent than real. For this there were several reasons. In the first place, while magnifying the powers of the Presidency, Jackson subscribed to the States' rights doctrine of strict construction of Congress' powers. His legislative role consequently was chiefly negative, being confined for the most part to a vigorous use of the veto power. In the second place, the further development in the Houses after Jefferson's day of the committee system interposed obstacles in the way of Presidential participation in legislation which had not existed at first. But the circumstance which contributed most to the temporary declension of the Jacksonian Presidency was the emergence after 1848 of the issue of slavery in the Territories. For the handling of this highly charged question by the devices of negotiation and compromise, Congress, and especially the Senate, offered a far better theater than the Presidency. So the forces making for compromise systematically depressed the Presidency by taking care that only secondary and manageable personalities should be elevated to it. From the close of the Mexican War to 1861 the Presidency was in the doldrums, definitely.

The last important contribution to the theory of the Presidency until recent decades was Lincoln's, whose ultimate conception of the office was as much an expression of tem-

perament as was Jackson's. A solitary genius who valued the opportunity for reflection above that for counsel, Lincoln came to regard Congress as a more or less necessary nuisance and the Cabinet as a usually unnecessary one. Nor could it have escaped Lincoln's intuition, especially after Buchanan's message of December 3, 1860, that, if the Union was to be saved, recourse must be had to some still untested source of national power, one which had not become entangled, as had Congress, in the strangulating sophistries of States' rights. So, for a double reason, Lincoln turned to the "Commander in Chief" clause, from which, read in conjunction with the "shall take care" clause, he drew the conclusion that "the war power" was his. Originally, it is true, he appears to have assumed that his power was a simple emergency power whose ad interim decisions Congress must ratify if they were to be permanently valid. But, as the problems of emancipation and then of reconstruction loomed, he shifted ground, and his final position was, as Professor Randall phrases it, "that as President he had extraordinary legal resources which Congress lacked." The practical fruitage of this theory is treated at length in a later chapter.

But, while Lincoln's invocation of the war power added a new dimension to the Presidency in the presence of national emergency, his incumbency was in certain other respects a calamity for the office. A frontiersman, his conceptions of the requirements of sound administration were no less naive than Jackson's, whose record as a spoilsman he far surpassed; while except for an ineffectual endeavor to interest Congress in the subject of compensated emancipation, he left the task of procuring necessary legislation to his Cabinet secretaries, and especially to Chase and Stanton, theirs being the departments most concerned. The outcome in the latter case was the creation of a direct relationship between the War Department and the congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War which under Johnson brought the Presidency to the verge of disaster.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it will be noted that on page 21 Professor Corwin discusses attacks which were made on Thomas Jefferson because Jefferson took the point of view that under the broad language of the Constitution dealing with Executive power he had much broader power to act executively than many people, who are now criticizing Harry Truman for the power he exercised the other night, think any President should have. On page 21 of the book, Corwin says:

What, then, of Marshall's prophecy that Jefferson would weaken the Office of President. This, too, was justified by events when the Ulysses bow of party leadership passed to feeble hands. With the practical disappearance of the Federalist Party, the Republican caucus became the "congressional caucus," by which Madison and Monroe were successfully put in nomination for the Presidency, while the younger Adams, although not its nominee, was virtually elected by it through the election being thrown into the House. So, for 20 years the plan rejected by the framers, of having the President chosen by Congress, was substantially in operation. During this period the practice grew up of each succeeding President continuing a considerable part of his predecessor's Cabinet in office; and when he convened them in council the Chief Executive counted the votes of the heads of departments as of equal weight with his own.

In the next section, Professor Corwin discusses the question of presidential power under the heading "From Jack-

son's revolution to Lincoln's dictatorship." It will be seen from the material I shall insert in the RECORD that charges were made against Lincoln to the effect that he was exercising dictatorial power, when he claimed inherent power to exercise executive authority to meet a crisis which he thought involved the security of his Nation, even including without legislative authority his Emancipation Proclamation.

Mr. President, there are a great many other sections of Corwin's book I had intended to discuss at some length to-night, but I shall not do so. However, I wish to refer to the heading beginning on page 224, "Congressional collaboration and control—recognition," in which Corwin discusses at some length congressional authority in the field of foreign policy, because the question of inherent power on the part of the President has been exercised more often in the field of foreign policy than in the field of domestic policy. I ask unanimous consent to have the section beginning on page 224 and continuing to page 235 incorporated at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the section referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL COLLABORATION AND CONTROL— RECOGNITION

But whatever emphasis be given the President's role as "sole organ of foreign relations" and the initiative thereby conferred upon him in this field, the fact remains that no Presidentially devised diplomatic policy can long survive without the support of Congress, the body to which belongs the power to lay and collect taxes for the common defense, to regulate foreign commerce, to create armies and maintain navies, to pledge the credit of the United States, to declare war, to define offenses against the law of nations, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution not only its own powers, but all the powers of the Government of the United States and of any department or officer thereof. Hence the only question that can arise is as to the character which the relationship with Congress thus imposed upon the President by the Constitution shall assume at the latter's hands—shall it be the relationship of cooperation between constitutionally equal partners, or shall it be the relationship of principal and instrument; a relationship resting upon jointly held convictions as to what the interests of the United States require, or upon the calculation that when Congress is presented with a sufficiently imperative fait accompli it can be counted on to come to heel? Actually, while now cooperation, now subservience, has characterized the relations of Congress to the President at different times, yet down to the Mexican War the former was the prevailing pattern, while since then, and owing in part to that fateful precedent, it is the President who has more and more called the tunes. From the viewpoint of the present moment, it is not extravagant to say that immensely the most important single factor in the determination of American foreign policy has been Presidential guidance of it.

Returning now to the subject of recognition, we again encounter Congress—that is, the national legislative power—as an influential factor in both the initiation and development of American foreign policy in its early days. The breakup of the Spanish Empire in America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century raised questions

which Washingtonian precedents answered very imperfectly. When Louis XVI was dethroned by the French people he was at the same time liquidated, so that recognition by our Government that the French people had an inherent right to determine their own forms of government incurred slight if any risks. But when the South Americans revolted from the Spanish monarchy the latter still remained in existence with some power to resent and resist outside interference. The question whether the new governments should be recognized by the United States involved therefore the further question of the extent to which the danger of war should be taken into account, and consequently the attitude of the war-declaring organ.

Moreover, this was the period when, as we saw in an earlier chapter, Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, was at the top of the governmental heap. This had been definitely shown in 1812 when James Madison had as President enjoyed the dubious satisfaction of seeing the theories of "Helvidius" realized, through being forced by Henry Clay and his swashbuckling followers into war with Great Britain. And 6 years later, when the South American issue first loomed on the horizon, though Monroe was now President, the House of Representatives was still dominant and Clay was still dominant in the House.

We learn from John Quincy Adams' Memoirs that as early as December 1817 Clay had in hand "a motion to acknowledge the Government of Buenos Aires and perhaps Chile." The motion, in fact, was never offered. Instead, on March 24, 1818, Clay proposed in Committee of the Whole, as an amendment to the then pending appropriation bill, a motion to appropriate \$18,000 for the outfit and 1 year's salary of a minister to "the independent provinces of the River Plata in South America." But this proposal, too, proved abortive, being replaced the day following by one which omitted the word "independent" and was to go into effect only "whenever the President shall deem it expedient to send a minister," etc.

But even in this attenuated form Clay's amendment stirred up much opposition as invading Presidential prerogative. Recalling the Washington administration's recognition of the French Republic, Smith of Maryland queried: "Did Congress on that occasion direct the conduct of General Washington?" * * * No, sir; they left him to exercise the powers vested in him by the Constitution—to the exercise of his own judgment." And Adams recorded in his Memoirs the fact that in a Cabinet meeting he urged a like objection against such proceedings in Congress:

"Instead of admitting the Senate or House of Representatives to any share in the act of recognition, I would expressly avoid that form of doing it which would require the concurrence of those bodies. It was, I had no doubt, by our Constitution an act of the Executive authority. General Washington had exercised it in recognizing the French Republic by the reception of Mr. Genest. Mr. Madison had exercised it by declining several years to receive, and by finally receiving, Mr. Onis; and in this instance I thought the Executive ought carefully to preserve entire the authority given him by the Constitution, and not weaken it by setting the precedent of making either House of Congress a party to an act which it was his exclusive right and duty to perform."

Nor did Clay in defending his measure suggest that Congress had power to compel Presidential action; rather, his object, he declared, was to aid Executive deliberations—a thought which was further elaborated by Tucker of Virginia in the following words:

"But gentlemen seem to consider this an interference with the constitutional powers of the Executive. I do not think so. This House has at all times, and on all subjects,

a right to declare its opinions, leaving it to the Executive to act upon them or not, according to its pleasure. Nay, it has often done more. Whenever the act to be done by the Executive has been intimately connected with the constitutional powers of this body, it has always deemed itself competent to act. Thus before the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana was made, \$2,000,000 were put at the disposal of the Government for the purchase of southern territory. Here there was an act perfectly analogous. This body had no right to make a purchase, or to command the President to do so, but as the purchase, if made, would have called upon the legislative body for an appropriation, it was thought advisable to make it beforehand, and thus indicate a correspondence of views on the subject, where correspondence was necessary. * * * It would appear to me, indeed, of the utmost importance that this correspondence of views should be preserved between these two branches of the Government. How embarrassing to the Executive must it be if, after a treaty has been made calling for a large appropriation, this body should refuse to make it, and to sanction a contract entered into with a foreign state. How much more embarrassing if, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, the Executive should involve the Nation in a war against the wishes of its representatives. The jarring and confusion and inefficiency that would result might have the most fatal influence on the national success. No, sir; frankness and candor, and a free and unreserved communication of the feelings and opinions of each by the other, can never have any other than the happiest influence upon the national councils."

Clay's motion failed, nevertheless, and recognition was postponed some 4 years. Yet when it did come the course which was followed by the administration vindicated his and Tucker's theory of executive-congressional cooperation most strikingly. On January 30, 1822, the House requested the President to lay before it such documents bearing on the South American question "as it may be consistent with the public interest to communicate," to which the President responded on March 8 following with a message stating that the time had come to recognize the new republics and inviting Congress, if it concurred in that view, to make "the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect," and in due course Congress appropriated \$100,000 for "such missions to the independent nations of the American continent as the President of the United States may deem proper."

This entire story seems to me highly instructive. It reaffirms the President's monopoly of the function of international intercourse and his constitutional independence in the performance of that function. Not even Clay seems to have supposed either that Congress could recognize the new republics without executive approval and collaboration or that these were constitutionally required. At the same time Monroe, while fully advised as to his constitutional rights, seems not to have resented Congress' efforts to get its views on record; indeed, in the end he carefully invited congressional cooperation. It is thus borne in upon one that the principle of departmental autonomy does not necessarily spell departmental conflict, but that mutual consultation and collaboration are quite as logical deductions from it. Nor should it be overlooked that throughout this episode it was Congress who forced the pace, not the President.

The lessons deducible from our recognition of Texan independence in 1837 are similar. Cuban recognition 60 years later suggests, to be sure, a somewhat different pattern. In the spring of 1896, more than a year after the outbreak of revolution in the island, the two Houses adopted a concurrent reso-

lution expressing the opinion that the situation there called for the recognition of a state of belligerency. President Cleveland ignored the suggestion; but meantime congressional opinion of a more extreme brand was rapidly developing, with the result that early in 1897 two joint resolutions made their appearance in the Senate, one of which purported to acknowledge "the independence of the Republic of Cuba" and the other of which proffered "the friendly offices" of the United States "with the Government of Spain to bring to a close the war between Spain and the Republic of Cuba." The two resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations which, after an extensive survey of the precedents, rendered an adverse report on constitutional grounds. The tenor of the report is indicated in the following extracts from it:

"The executive branch is the sole mouthpiece of the Nation in communication with foreign sovereignties. Foreign nations communicate only through their respective executive departments. Resolutions of their legislative departments upon diplomatic matters have no status in international law. In the department of international law, therefore, properly speaking a congressional recognition of belligerency or independence would be a nullity. * * *

"Congress can help the Cuban insurgents by legislation in many ways, but it cannot help them legitimately by mere declarations, or by attempts to engage in diplomatic negotiations, if our interpretation of the Constitution is correct. That it is correct will be shown by the opinions of jurists and statesmen of the past.

Notwithstanding the flavor of finality which attaches to this statement, a few months later when President McKinley proposed intervention in Cuba the whole question was reopened. The President was opposed to recognizing the Cuban insurgent government, as was also a strong majority of the Foreign Relations Committee. A minority of the committee on the other hand favored "the immediate recognition of the Republic of Cuba, as a free, independent and sovereign power"; and this view prevailed to the extent that the opening resolution of the measure which "authorized and directed" the President to employ the land and naval forces of the United States to expel Spain from Cuba declared that the "people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent." So, by incorporating it in what was tantamount to a declaration of war, Congress contrived to perform an act of recognition of which a foreign government was entitled by international law to take direct notice.

Throughout the entire course of our national history the President has performed dozens of acts of recognition of new governments without consulting, or being expected to consult, Congress. At times, indeed, this prerogative has proved a most potent instrument of foreign policy, a remark which applies as well to its nonuse as to its use. President Wilson encompassed the downfall of Huerta's regime in Mexico in 1915 by refusing to recognize it as even a government de facto, and the pivotal feature of our relations with both Mexico and Russia for some years was the refusal of successive administrations at Washington to recognize as de jure the governments of those countries.

The general subject of congressional collaboration has, however, many other facets besides recognition. The principle that the National Government is as to external affairs a completely sovereign government being conceded, it logically follows that Congress' legislative power in the same field is also plenary. Except indeed for its inability to require the President to exercise his concurrent powers in the same field, Congress has approximately as broad powers over such

matters as has the British Parliament. And of course once Congress has legislated, the President becomes constitutionally obligated to take care that its laws be faithfully executed. Where—how—is a line to be drawn between these logical incompatibles? The answer seems to be, "that depends." For example, section 34 of the Jones Merchant Marine Act of 1920 authorized and directed the President within 90 days to give notice to the other parties to certain treaties, which the act infringed, of the termination thereof. President Wilson refused to comply, asserting that he "did not deem the direction contained in section 34 * * * an exercise of any constitutional power possessed by Congress." His action was roundly denounced by Senator Harding from the front porch earlier mentioned, despite which one of the first things Mr. Harding did upon becoming President was to announce—presumably with the concurrence of his Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes—that he proposed to follow precisely the same course. And yet had Congress contented itself with enacting the material portions of the statute it would unquestionably have become the President's constitutional duty to enforce these, regardless of their operation upon existing treaties, and at least it would have been only common sense and common courtesy on his part, as the national organ of foreign relations, to have given the other parties to the treaties advance notice. In fact, Mr. Wilson did so proceed in 1915 in connection with the La Follette Act—despite the fact that that act "requested and directed" him to do so.

Of course, when it comes to legislation which would be capable of tying his hands because of his constitutional obligation in respect to law enforcement, a President has usually an effective weapon of defense for his policies in his veto power. The trouble is that an act which was put on the statute books with the approval of a predecessor, or even with his own approval, may later turn out to be seriously cramping. Thus it was that President Wilson found it necessary early in 1914, when he was being subjected to strong pressure from Great Britain on account of his Mexican policy, to go before Congress and urge repeal of the Panama Tolls Act of 1911:

"I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure."

No more striking acknowledgment has ever been made by a President of the actual power of Congress in the foreign-relations field.

Some other measures which represent attempts by Congress to guide and control foreign policy warrant mention. Thus a rider to the Appropriation Act of March 4, 1913, forbids the President to "extend or accept any invitation to participate in any international congress, conference, or like event without specific authorization to do so." Shades of Cairo, Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam. The act of May 26, 1924, on the other hand, by which Japanese immigration to this country was brought to an abrupt halt, while it signalized a particularly wild romp of the congressional bull in the diplomatic porcelain shop, was a type of legislation which Congress has always had conceded power to enact. Equally would it be impossible to challenge Congress' power to pass the Johnson Debt Default Act of April 13, 1934, which forbade the sale or purchase within American jurisdiction of any securities of a government in debt to the United States; and the same remark applies to the various neutrality acts of recent years. As was pointed out above, Congress turned its attention to the subject of neutrality as early as 1794. Earlier acts, to be sure, merely purported to declare and sanction the existing usages of

international law, but the act of 1939 cast off these trammels entirely.

Congress has, to repeat, vast powers to determine the bounds within which a President may be left to work out a foreign policy. Indeed, it may effectively block presidential policy by simply declining to pass implementing legislation—appropriations for instance. What is more, in proportion as the prosecution of a foreign policy—the Marshall plan, for instance—requires lavish expenditure, so is the insistence of the body which controls the Nation's purse strings that it be accepted as a partner in the determination of the objectives of our diplomacy likely to increase. Conflict and antagonism, nevertheless, are not inevitable; to the contrary, there may be—and should be—mutual consultation, cooperation, collaboration. In point of fact, congressional legislation has operated to augment presidential powers in the foreign field much more frequently than it has to curtail them. The Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941, the elaboration of which is sketched in the succeeding chapter, is a classic example, although it only brought to culmination a whole series of enactments with which Congress had aided and abetted the administration's foreign policy in the years between 1934 and 1941.

But not only is Congress a legislative body, its Houses are also forums of public opinion, and their right to act as such has been asserted by their members over and over again. In the debate in the House in 1826 on the proposed mission to the Panama Congress a Kentucky Member said:

"It is its duty upon all fit occasions to pronounce the judgment of the people upon measures perfected or contemplated touching the foreign relations of the United States."

This statement Webster endorsed in the following words:

"It has expressed its opinions, when it deemed proper to express them at all, on great leading questions, by resolution, and in a general form. These general opinions being thus made known have doubtless always had and such expressions of opinion doubtless always will have, their effect. This is the practice of the Government. It is a salutary practice."

Almost 100 years later resolutions were introduced in the House expressing its cordial approval of the World Court and its earnest desire that the United States give early adherence to the protocol establishing the same with the reservations recommended by President Harding and President Coolidge. The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which in reporting them favorably listed more than 30 precedents relating to action by the House of Representatives upon treaties and foreign affairs. Some of the actions mentioned were based upon exaggerated, or otherwise mistaken, notions as to the consequences that ought to be expected to flow from them, but considered solely as expressions of opinion it is difficult to see what constitutional objection they were open to. Sometimes Presidents have found such resolutions embarrassing, and sometimes, no doubt, they were intended by their proponents to be precisely that. Yet even at such times Presidents would occasionally have done better to heed them for the indication they gave of the trend of public opinion. At any rate, there seems to be no constitutional way in which a President can stop Congress' mouth whether it is saying encouraging things or the reverse.

Finally, the two Houses, both separately and conjointly, are able to create committees and endow them with ample powers of investigation into matters of public interest. In the realm of domestic legislation such bodies have frequently done work of great importance, and there is no a priori reason why they should not prove of comparable value when questions affecting the conduct

of foreign relations are the subject of investigation. Actually, they have frequently accomplished very little in the latter field, for the reason principally that they have usually been brought about at the insistence of a special group which was much more bent on publicizing a special point of view than it was on getting sound information. Well-planned, properly staffed inquiries could be very different affairs. It may very well be, however, that with the emergence upon the American scene of such sounding boards of opinion—not merely American, but international opinion—as the Security Council and the Assembly of the United Nations, the importance of the congressional investigating committee as a device—and a not very successful one—for keeping presidential foreign policy open and aboveboard has passed, for the time being at least.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask also to have incorporated in the RECORD as part of my remarks the section of Corwin's book, beginning on page 235, entitled "Executive of the Law of Nations—Presidential Warmaking."

There being no objection, the section was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OF THE LAW OF NATIONS—PRESIDENTIAL WARMAKING

We now resume consideration of the constitutional factors of presidential aggrandizement in the sphere of foreign relations. Two of these I have dealt with already—the natural advantages of his office as stressed by Jay in *The Federalist*, and the Hamiltonian conception of executive power. But the President is also Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, while upon him rests the duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," a part of which law is international law. So from the first it has devolved upon him to protect American rights and to discharge American duties under the law of nations; and, as commonly happens, the path of duty became in time a road to power. Finally, the leadership which the President has achieved since the turn of the century in the field of legislation has proved at times of the very greatest value in bringing Congress into line in the field of foreign policy.

In a famous passage quoted on an earlier page, Justice Miller had in 1890 put the question with regard to the President's duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed":

"Is this duty limited to the enforcement of acts of Congress or of treaties of the United States according to their express terms, or does it include the rights, duties, and obligations growing out of the Constitution itself, our international relations, and all the protection implied by the nature of the Government under the Constitution?"

The answer evidently intended is no. Indeed, nearly 80 years earlier Attorney General William Wirt had advanced precisely this answer. The laws to which the faithfully executed clause referred, said he, comprised not only the Constitution, statutes, and treaties, but also "those general laws of nations which govern the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." The United States, having become a member of the society of nations, was obliged to respect the rights of other nations under that code of laws and the President, as the chief executive officer of the laws and the agency charged with the superintendence of the Nation's foreign intercourse, was bound to rectify injury and preserve peace.

And nearly 30 years before that *Pacificus* had written to like effect:

"The President is the constitutional executor of the laws. Our treaties, and the laws of nations, form a part of the law of the land. He, who is to execute the laws, must first

judge for himself of their meaning. In order to the observance of that conduct which the laws of nations, combined with our treaties, prescribed to this country, in reference to the present war in Europe, it was necessary for the President to judge for himself, whether there was anything in our treaties, incompatible with an adherence to neutrality."

With this duality of the executive role in mind, let us consider *Pacificus'* contention, mentioned earlier in this chapter, that the President has the power of determining virtually upon the operation of national treaties. The question raised is a twofold one: that of the President's power in relation to treaties as law of the land; and that of his power in relation to treaties as international obligations.

Treaty provisions are sometimes addressed exclusively to the President, as for instance were certain articles of the treaties which resulted from the Washington Conference of 1921, and which provided for conference among the high contracting parties in named contingencies. The duty of communication thus cast upon the President was, obviously, well within his diplomatic prerogative. Other treaty provisions, however, are addressed primarily to Congress. Indeed, it is a strongly held view, and one that has usually prevailed in practice, that if a treaty provision would operate within the field of Congress' enumerated powers—as would, for instance, a commercial treaty—it can be put into effect as law of the land only by sanctioning legislation; and, as we have seen, Congress is free in enacting such sanctioning legislation to vest the President with large discretionary powers. Lastly, the doctrine was early established that treaty provisions which reciprocally accord privileges to the nationals of each of the contracting states within the other's jurisdiction were susceptible in the United States of direct application and enforcement through the ordinary courts. In relation to such provisions, which are regarded as being addressed primarily to the judiciary, the President's power is simply that of Chief Executive, constitutionally bound to carry out the decisions of the courts.

But now suppose that it becomes desirable for the United States to cast off a treaty—whether justly or unjustly by the standards of international law—what is the constitutional procedure for accomplishing this end? The cases are clear in establishing the power of Congress to strike down in its quality as "law of the land" any treaty or treaty provision to which the United States is party; while as a matter of fact treaties of the United States have been terminated on several occasions by the President, now on his own authority, now in accordance with a resolution of Congress, at other times with the sanction simply of the Senate. I assume, I may add, that when a treaty or treaty provision has been discarded in any one of the ways just mentioned, it ceases to be "law of the land" for any purpose whatsoever—ceases, that is, to be a source of authority either for supplementary legislation by Congress, for action by the President, or for adjudication by the courts.

The question remains whether the international obligation of a treaty continues after it has ceased to exist as "law of the land" and the performance of the duties of the United States under it has accordingly come to an end. In general, the answer must be that the United States is no more entitled to determine finally its duties toward other nations than are the latter to determine finally their duties toward the United States. At the same time, in the absence of an international tribunal with authority to pass ultimately upon such questions, each sovereign government is an organ of the international society, and in the case of the United States Government the immediate bearer of

this capacity is, by Hamiltonian doctrine, the President.

But the President may also make himself the direct administrator of the international rights and duties of the United States, or of what are adjudged by him to be such, without awaiting action either by the treaty-making power or by Congress, or by the courts. Significant in this connection is the course laid down by various Presidents with regard to the landing of foreign submarine cables. President Grant established the germinal precedent in 1869, when he was approached with a request from a French company which desired to connect Duxbury, Mass., with Brest, France, via the Island of St. Pierre in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. "In the absence of legislation by Congress" the President conceded the request upon certain stipulated conditions, and in 1879 and again in 1884 his successors followed suit. In 1893, however, President Cleveland refused a request of this sort on the ground of lack of statutory authority, with the result that the company proceeded to make a landing anyway. In the subsequent proceedings which the administration—quite inconsistently—brought to enjoin the intruder, the Federal court hinted its opinion that the President's legal scruples had been misconceived. The question was finally disposed of by an opinion of Solicitor General Richards in 1898. Citing the Neagle case, Mr. Richards placed power to act on the twofold basis of "the fundamental rights which * * * grow out of the jurisdiction of this Nation over its own territory" and the President's constitutional position as the organ of American foreign relations.

And it was with these precedents back of him that President Wilson in August 1913 granted permission for the introduction of electrical current from Canada, and 13 months later closed the Marconi wireless station at Siasconset, when the company refused assurance that it would comply with naval censorship regulations. The former action was admittedly without statutory basis; and while the act of August 19, 1912, probably supported the later drastic invasion of private rights, justification for it was based by Attorney General Gregory largely on the President's power as Commander in Chief and as organ of foreign relations:

"The President of the United States is at the head of one of the three great coordinate departments of the Government. He is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. * * * If the President is of the opinion that the relations of this country with foreign nations are, or are likely to be, endangered by action deemed by him inconsistent with a due neutrality, it is his right and duty to protect such relations; and in doing so, in the absence of any statutory restrictions, he may act through such executive office or department as appears best adapted to effectuate the desired end. * * * I do not hesitate, in view of the extraordinary conditions existing, to advise that the President, through the Secretary of the Navy, or any other appropriate department, close down or take charge of, and operate, the plant * * * should he deem it necessary to secure obedience to his proclamation of neutrality."

And it was on comparable grounds that the President met the renewal by Germany of unrestricted submarine warfare by ordering on March 12, 1917, an armed guard to be placed on all American merchant vessels, action which followed hard upon the heels of failure by Congress, owing to the opposition of "a little group of willful men" in the Senate to authorize it.

But this is no more than the beginning of the story. Thanks to the same capacity to base action directly on his own reading of

international law—a capacity which the Court recognized in terms in the Neagle case—the President has been able to gather to himself powers with respect to war making which ill accord with the specific delegation in the Constitution of the war-declaring power to Congress.

The first question to be answered in this connection is whether the President may, without authorization by Congress, ever use force abroad. First and last, scores and dozens of episodes have occurred in our history in which Presidents have done this very thing, and have been defended by their champions with the argument that when action of this character is in defense of what international law itself recognizes as rights of person and property, and is not excessive, it is not an act of war nor a legitimate cause for warlike retort by the country suffering from it. This principle was recognized, for example, by the United States itself when it condoned the action of Great Britain, in connection with the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, in invading American waters and destroying the *Caroline*, a vessel which was being employed by American sympathizers with the rebels to convey arms to them. And the benefit of the same principle was accorded the United States by the Chinese Imperial Government in 1901, when it formally conceded that President McKinley's action in joining the powers in defense of the legations in Peking against the Boxers had not constituted an act of war.

Furthermore, such action has received the highest judicial sanction. Thus one of the precedents relied upon by Justice Miller in the Neagle case was the outgrowth of the bombardment in 1854 by Lieutenant Hollins of the U. S. S. *Cyane*, of Greytown, Nicaragua, in default of reparation from the local authorities for an attack by a mob on the United States Consul stationed at that place. Upon his return to the United States Hollins was sued in a Federal court by one Durand for the value of certain property which was alleged to have been destroyed in the bombardment. His defense was based upon the orders of the President and the Secretary of the Navy, and was sustained by Justice Nelson in the following words:

"As the executive head of the Nation, the President is made the only legitimate organ of the general Government, to open and carry on correspondence or negotiations with foreign nations, in matters concerning the interests of the country or of its citizens. It is to him, also, that citizens abroad must look for protection of person and of property, and for the faithful execution of the laws existing and intended for their protection. For this purpose, the whole executive power of the country is placed in his hands, under the Constitution, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof; and different departments of government have been organized, through which this power may be most conveniently executed, whether by negotiation or by force—a Department of State and a Department of the Navy.

"Now, as respects the interposition of the Executive abroad, for the protection of the lives or property of the citizen, the duty must, of necessity, rest in the discretion of the President. Acts of lawless violence, or of threatened violence to the citizen or his property, cannot be anticipated and provided for; and the protection, to be effectual or of any avail, may, not unfrequently, require the most prompt and decided action. Under our system of government, the citizen abroad is as much entitled to protection as the citizen at home. The great object and duty of government is the protection of the lives, liberty, and property of the people composing it, whether abroad or at home; and any government failing in the accomplishment of the

object, or the performance of the duty, is not worth preserving."

But is the President confined to acts of defense? Indeed, is the distinction between such acts and acts of war a substantial one? And is the distinction between rights and interests sustainable—any interests which a President may choose to press by the use of force? The first question arose even earlier than the one just discussed. Writing in 1801 as "Lucius Crassus," Hamilton heaped scorn upon Jefferson's view that unless and until Congress formally declared war American naval vessels had the rights only of self-defense against vessels of the Bey of Tripoli. The plain meaning of the Constitution, Hamilton asserted, was—

"That it is the peculiar and exclusive province of Congress, when the Nation is at peace to change that state into a state of war; whether from calculations of policy or from provocations, or injuries received; in other words, it belongs to Congress only, to go to war. But when a foreign nation declares, or openly and avowedly makes war upon the United States, they are then by the very fact already at war, and any declaration on the part of Congress is nugatory; it is at least unnecessary."

The same question came up again 45 years later, when President Polk, in his message of May 11, 1846, wrote:

"After reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war."

"As war exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country."

"In further vindication of our rights and defense of our territory, I invoke the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace."

When this message reached the Senate the portion of it just quoted was at once assailed by Calhoun, on the ground that "In the sense of the Constitution war could be declared only by Congress,"—a contention with which Cass of Michigan joined issue in the following words:

"There can be no hostilities undertaken by a government which do not constitute a state of war. War is a fact, sir, created by an effort made by one nation to injure another. One party may make a war, though it requires two parties to make a peace. The Senator from South Carolina contends that as Congress alone has a right, by the Constitution, to declare a war, therefore there can be no war till it is thus declared. There is here a very obvious error. It is certain that Congress alone has the right to declare war. That is, there is no other authority in the United States, which, on our part, can change the relations of peace with another country into those of war. No authority but Congress can commence an aggressive war. But another country can commence a war against us without the cooperation of Congress. Another country can, at its pleasure, terminate the relations of peace with us, and substitute for these the relations of war, with their legitimate consequences. War may be commenced with or without a previous declaration. * * * All these facts prove conclusively that it is a state of hostilities that produces war, and not any formal declaration. Any other construction would lead to this practical absurdity. England, for instance, by an act of hostility or by a public declaration, announces that she is at

war with us. If the view, presented by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, is correct, we are not at war with her till Congress has acted upon the subject. One party, then, is at war, while the other is at peace or, at any rate, in this new intermediate state of hostilities, before unknown to the world. Now, sir, it is very clear that Mexico is at war with us, we at war with her. If she terminates the peaceful relations between two countries, they are terminated whether we consent or not. The new state of things thus created, does not depend upon the will of Congress. The two nations are at war, because one of them has chosen to place them both in that attitude."

Sixteen years later the Cass-Hamilton argument was renewed by Richard Henry Dana in the Prize cases, and was ratified by the Court for situations involving insurrection and actual invasion. As to foreign wars, on the other hand, congressional declarations of war have always taken the form of merely recognizing a state of war begun by the hostile acts of the other party, and so have never exceeded the power which Hamilton and Dana claimed for the President acting alone.

Passing then from rights to interests, the leading precedent was furnished by Tyler's action in 1844 in so disposing the naval and military forces of the United States as to protect Texas against Mexican wrath on account of the then pending treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States. In answer to a resolution of inquiry by the Senate, Tyler defended his course as follows:

"It is due to myself that I should declare it as my opinion that the United States, having by the treaty of annexation acquired a title to Texas which requires only the action of the Senate to perfect it, no other power could be permitted to invade and by force of arms to possess itself of any portion of the territory of Texas pending your deliberations upon the treaty without placing itself in a hostile attitude to the United States and justifying the employment of any military means at our disposal to drive back the invasion."

Tyler's efforts to annex Texas had their counterpart a quarter of a century later in Grant's efforts to annex Santo Domingo, and the question arose on the latter occasion as to the right of the President to protect what were termed "inchoate interests" of the United States in Santo Domingo until the final disposition of the main question. Drawing a sharp distinction between such interests and rights, Grant's critics endeavored to confine existing precedents to the latter. But, notwithstanding their triumph, later events in the Caribbean, especially after 1916, went far to discredit this distinction for that particular region, where American interests have always been peculiarly sensitive.

Presidents have, to be sure, performed again and again gestures of obeisance to Congress' power to declare war. Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant, McKinley, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt are all on record with words of deference, as are also several Secretaries of State. Thus the late President was careful to qualify the promises of aid in his utmost sympathy message to France of June 14, 1940, with the warning: "These statements carry with them no implication of military commitments. Only Congress can make such commitments." Three months later Mr. Roosevelt by his own unaided, unheralded act in effecting the 50-destroyer deal converted, as it were at the blast of a trumpet, the international status of the United States as a neutral to that of a quasi belligerent in the war then raging in Europe.

The later steps by which the country passed gradually into actual shooting war underscored the same moral.

March 11, 1941, H. R. 1776 became the Lend-Lease Act, thereby marking congressional endorsement of the quasi-belligerent status of this country.

March 30, the Government seized 65 Axis-controlled ships in American ports.

April 9, the State Department entered into an executive agreement with the Danish Minister giving the United States the right to occupy Greenland during the emergency for defensive purposes. Protests by the Nazi-controlled regime at Copenhagen went unheeded.

April 10, the President proclaimed the Red Sea no longer a combat area, thereby making it permissible under the Neutrality Act of 1939 for American ships to carry supplies to the British forces in that region.

May 15, the President appealed to the French people not to support the Vichy government, which, it charged, was collaborating with the Nazis.

May 21, the American steamer *Robin Moor* was torpedoed and shelled in the South Atlantic.

May 22, the President gave Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, "an over-all limit of 30 days to prepare for an expedition to sail for and take the Azores," a project which was not, however, carried out.

May 27, the President, after declaring over the radio that the current developments of the war menaced the security of the Western Hemisphere, proclaimed an "unlimited emergency," and ordered American naval craft to "sink on sight" any foreign submarine discovered in our "defensive waters."

June 15, the President froze all previously unfrozen assets of Germany, Italy, and Axis-controlled countries.

June 20, the President sent a message to Congress denouncing the sinking of the *Robin Moor* as "piracy." The German chargé at Washington refused to transmit the message to Berlin.

July 7, the President announced to Congress that he had secured an agreement with the Icelandic Government whereby the United States would take over from Great Britain the defense of that island during the emergency.

August 14, F. D. R. and Churchill announced that they had met at sea, "discussed lend-lease and other problems of common defense," and agreed upon a postwar "peace program," termed the Atlantic Charter. Thus, without consulting either the Senate or Congress, the President virtually committed the United States to a postwar alliance with Great Britain.

Meantime, though just when is not clear, the President had issued orders to the Navy to convoy supplies being sent to Great Britain under lend-lease as far as Iceland, a fact that he divulged in a message to Congress July 7, and 4 days later Secretary Knox confided to a Senate committee that "American warships were dropping depth charges in self-defense against Axis submarines."

September 4, Washington reported that a German submarine had fired two torpedoes in Icelandic waters at the United States destroyer *Greer*, but without effect. More than a month later the Navy Department revealed that the *Greer* had been trailing the U-boat for 3½ hours and broadcasting the latter's position when the submarine turned and attacked.

September 11, the President announced over the air that "henceforth American patrols would defend the freedom of the seas by striking first at all Axis raiders, 'rattlesnakes of the Atlantic,' operating within American defensive areas." Isolationists in Congress charged the President with usurping Congress' power to declare war.

October 8, shooting orders were issued to United States warships in the Atlantic to destroy any German or Italian sea or air forces encountered. Indeed, at times American vessels operated under British command.

October 17, it was announced that the American destroyer *Kearney* had been torpedoed off Iceland in what was later revealed to have been "a pitched battle" with German undersea craft.

October 27, Navy Day, the President proclaimed that "the shooting has started."

October 30, the American destroyer *Reuben James*, engaged in convoying off Iceland, was torpedoed and sunk with the loss of about 100 officers and men.

November 6, the President, finding the defense of Russia essential to that of the United States, pledged that country lend-lease aid to the amount of \$1,000,000,000.

November 13, the House of Representatives, following the example set by the Senate 6 days earlier, voted 212 to 194 to repeal all restrictive provisions of the Neutrality Act of 1939.

The story of the administration's policy with regard to Japan during these same years is of like import. Throughout, the initiative was unrelentingly with the President.

A summary history of the wars in which the United States has engaged since the adoption of the Constitution will concede to Congress that policies and views which were advanced within its walls were primarily responsible for two of these wars—the War of 1812, and the war with Spain. But our four great wars—all great for their results, three of them great for the effort they required of the country—were the outcome of Presidential policies in the making of which Congress played a distinctly secondary role. I mean, of course, the war with Mexico, the Civil War, and our participation in World War I and World War II. "Helvidius" contention that "Pacifcus" reading of the "executive power" clause contravened the intention of the Constitution that the war-making power should lodge with the legislative authority has been amply vindicated.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to turn to the part of the book which discusses the cases of claimed inherent powers on the part of more recent Presidents, particularly Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II.

Beginning on page 293 of Corwin's great work there is a section headed "Presidential lawmaking—The war agencies—Labor—Indirect Sanctions."

I ask to have this section incorporated in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks. It continues through page 306 and leads up to the subsection, "Martial law, military government, laws of war."

There being no objection, the section was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENTIAL LAWMAKING—THE WAR AGENCIES—LABOR—"INDIRECT SANCTIONS"

From delegated legislation we turn again to the Commander in Chief clause. President Wilson's invocation of the clause in World War I as enabling him to create what in effect were "offices" was dealt with previously. Both before and during World War II these precedents were copied by President Roosevelt on a lavish scale. In a statement from the Executive Office of the President in April 1942, 42 executive agencies were listed, of which 35 were of purely Presidential creation. Eight of these, including the Combined Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Raw Materials Board, were the joint creations of our own and certain other governments, out of, so far as our Government was concerned, existing official personnel; nor was their role intended to be more than advisory. The remaining 27, however, were designed to operate and did operate, during their existence, on the home front, and of most of them the principal membership was nonofficial. Oldest

of all was the Office for Emergency Management (OEM), which was created by an Executive order dated May 25, 1940. I shall speak of it again in a moment. Others were the Board of Economic Warfare (BEW), the National Housing Agency (NHA), the National War Labor Board (NWLB, or more shortly WLB), the Office of Censorship (OC), the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), the Office of Defense Transportation (ODT), the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF), presently absorbed into the Office of War Information (OWI), the War Production Board (WPB), which superseded the earlier Office of Production Management (OPM), the War Manpower Commission (WMC), and soon. Earlier there had been the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS), but it had been replaced, as we have seen, under the Emergency Price Control Act of January 30, 1942, by OPA. Later OWI, mentioned above, was created by executive order, as was also the Office of Economic Stabilization (OES). The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (OWMR), the last of the war agencies to appear, was established by the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of October 3, 1944.

What was the constitutional and legal status of these various "offices," "administrations," "authorities," "committees"? In creating such an agency it was generally Mr. Roosevelt's practice to invoke his powers as "Commander in Chief in time of war" and the First War Powers Act. The latter reliance may be ruled out at once, both because several of the above-listed agencies antedated its enactment and also because the act does not purport to authorize the President to create new offices, but only to "make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary." That the administration was clearly aware of these constitutional difficulties is shown by its endeavor to evade them through the device of grouping its various creations under the roof-tree of the oldest of them, the Office of Emergency Management, which was in turn installed in the Executive Office of the President. The process is one that might have been dragged out to even greater length without impairing the force of the axiom that zero plus zero is zero still.

The question of the legal status of the Presidential agencies was dealt with judicially but once. This was in the decision, in June 1944, of the United States Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in a case styled *Employers Group of Motor Freight Carriers v. NWLB*, which was a suit to annul and enjoin a "directive order" of WLB. The court refused the injunction on the ground that at the time when the directive was issued any action of the Board was "informatory," "at most advisory." In support of this view, the court quoted approvingly a statement by the Chairman of the Board itself:

"These orders are in reality mere declarations of the equities of each industrial dispute, as determined by a tripartite body in which industry, labor, and the public share equal responsibility; and the appeal of the Board is to the moral obligation of employers and workers to abide by the nonstrike, no lock out agreement and * * * to carry out the directives of the tribunal created under that agreement by the Commander in Chief."

Nor, the Court continued, had the later War Labor Disputes Act vested WLB's "orders" with any greater authority, with the result that they were still "judicially unenforceable and unreviewable."

Pursuing this theory, WLB was not an "office" wielding power, but a purely advisory body, such as Presidents have frequently created in the past without the aid or consent of Congress. Yet actually the Board

generally proceeded independently of dictation from above and its "advice" was almost invariably "taken"—was not, in fact, even reviewed by the President. Indeed, this had to be the case if the Board was to realize the purpose for which it was created, which was to provide a "tribunal" to effect settlements of labor disputes in which the three interests, the public, management, and labor, should have equal voice. And while WPB served a different purpose, it too exercised governing power which it would be purest fiction to characterize as "advisory." There were, to be sure, certain important differences between the two bodies. The powers that WLB exercised prior to the War Labor Disputes Act, being theoretically direct emanations from the President's constitutional prerogative in time of war, were not supported by legal penalties or judicial process in any way, while the powers exercised by WPB, being powers that the President had received from Congress, were supported by both legal penalties and equity process. Yet in both cases the advisory character of the agency was for the most part a sham and pretense, its governing capacity the substantial reality. In this respect neither board differed materially from OPA, whose head was appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and received his powers by direct delegation from Congress. Indeed, Congress itself both in its appropriation acts and in other legislation treated the presidential agencies as in all respects "offices." [Only Senator McKellar waged a protracted, albeit futile, war on them as "unconstitutional," and even he indicated that he could be appeased by subjecting appointments to them to Senate ratification, a requirement that would still have left them not "offices established by law."]

But the creation of "offices," while it is assigned by the Constitution to Congress, is after all an essentially Executive function even in time of peace; indeed, under the British Constitution it belongs to the Crown. Far otherwise is it with the power to govern industrial relations. If any power can be said to be legislative in character, it is surely this. Nevertheless Mr. Roosevelt also laid claim to this power in the name of the Commander in Chief clause and on still vaguer grounds; nor did he wait upon our actual entry into war to assert it. On June 7, 1941, precisely 6 months before the Japanese descended upon Pearl Harbor, the late President, citing his proclamation 13 days earlier of an "unlimited national emergency," issued an Executive order seizing the North American Aviation plant at Inglewood, Calif., where, on account of a strike, production was at a standstill. Attorney General Jackson justified the seizure, the forerunner of many similar assertions of Presidential prerogative, as growing out of the "duty constitutionally and inherently resting upon the President to exert his civil and military as well as his moral authority to keep the defense efforts of the United States a going concern," as well as "to obtain supplies for which Congress has appropriated money, and which it has directed the President to obtain." On a like justification the Federal Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. at Kearney, N. J., was taken over and operated by the Navy from August 23, 1941, to January 5, 1942, and the plant of the Air Associates, Inc., at Bendix, N. J., placed under Army control from October 30, 1941, to December 27, 1941. Then from the creation of WLB on January 12, 1942, to the enactment of the War Labor Disputes Act, June 25, 1943, Mr. Roosevelt ordered the taking over of the plants of four other concerns, one of them the Brewster Aeronautical Corp., the seizure of which was put on the ground of its "inefficient management"; another, the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad, which was destined to remain

under the control of the Office of Defense Transportation (ODT) nearly 3 years and a half.

Again, however, Wilsonian precedents from World War I led the way, except that Mr. Wilson confined his similar activities to the period of hostilities. Also it was from Wilsonian precedents that the Roosevelt administration borrowed the idea of what have been variously termed "administrative sanctions," "indirect sanctions," or simply "sanctions." The following episode involving the Remington Arms Co., of Bridgeport, Conn., in the fall of 1918 will serve to illustrate the subject. The narrative is by a member of President Wilson's WLB:

"After a prolonged strike and the War Labor Board had rendered a decision against the strikers they refused to return to work. The President of the United States then wrote to the strikers upholding the authority of the Board, pointing out that an appeal from it should be made through the regular channels and not by strike. He closed with the statement that if the strikers did not return to work they would be barred from any war work in Bridgeport for a year, that the United States Employment Service would not obtain positions for them elsewhere, and that the draft boards would be instructed to reject any claim for exemptions based upon their alleged usefulness in war production. This ended the strike."

Indeed, according to Mr. Baruch, Chairman of the War Industries Board, that agency carried the indirect sanctions idea even further at times. Violators of its orders, "when detected, were induced or coerced into forfeiting materials or making 'voluntary' cash payments to philanthropic organizations, to the United States Treasury, etc." That is to say, forfeitures and payments that were in essence legal penalties "were imposed and acquiesced in," although, as Mr. Baruch concedes, they were utterly devoid of legal authority. They were in fact little short of blackmail. In World War II the presidential agencies that were especially dependent on indirect sanctions were those which exercised the President's prerogative powers, in contrast to his delegated powers. As was indicated earlier, this was originally the situation of WLB; and it remained the situation with WMC throughout. Certain of the details are particularly instructive.

The business of this agency was to bring about and maintain the most effective mobilization of the manpower of the country that was available for war work after the armed services had taken their toll. Indeed, by Executive Order 9279, issued December 5, 1942, the President transferred the Selective Service System itself to WMC and thereby vested complete control of the manpower of the country not yet enrolled in the armed services in Chairman McNutt. By the same order, "Each executive department and agency" was ordered so to utilize its facilities, services, personnel, and powers as the Chairman of WMC, "after consultation with such department or agency, determines necessary to promote compliance with * * * the policies, directions and regulations" of WMC.

Two months later—on February 3, 1943, to be precise—Mr. McNutt issued his famous work or fight order requiring all workers designated as nondeferable—that is, as nonessential—to choose between induction into the armed services and transferring to essential jobs. The order, the purpose of which was to remedy a labor scarcity in 32 specified areas, carried, for those subject to draft, the penalty for disobedience on the face of it. At the same time, draft requirements were significantly lowered. Then on February 9 a Presidential order decreed a 48-hour week, for the duration, and instructed all departments and agencies to take any action within their authority which the

Chairman of WMC deemed necessary to effectuate the purposes of the order.

A year and a half later WMC, now in control of 85 percent of the working forces of the Nation, decreed that henceforth all male workers in the United States were to be hired exclusively through USES (U. S. Employment Service) another presidential agency that acted subject to WMC's directives. To effectuate this turn of policy the support of employers was of course necessary, and this was guaranteed in a variety of ways. As the Labor Relations Reporter explained it, for employers who do not string along with the program psychological pressure will be used at first, publicity to stir up community reaction, and then pressure from local management-labor committees. In addition, they can have their power, lighting, and heat turned off and be deprived of shipping facilities and materials.

"The WMC stated," the Reporter continues, "that Government contracts might be withheld from employers found to be in willful and substantial noncompliance with the ceiling program. Since violators would have all their labor referrals and other manpower services cancelled, Government procurement officers would be unable to renew or place contracts with such firms on the ground that they might be unable to manufacture the products specified for lack of available manpower."

Sanctions so stringent, functioning mainly through employment ceilings and priority referrals, obviously approached the drastic character of a labor draft. If an employer had more workers than his ceiling, he was forced to give them up; if certain workers of a particular firm were needed elsewhere, the firm had to terminate their services and the workers had to transfer to the employment to which they were referred.

Two agencies there were whose orders were backed by legal sanctions, OPA and WPB. Yet OPA occasionally, and WPB frequently resorted to "indirect sanctions," in the shape of "suspension orders," which, while they sent nobody to jail, were much more expeditious than criminal prosecutions, or even than suits in equity. So when a congressional committee proposed to forbid "any Federal official the right to inflict or impose penalties, sanctions, or suspension orders of any kind" except as he was specifically authorized by statute to do, WPB protested vehemently. The proposal, said the Board's spokesman, "would destroy our control completely. We might as well close up the Compliance Division" of WPB; and the protest prevailed for the most part. First and last, WPB issued over 700 suspension orders, many times the number of prosecutions that the Department of Justice undertook at its behest.

The problem of accommodating indirect sanctions to the Constitution arose out of the accepted doctrine that Congress alone may enact penalties and that no one may be subjected to a penalty that was not duly enacted by Congress prior to his alleged offense. Not, however, until 1944 did the Supreme Court finally become seized of the opportunity to reduce "sanctions" to some kind of constitutional regularity capable of differentiating the allowable type from straight-out administrative blackjacking. This was in the case of *Steuart & Bros., Inc. v. Bowles*, in which a retail dealer in fuel oil in the District of Columbia was charged with having violated a rationing order of OPA by obtaining large quantities of oil from its supplier without surrendering ration coupons, by delivering many thousands of gallons of fuel oil without requiring ration coupons, and so on, and was prohibited by the agency from receiving oil for resale or transfer for the ensuing year. The offender conceded the validity of the rationing order in support of which the suspension order was

issued, but challenged the validity of the latter as imposing a penalty that Congress had not enacted, and asked the district court to enjoin it. The court refused to do so and was sustained by the Supreme Court in its position. Said Justice Douglas, speaking for the Court:

"Without rationing, the fuel tanks of a few would be full, the fuel tanks of many would be empty. Some localities would have plenty; communities less favorably situated would suffer. Allocation or rationing is designed to eliminate such inequalities and to treat all alike who are similarly situated. But middlemen—wholesalers and retailers—bent on defying the rationing system could raise havoc with it. * * * These middlemen are the chief if not the only conduits between the source of limited supplies and the consumers. From the viewpoint of a rationing system a middleman who distributes the product in violation and disregard of the prescribed quotas is an inefficient and wasteful conduit. * * * Certainly we could not say that the President would lack the power under this act to take away from a wasteful factory and route to an efficient one a previous supply of material needed for the manufacture of articles of war. From the point of view of the factory owner from whom the materials were diverted the action would be harsh. * * * But in times of war the national interest cannot wait on individual claims to preference. * * * Yet if the President has the power to channel raw materials into the most efficient industrial units and thus save scarce materials from wastage it is difficult to see why the same principle is not applicable to the distribution of fuel oil."

More briefly, indirect sanctions were constitutional when the deprivations they wrought were a reasonably implied amplification of the substantive power which they supported and were directly conservative of the interests which this power was created to protect and advance. Subjecting Mr. McNutt's "work or fight" order to this test, it does not come off well. To deprive an employer of his rights to certain priorities because he refused to pay a certain wage had no discernible tendency to forward the purposes for which the priorities system was instituted; and to send recalcitrant workers to the fighting front did not remedy the labor situation on the home front, but in the first instance actually impaired it by reducing the available stock of labor.

The fact of the matter is that Justice Douglas' language does not begin to envisage the administration's conception of permissible sanctions. By the latter the President was entitled to require any department or agency subject to Presidential direction to do anything within its legal powers for the purpose of making life unpleasant for anybody who failed to obey an Executive order within whose terms he fell. So when Montgomery Ward refused to write a maintenance-of-membership clause in its labor contracts as it had been ordered to do by WLB, it discovered that the United States Post Office had removed its 70 employees from the company's mail-order house, a service the post office had maintained for 30 years for handling parcel-post shipments to Ward's customers. Likewise, when OPA found that large numbers of dealers were violating its price ceilings, it turned the names of more than 3,000 of the suspects over to the Bureau of Internal Revenue for an investigation into their income-tax returns. And when 16,700 rubber workers at Akron, Ohio, failed to heed an order by WLB to end a 2-week-old strike, they were warned that the Goodyear Co. might be released from its obligations with respect to maintenance of membership, check-off, shift premium, vacations, sick leave, and the like.

THE STEWARDSHIP THEORY IN TOTAL WAR

Presidential government on the basis of the supposed powers of the President as Commander in Chief in time of war attained its supreme exemplification in the indirect sanction; but the theory itself, as voiced by Mr. Roosevelt in his peremptory demand upon Congress on September 7, 1942, that it repeal forthwith a certain provision of the Emergency Price Control Act, went considerably further. I quote the salient passage from the President's remarkable address on that occasion:

"I ask the Congress to take this action by the 1st of October. Inaction on your part by that date will leave me with an inescapable responsibility to the people of this country to see to it that the war effort is no longer imperiled by threat of economic chaos.

"In the event that the Congress should fail to act, and act adequately, I shall accept the responsibility, and I will act.

"At the same time that fair prices are stabilized, wages can and will be stabilized also. This I will do.

"The President has the powers, under the Constitution and under congressional acts, to take measures necessary to avert a disaster which would interfere with the winning of the war.

"I have given the most thoughtful consideration to meeting this issue without further reference to the Congress. I have determined, however, on this vital matter to consult with the Congress. * * *

"The American people can be sure that I will use my powers with a full sense of my responsibility to the Constitution and to my country. The American people can also be sure that I shall not hesitate to use every power vested in me to accomplish the defeat of our enemies in any part of the world where our own safety demands such defeat.

"When the war is won, the powers under which I act automatically revert to the people—to whom they belong."

In a word, the President said to Congress: "Unless you repeal a certain statutory provision forthwith, I shall nevertheless treat it as repealed." On what grounds did Mr. Roosevelt rest his case for power of so transcendent a nature? Although he made a vague gesture toward congressional acts, it is obvious that his principal reliance was, and could only have been, on his powers under the Constitution—that is to say, his conception of these. Presidents have before this in a few instances announced that they did not consider themselves constitutionally obligated by something which Congress had enacted but which, as they contended, trenchoned on presidential prerogatives. This, for example, was Johnson's position in 1867. But the position advanced by Mr. Roosevelt in the above quoted passage goes far beyond this, claiming as it does for the President the power and right to disregard a statutory provision which he did not venture to deny, and indeed could not possibly have denied, which Congress had complete constitutional authority to enact, and which, therefore, he was obligated by express words of the Constitution to take care should be faithfully executed.

Nor did the first Roosevelt's celebrated stewardship theory of the Presidency furnish basis for the pretension advanced in the message of September 7, since it stopped short with claiming for the President the right to do anything that he thought would be in the public interest, provided he was not prohibited by the Constitution or an act of Congress from doing it. The message of September 7 strikes this vital reservation out, at least so far as acts of Congress are concerned. The doctrine of the message answers, indeed, to John Locke's definition of "prerogative," which we had before us on an earlier page, "as the power to act according to discretion for the public good, with-

out the prescription of the law and sometimes even against it"—a notion derived from Stuart practice, and one against which most of the framers unquestionably thought they had provided by the faithfully executed clause.

The message of September 7 can only be interpreted as a claim of power on the part of the President to suspend the Constitution in a situation deemed by him to make such a step necessary. The claim was not a totally unprecedented one, for Lincoln implied as much when in his message of July 4, 1861, he asked, with reference to his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus: "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated?" But Mr. Roosevelt was proposing to set aside, not a particular clause of the Constitution, but its most fundamental characteristic, its division of power between Congress and President, and thereby gather into his own hands the combined power of both. He was suggesting, if not threatening, a virtually complete suspension of the Constitution. No doubt any candid person must admit that the circumstances of total war may render such a measure necessary, but surely Congress, if on hand at the time, ought to be associated in so grave a responsibility, the need for which would presumably be evident to it also.

And certainly Mr. Roosevelt did not improve his case when he said: "When the war is won, the powers under which I act automatically revert to the people—to whom they belong." The implication seemed to be that the President owed the transcendent powers he was claiming to some peculiar relationship between himself and the people—a doctrine with a strong family resemblance to the leadership principle against which the war was supposedly being fought. A third world war—one ushered in by an atomic bomb attack on our principal cities—might, nevertheless, vindicate even this feature of the message of September 7, or an equivalent thereof.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I close my remarks with a brief discussion of the last section. Throughout this debate there has been reference over and over again to the argument that no President has ever seized an industry without legislation. That is not a correct statement. It is correct to say that in most instances there has been legislation backing up seizure, but that has not always been true. I wish to read a few paragraphs and to close my remarks with those paragraphs:

PRESIDENTIAL LAWMAKING—THE WAR AGENCIES—LABOR—INDIRECT SANCTIONS

From delegated legislation we turn again to the Commander in Chief clause. President Wilson's invocation of the clause in World War I as enabling him to create what in effect were "offices" was dealt with previously. Both before and during World War II these precedents were copied by President Roosevelt on a lavish scale. In a statement from the Executive Office of the President in April 1942, 42 executive agencies were listed, of which 35 were of purely Presidential creation.

No legislation created them. They were created by Executive order.

Eight of these, including the Combined Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Raw Materials Board, were the joint creations of our own and certain other governments, out of, so far as our Government was concerned, existing official personnel; nor was their role intended to be more than advisory. The remaining 27, however, were designed to operate and did operate, during their exist-

ence, on the home front, and of most of them the principal membership was non-official. Oldest of all was the Office for Emergency Management (OEM), which was created by an Executive order dated May 25, 1940. I shall speak of it again in a moment. Others were the Board of Economic Warfare (BEW), the National Housing Agency (NHA), the National War Labor Board (NWLB, or more shortly WLB), the Office of Censorship (OC), the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), the Office of Defense Transportation (ODT), the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF), presently absorbed into the Office of War Information (OWI), the War Production Board (WPB), which superseded the earlier Office of Production Management (OPM), the War Manpower Commission (WMC), and so on. Earlier there had been the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS), but it had been replaced, as we have seen, under the Emergency Price Control Act of January 30, 1942, by OPA. Later OWI, mentioned above, was created by Executive order, as was also the Office of Economic Stabilization (OES). The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (OWMR), the last of the war agencies to appear, was established by the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of October 3, 1944.

What was the constitutional and legal status of these various offices, administrations, authorities, committees? In creating such an agency it was generally Mr. Roosevelt's practice to invoke his powers as Commander in Chief in time of war and the First War Powers Act. The latter reliance may be ruled out at once, both because several of the above-listed agencies antedated its enactment and also because the act does not purport to authorize the President to create new offices but only to make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary. That the administration was clearly aware of these constitutional difficulties is shown by its endeavor to evade them through the device of grouping its various creations under the roof-tree of the oldest of them, the Office of Emergency Management, which was in turn installed in the Executive Office of the President. The process is one that might have been dragged out to even greater length without impairing the force of the axiom that zero plus zero is zero still.

The question of the legal status of the presidential agencies was dealt with judicially but once. This was in the decision, in June 1944, of the United States Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in a case styled *Employers Group of Motor Freight Carriers v. NWLB*, which was a suit to annul and enjoin a directive order of WLB. The court refused the injunction on the ground that at the time when the directive was issued any action of the Board was informative, at most advisory. In support of this view the court quoted approvingly a statement by the Chairman of the Board itself:

"These orders are in reality mere declarations of the equities of each industrial dispute, as determined by a tripartite body in which industry, labor, and the public share equal responsibility; and the appeal of the Board is to the moral obligation of employers and workers to abide by the nonstrike, no-lock-out agreement, and * * * to carry out the directives of the tribunal created under that agreement by the Commander in Chief."

Nor, the Court continued, had the later War Labor Disputes Act vested WLB's "orders" with any greater authority, with the result that they were still "judicially unenforceable and unreviewable."

Pursuing this theory, WLB was not an "office" wielding power, but a purely advisory body, such as Presidents have frequently

created in the past without the aid or consent of Congress.

How right he is, Mr. President; it was a fearful power which the Board exercised.

Yet actually the Board generally proceeded independently of dictation from above, and its advice was almost invariably taken—was not, in fact, even reviewed by the President.

That is correct in respect to all orders except seizure orders. There was never a seizure order of the War Labor Board that was not reviewed by the President. There was not a seizure order of the War Labor Board that the President did not himself personally sign. I understand that that was true during the entire life of the Board. I can testify that it was true during the time I was a member of the Board, from January 1942 to January 1944, because I personally took to the President every seizure order of the Board—sometimes in the company of other members of the Board, but frequently alone. I explained the case in detail to the President—as was necessary, let me assure the Senate—starting with the Toledo, Peoria & Western case, which was our first case, so far as the War Labor Board was concerned. In that case the seizure was made without any statute on the books supporting the seizure. It was done clearly under the claimed war powers of the President. There was no statute behind the seizure of the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad. It was an exercise on the part of President Roosevelt of his claimed power as Commander in Chief.

As Professor Corwin points out later in these pages, the Toledo, Peoria & Western case is one case which rebuts the claim made in the debate on the floor of the Senate that all past seizures have been based upon statutes. That is not true.

I think it is only fair to the late President Roosevelt to point out that the War Labor Board did not act for him in seizure cases. He acted for himself; and, believe me, it was necessary to prove to him that there was no other way of settling a case but for the Government to go in and operate the plant until the case could be arbitrated or agreement between the parties reached.

I never shall forget the night when the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad was seized. All we had asked the railroad to do was to arbitrate the differences. The decision of the Board was unanimous. One of the most vigorous opinions written in the history of the War Labor Board was the special concurring opinion which Roger Lapham, then president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., wrote in the Toledo, Peoria & Western case. The employers' representatives stood shoulder to shoulder with the public members and the labor members in that case. All we asked the railroad to do was to arbitrate the differences. We said, "We cannot have this railroad shut down. We need every mile of track we have in this country for the successful prosecution of the war."

The president of that railroad stood before the Board, shook his fist at us,

and said, "Under no circumstances will I ever arbitrate this case. The workers are going to work under the terms and conditions I have posted on the bulletin boards of the railroad."

Of course, they were terms and conditions which were far below the terms and conditions which existed on the other railroads of the country. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon—I can remember it as though it were yesterday—I went to the White House, accompanied by Bob Patterson, who was then Secretary of War; his chief counsel, who was then Colonel Greenbaum, later General Greenbaum; and Will Davis, Chairman of the War Labor Board. We explained the case to the President. He would not think of a seizure at that stage. He said, "We are not going to start seizing railroads." He further said, "Certainly this fellow will arbitrate the case if I ask him to do so." We said, "Mr. President, we do not think so, but you can try it." He said to me, "You dictate a telegram for me to sign, calling upon him to arbitrate this case, and telling him that I am asking him to do it as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces in time of war."

I dictated a telegram. The President initialed it. The telegram was sent. We had troops alerted and ready at various points to seize the railroad, so that there would not be the loss of even 1 hour's time.

The President said to Bob Patterson: "Bob, you hold off until we hear from him."

It was agreed that I should stay there and work on a decision I was then writing until we heard from the president of the railroad. The President of the United States said he would be available at any time that evening or at any time during the night to consider the case further, after we had heard from the president of the railroad.

About 10:30 we heard from him. There arrived at the White House, at the office in which I was working, a 17-page telegram from the president of the railroad. It was sent collect. It was an abusive telegram. It all added up to an impolite "No," and it repeated the kind of abuse that we on the War Labor Board had to take from the president of that railroad in the hearings.

So I called Bob Patterson and Mr. Greenbaum and Mr. Davis. They came to the White House. When they got there we called the President. He came over. We explained to him that we had received a telegram, and we told him what was in it. Of course, he never lost his sense of humor when he discovered that the telegram had been sent collect. He said, "Give me the pen." In good nature, but with sadness at the same time, he signed the seizure papers.

I will never forget what he said about the action of the president of that railroad. He said, "I am at a loss to understand how a man could so completely lose his sense of public responsibility."

Mr. President, that was our first seizure. It was done under no law, but under the claimed inherent power of the President as Commander in Chief in time of war to take steps necessary to

protect the security of this country and to proceed with the successful prosecution of the war. As I have said many times in the Senate, it is an awful power to exercise. So I believe it to be important that Congress keep on the statute books legislation delimiting the power of the President. I hold to another theory of Corwin I have expressed before, namely, that Congress has that power, too. If we place such legislation on the books and, then, under it a case is taken to the Supreme Court, in my opinion the Supreme Court will rule—although I may be wrong—that the power of Congress under our system of government is such that it can delimit the exercise of the alleged broad power of the President to act in time of great emergency without reference to Congress.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wonder whether the Senator would say that the conditions would be the same when the President has declared an emergency to exist as when we are in a constitutionally declared war. The Senator from Oregon has cited cases of the War Labor Board at a time when we were at war under a constitutionally declared war.

Mr. MORSE. Of course we are at war in fact. The fact that Congress has not lived up to what I believe to be its duties does not change at all the question of whether the President has inherent power to act to protect the security of the country. I believe that the question of the Senator from Michigan is entirely irrelevant to the basic question of whether the inherent power exists. Presidents have exercised this claimed power when we were not at war.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am asking the Senator whether he thinks the inherent power he is discussing and attributing to the President when we have a constitutionally declared war by Congress exists when the President merely declares an emergency to exist?

Mr. MORSE. I do not think that the existence of the power has anything to do with the existence or nonexistence of a declaration of war. It has only to do with the question of fact as to whether or not the crisis is such as to warrant a President's exercising this claimed power.

So far as my applying it to this case is concerned, my argument is bottomed upon the assumption—and I may say that if this assumption is not true then my whole argument falls to the floor of the Senate—that the crisis the other night was such in fact as to endanger the security of the Nation if the steel mills were shut down.

I know enough about what the relationship is between the operation of the steel mills and our defense program to satisfy me that the crisis was very serious and that the President should have taken some action to prevent the steel mills from closing down; but, in my opinion there are many other actions he should have taken before he took the one he did.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Oregon does not contend, does he, that

it is a declared war which gives the President the power?

Mr. MORSE. No. A declaration of war is not necessary for the exercise of the power. Of course most every time in our history when Presidents have exercised so-called emergency powers to send troops abroad or to seek to protect American life, property, and interests in a foreign country, it was done under circumstances when no declaration of war existed. The exercise of that power was always challenged by those who felt that he should have congressional sanction for it. Corwin's thesis is—and I think he has the better of the argument in all of the discussions of this problem—that when the President takes such action Congress has the power to take legislative steps itself immediately thereafter, if it will to check the President's program for handling the emergency.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Oregon say that there exists statutory authority for the President of the United States to act by way of a seizure?

Mr. MORSE. No, no.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator does not think so?

Mr. MORSE. No. I think the Senator from Michigan will agree with me that I have tried to raise this issue of the power in bold relief. I simply say that we do not know whether he has the power or does not have the power. I do not see how we will ever know until some action is taken which will force this question into the courts so that we can have a Supreme Court ruling on it.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. A moment ago when he was talking about a state of war in circumstances when there was no formal declaration of war, the Senator from Oregon said that Congress had not measured up to its responsibility. What did he mean by that?

Mr. MORSE. I believe we are at war. As the Senator from New Hampshire has heard me say before on the floor of the Senate, particularly on the day after our troops went into Korea, it is no police action, but is war. When American soldiers are dying in Korea, it is war. I have always been of that opinion. My view is that if we had performed our congressional duty we would have declared war on the North Koreans.

Mr. BRIDGES. The President of the United States did not come before Congress to ask for a declaration of war.

Mr. MORSE. He does not have to do so.

Mr. BRIDGES. Always, by precedent, the President did do so.

Mr. MORSE. Oh, certainly, but he does not have to do so.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Oregon knows that whenever a war was declared the President first came before the Congress and asked for a declaration of war. Instead, the President in this case went ahead by himself.

Mr. MORSE. Heretofore we have always been able to have better teamwork between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.

As I said earlier in my remarks today, I think it is very regrettable that there has not been much closer consultation between the Congress and the President.

In the case of the Korean war, let me say to my minority leader, I do not think it was sufficient to call certain persons to the White House; I believe that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and the Armed Services Committees of both Houses should at least have been clearly briefed on that matter, and I believe the President of the United States should also have appeared at a joint session of the Congress in that connection. Let me add that my opinion on this matter is not one which I have recently arrived at, but is one which I expressed at the very beginning of this controversy.

However, merely because the President has not followed the formality which I believe he should have followed, and has not engaged in the consultation in which I believe he should have engaged, I do not believe it therefore follows that the President has no inherent power.

You see, Mr. President, I do not like many of the procedures the President has adopted. However, in this debate I am trying to keep attention focused, first, on the question of whether the power exists; and, second, on the question of whether in this case the President has exercised the power reasonably or unreasonably. I believe that in the final analysis those questions should be answered in the courts.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield at this point?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. After following as closely as I could the speech the Senator from Oregon has been making—I must state that I had to leave the Chamber for a few minutes—I should like to ask him a question: Would he say that the inherent power of the President, about which the Senator from Oregon has been speaking in connection with the discussion of Professor Corwin's book, would go so far that even though under its appropriating power the Congress of the United States decided to place such a limitation upon the President's use of funds, the President under that inherent power could use money from the Treasury without appropriation by Congress?

Mr. MORSE. No, I do not think the President would be justified in doing that.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does the Senator from Oregon believe it is possible that if the President believes his inherent powers are as broad as he evidently believes them to be, he might direct the use of public funds without a congressional appropriation, and in that way the matter would go into the courts?

Mr. MORSE. I do not see the possibility of such a course of action by the President.

What has happened in a number of these cases, however, is that the President has ordered various departments to do certain things, and they have used their regular appropriations for those purposes.

I have no doubt that we can use the indirect method of limiting the Presidential power, through congressional control of the purse strings. However, I simply do not like that way of doing business; I prefer to meet the issue head on. I prefer to come to grips with the President by means of legislation which will raise for court decision the question of the power of the President itself.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield further?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. It seems to me that today the Senator from Oregon has stated quite ably that unfortunately there has been a lack of teamwork and coordination in regard to both the Korean war and other matters. I fully agree with the Senator from Oregon that the President would have been well advised if he had appeared at a joint session of Congress in connection with the situation in Korea, and had frankly laid that matter before the Congress. Although there may be those who would dispute it, I believe that with the conditions which then prevailed and with the facts which might then have been available, both Houses of the Congress by overwhelming vote would have endorsed the action which was taken.

Mr. MORSE. Yes, I believe there would not have been six Members of either House who would have opposed it.

Mr. KNOWLAND. However, of course, that is a matter which is subject to dispute.

On the other hand, where there is this difference of opinion involving a constitutional question with which I believe the people are deeply concerned, it seems to me that if this power of the President is to be challenged, then from the congressional point of view it should be challenged in such a way that there will be no question as to the power of the Congress to act. Certainly the framers of the Constitution, who had in mind what had occurred under kings and other executives, had no intention of having the President have control of the public purse without placing in the Congress control of the appropriations; and the framers of the Constitution included such a provision in the Constitution.

If the Congress, in pursuance of its constitutional authority, provides that no funds available to the President shall be used for this purpose, and if the President feels strongly enough that in the present emergency he has a vague constitutional power, and believes he should proceed on the basis of that power, and does proceed, and then directs the Secretary of the Treasury and other public officials to spend Government funds in the operation of the steel mills, or in any other operation, for that matter, there will be a direct issue in connection with congressional authority; and in that way the issue will be decided by the courts far more rapidly than it would be decided under the procedure suggested by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not believe the courts would thus meet head on the question or issue of the constitutional power of the President to make such a

seizure, for under such circumstances I believe I can anticipate that the courts would say, "We need not pass on the question of whether the President has the right to use funds in connection with the exercise of such a power, because the existence of the power as a matter of law bears no relationship to the existence of funds to carry it out."

Therefore, what would be decided? In such a case I do not believe the Supreme Court would rule directly on the issue of the power of the President to seize. Rather it would limit itself to the question of the power of the Congress to control the purse strings.

So I think we must enact legislation which will clearly bring up the seizure issue and will clearly bring up the question of whether the President had the inherent power to seize the steel mills.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. If the President has inherent power to act as he has acted—and, of course, the President has indicated that he believes he has such power—does not the President then have the power, as he said in February 1948, to act when "conditions in the world at this time are too grave to put Congress in control of the purse strings of this country"?

Then does not the President have the power to coin money and to circulate money?

Mr. MORSE. No; my answer to the Senator from Michigan is that before we reach any conclusion in this case, we must consider two questions: First, the question of the existence of the power; second, the question of whether the power is being exercised reasonably.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am not talking about the reasonableness of the exercise of the power; I am discussing the question of whether the President has such power at all.

Mr. MORSE. But I believe the type of implementation of power which the Senator has set forth in the example he has given raises the question of reasonableness in relation to the inherent power itself, if it in fact exists.

Mr. FERGUSON. In his remarks the Senator from Oregon has indicated that the President had inherent power to seize the steel mills. If the pending appropriation bill includes, when it is passed, an amendment similar to the one which already has been sent to the desk, will the President then have inherent power to disregard that law and to use public funds in disregard of that law, and, if necessary, to have the mint coin money to be used for that purpose?

Mr. MORSE. Only if the Court found that was a reasonable exercise of the President's power; and I cannot imagine that the Court would make such a finding.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. McFARLAND. We talk about the exercise of inherent power. Is it not always dependent upon the question of whether the action taken is a reasonable one? Aside from the present question,

when the President exercises inherent power, it must be reasonable, must it not; and if it is not reasonable, then the President does not have the inherent power.

Mr. MORSE. Yes; and I made that argument earlier today.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. For some time the country has been experiencing a most disruptive telegraph strike. Does the Senator from Oregon contend that the President should have seized the telegraph system and should have forced the strikers to return to work and should have reestablished the full telegraph service?

Mr. MORSE. My opinion in that matter is that that would be an unreasonable exercise of inherent power, because I do not believe that particular case involves a threat to the security of the Nation. It involves great inconvenience, of course; but the question becomes one which involves a decision as to whether that particular strike threatens the security of the Nation.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Surely the Senator from Oregon would not contend, would he, that a disruption of the telegraph services would in no way impair or retard our preparedness program, at a time when thousands of young Americans are sacrificing themselves in Korea?

Mr. MORSE. Of course not. But is the Senator from Idaho standing on the floor to argue that the President, if he has inherent power, ought to exercise it in the case of any strike which to any degree whatever impaired the defense program? That is reducing the discussion to a perfectly absurd premise.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. The Senator from Idaho was merely trying to ascertain whether the Senator from Oregon was attempting to justify the seizure of the steel plants, while at the same time he would refuse to sanction an exercise of presidential authority and power to seize the telegraph system from the same alleged reason.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Oregon has pointed out to the Senator from Idaho that there are great factual differences between the two cases, from the standpoint of their effect upon the defense program and the security of the Nation. I am sure the Senator from Idaho recognizes those differences. The production of steel for the sinews of war involves a much greater problem, and a stoppage of such production poses a much greater threat to the national security, than a stoppage of the transmission of telegrams as the result of a strike. I do not condone a telegraphic strike; but if we analyze the argument of the Senator from Idaho, what he is really saying to the Senator from Oregon is, "Show me any strike which to any degree whatever involves an interference with

the defense operations, and I place you, the Senator from Oregon, in a position where, if you say the President has any inherent power in one case, no matter what the degree of interference with the defense program may be, you must necessarily support the exercise of that inherent power in the lesser case."

I know more about logic than that.

Mr. DWORSHAK and Mr. McFARLAND addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. MORSE. I yield first to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I should like to point out that it is not a matter of whether our preparedness program is being interrupted by a failure to maintain steel production at maximum capacity, but rather it is a matter of whether the Senator from Oregon is taking the position unequivocally that in one case he would sanction arbitrary, arrogant, tyrannical action by the President in the seizure of the steel plants, while, on the other hand, he would condone and tolerate the disruption of our preparedness program by a complete breakdown of our telegraph system. The Senator from Idaho cannot consider that there is such a close distinction that there is no difference, and that in one case such power or such authority and action by the President are justified, while in another case they are not. I was merely trying to ascertain whether the Senator from Oregon was logical in his approach, or whether he was illogical.

Mr. MORSE. I think the Senator from Oregon is logical in his approach. In regard to the question which the Senator from Idaho has just propounded, if he will rephrase his question and strike out all of his adjectives, through which he seeks to put into the mouth of the Senator from Oregon his own conclusions as to the nature of the exercise of this power, I will answer it. But I say to the Senator from Idaho, do not think for a moment that you are going to propound to me a question like the familiar one, "Are you still beating your wife?"—answer "Yes" or "No," and expect me to fall for it.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MORSE. Just a moment. I am going to finish my comment on the Senator's question. The Senator has propounded a question, in which he answers for himself the nature of the exercise of this power of the President of the United States by calling it a lot of harsh names, and he then wants to know whether I think the President ought to exercise the same power in a communications case.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I shall be glad to rephrase the question in any way that the Senator from Oregon may desire. I merely ask him whether he thinks the seizure of the steel plants is proper and should be sanctioned by the Congress and by the people of this country, as well as by the parents of the boys who are fighting in Korea, while on the other hand he thinks there is no compunction or necessity of any kind for the President

to act in a strike involving the telegraphic facilities of the Nation, or some other strike. I can rephrase the question in any way that is desired, merely to get an over-all reply from the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I will summarize my argument of the last hour and a half for the Senator, because I started out this afternoon by laying down this as my first premise, namely: I believe, at least until the United States Supreme Court rules to the contrary, that under the Constitution of the United States a President has broad inherent powers to act in an hour of crisis to protect the security of the country. That is major premise number one.

Major premise number two: He, however, must exercise that power in such a manner as to lead a court to find that it was a reasonable exercise of the power. Any time he does not do that, I think he would then find himself in difficulty in a court, if the issue could be squarely placed before the court.

Third—and this is still directed to the Senator's question—it becomes a question of fact as to whether, in a particular case, the facts prove the existence of a crisis so serious that immediate action must be taken to protect the security of the Nation. If that is so—and it makes no difference whether it is a steel case, a telegraph case, a copper case, a railroad case, or what manner of case it is—I think the President, in the absence of legislation by the Congress, has the power to take immediate action to protect the national security.

Now, Mr. President, my comment regarding the Senator's references to the steel case and to the telegraph case is that I am simply willing to take judicial notice of the fact that a shut-down of the steel mills would be so much more serious a matter than a shut-down of the telegraph offices that in the latter case, I think I can hear a court say, "The facts were not of such a nature as to justify your exercise of the power." That is what I think the court would say.

Mr. McFARLAND and Mr. FERGUSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. MORSE. I yield first to the majority leader.

Mr. McFARLAND. I ask the Senator from Oregon whether there is not a distinction between a strike in the communications services and a strike in the steel industry? Of course, as the Senator has well pointed out, it becomes a question of degree and of reasonableness, as to whether there is an extreme emergency. But in the case of a strike in the telegraph industry, I think I may point out, in fairness—although I regret very much the occurrence of strikes in the telegraph industry and in the telephone industry—provision is made for receiving and transmitting messages of an emergency nature. They must be given credit for providing a means of transmitting emergency messages, whether for the Government of the United States or for individuals. However, I can im-

agine no greater crisis than that which would result from a complete interruption of the communications systems, or an interruption to the point where we would not have competitive communications systems. We have the telegraph, the telephone, and also air mail. An air-mail letter goes almost as fast now as a telegram, and has become very competitive. In fact, the development of the air-mail service has made it somewhat difficult at times for the telegraph industry to survive. But if all of these methods for the rapid transmission of communications were interrupted, I should think a great crisis would confront the country, particularly in such an emergency as the present one.

Mr. MORSE. I may say in reply to the majority leader, I have already tried to point out that if the facts in a given case indicate that the emergency is so serious that the security of the Nation is jeopardized, and if as a matter of constitutional law this inherent power does in fact exist in the President, it certainly would be his duty under those circumstances to exercise it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Oregon contend that the inherent power of the President, including the power to seize the steel mills, also includes the right of the President to compel men to work, as indicated in the third paragraph of his order of seizure?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know what the Senator means by "compel." I do not know how we can compel men to work.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what I am asking. Is it not true that the President sent a bill to the Congress providing for the use of the Army to compel men engaged in the railroad industry to work, making them subject to Army discipline?

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Michigan knows very well that the Senator from Oregon was the first Senator to rise to his feet and protest that proposal.

Mr. FERGUSON. Has the President settled the strike? Has he settled the emergency?

Mr. MORSE. He cannot settle any emergency involving the behavior of human beings, if they decide to quit.

Mr. FERGUSON. But suppose the management did what Avery did in the Montgomery Ward case: Has the President a right to send someone into an establishment to carry on the work? I am asking the Senator about the power of the President.

Mr. MORSE. I thoroughly disagree with the procedure followed in the Montgomery-Ward case; but the President has the power in instances where men lie down on the job to move other people in, if he has any inherent power at all. If the men do not want to work, he can move others in who do want to work. We would not have any difficulty in finding precedents for that.

Mr. FERGUSON. I did not ask the Senator for precedents; I asked him what he thought about the power of the President.

Mr. MORSE. I do not see any great problem about that. If the power exists he can ask other people who want to work to take over the jobs.

Mr. President, I have two pages that I want to read without any interruptions.

Returning to the question which I was discussing about the powers of the President, it has been said that in all other instances there has been a statute governing the action. That is not the fact.

Professor Corwin says:

Pursuing this theory, WLB was not an "office" wielding power, but a purely advisory body, such as Presidents have frequently created in the past without the aid or consent of Congress. Yet actually the Board generally proceeded independently of dictation from above and its "advice" was almost invariably "taken"—was not, in fact, even reviewed by the President. Indeed, this had to be the case if the Board was to realize the purposes for which it was created, which was to provide a "tribunal" to effect settlements of labor disputes in which the three interests, the public, management, and labor, should have equal voice. And while WPB served a different purpose, it, too, exercised governing power which it would be purest fiction to characterize as "advisory." There were, to be sure, certain important differences between the two bodies. The powers that WLB exercised prior to the War Labor Disputes Act, being theoretically direct emanations from the President's constitutional prerogative in time of war, were not supported by legal penalties or judicial process in any way, while the powers exercised by WPB, being powers that the President had received from Congress, were supported by both legal penalties and equity process. Yet in both cases the advisory character of the agency was for the most part a sham and pretense, its governing capacity the substantial reality. In this respect neither board differed materially from OPA, whose head was appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and received his powers by direct delegation from Congress. Indeed, Congress itself both in its appropriation acts and in other legislation treated the Presidential agencies as in all respects "offices." * * *

The creation of "offices," while it is assigned by the Constitution to Congress, is after all an essentially executive function even in time of peace; indeed, under the British Constitution it belongs to the Crown. Far otherwise is it with the power to govern industrial relations. If any power can be said to be legislative in character, it is surely this. Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt also laid claim to this power in the name of the "Commander in Chief" clause and on still vaguer grounds; nor did he wait upon our actual entry into war to assert it.

In other words, Professor Corwin is citing a precedent where President Roosevelt exercised this power prior to a declaration of war. As I said to the Senator from New Hampshire a while ago, I do not think the existence of a declaration of war is controlling in the premises. I think the thing which is operative or controlling involves a finding of fact as to the nature and extent of the crisis. That is the important fact. I shall be very much surprised if and when the question goes to the Supreme Court for final determination if we do not hear the Supreme Court saying something to that effect in its definition of the powers of the President.

So Professor Corwin discusses this precedent and says:

On June 7, 1941, precisely 6 months before the Japanese descended upon Pearl Harbor, the late President, citing his proclamation 13 days earlier of an "unlimited national emergency," issued an Executive order seizing the North American Aviation plant at Inglewood, Calif., where, on account of a strike, production was at a standstill. Attorney General Jackson justified the seizure, the forerunner of many similar assertions of presidential prerogative, as growing out of the duty—

Mark you, Mr. President, because this is Mr. Jackson's language—

as growing out of the "duty constitutionally and inherently resting upon the President to exert his civil and military as well as his moral authority to keep the defense efforts of the United States a going concern"—

That was before Pearl Harbor. That is our first case, in recent years, of a seizure without any legislative act on which to rest. It is a seizure that was justified by the then Attorney General of the United States, now a Justice of the Supreme Court.

Attorney General Jackson justified the seizure, the forerunner of many similar assertions of Presidential prerogative, as growing out of the "duty constitutionally and inherently resting upon the President to exert his civil and military as well as his moral authority to keep the defense efforts of the United States a going concern," as well as "to obtain supplies for which Congress has appropriated money, and which it has directed the President to obtain."

Mr. President, if—and I underline the word "if"—the President in 1941 had authority to seize the North American Aviation plant in order to keep the production of aircraft flowing, because they were needed in the defense program, and if there is merit in the then Attorney General's argument that the power could be exercised on the ground that it was necessary to exert his civil and military as well as his moral authority to keep the defense effort of the United States going, and on the further ground that it was justified in order to obtain supplies for which Congress had appropriated money and which it had directed the President to obtain in the interest of the defense effort, then I suggest that it is of some precedential value in the steel case involving President Truman.

But I would be the first to point out, Mr. President, that citing that precedent does not in fact prove that the power constitutionally exists. All it proves is that, contrary to some of the arguments in this debate, such a power has been claimed by Presidents without any congressional act on which to base the seizure. That is the only point which the junior Senator from Oregon is making at this place in his argument.

Professor Corwin goes on to say:

On a like justification the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. at Kearny, N. J., was taken over and operated by the Navy from August 23, 1941, to January 5, 1942, and the plant of the Air Associates, Inc., at Bendix, N. J., placed under Army control from October 30, 1941, to December 27, 1941.

There was no statute on which to base those seizures. They were made on the claim of the then President of the United States that in his capacity as Chief Executive he had inherent power to exer-

cise what he considered to be his executive duty, to protect what he believed to be the security of the country through implementation of the defense program.

Professor Corwin proceeds:

Then from the creation of WLB on January 12, 1942, to the enactment of the War Labor Disputes Act, June 25, 1943, Mr. Roosevelt ordered the taking over of the plants of four other concerns, one of them the Brewster Aeronautical Corp., the seizure of which was put on the ground of its "inefficient management"; another, the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad, which was destined to remain under the control of the Office of Defense Transportation (ODT) nearly 3½ years.

All this, Mr. President, was under the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board, with no legislative sanction supporting the seizure.

I read further:

Again, however, Wilsonian precedents from World War I led the way, except that Mr. Wilson confined his similar activities to the period of hostilities.

That was the point brought out by the Senator from Michigan a few minutes ago, namely, that these cases fall into two time periods, some before hostilities, and others after hostilities.

Mr. President, I wish to say that I think that if the power exists, a stronger case can be made for its exercise during a period of hostilities than during a period prior to hostilities.

I read again from Corwin:

Also it was from Wilsonian precedents that the Roosevelt administration borrowed the idea of what have been variously termed "administrative sanctions," "indirect sanctions," or simply "sanctions." The following episode involving the Remington Arms Co. of Bridgeport, Conn., in the fall of 1918 will serve to illustrate the subject. The narrative is by a member of President Wilson's WLB.

President Wilson had a labor board during World War I. Corwin quotes the member of the Board just referred to, as follows:

After a prolonged strike and the War Labor Board had rendered a decision against the strikers they refused to return to work. The President of the United States then wrote to the strikers upholding the authority of the Board, pointing out that an appeal from it should be made through the regular channels and not by strike. He closed with the statement that if the strikers did not return to work they would be barred from any war work in Bridgeport for a year, that the United States Employment Service would not obtain positions for them elsewhere, and that the draft boards would be instructed to reject any claim for exemptions based upon their alleged usefulness in war production. This ended the strike.

Mr. President, I think that is the exercise of persuasive power, and it is an exercise of awful power, too. I think any President ought to try to avoid the creation of a situation which gets us into that kind of problem. That is why I pointed out that I think every other alternative ought to have been exhausted the other night before the seizure.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed at this point in my remarks the remaining part of the section I have been quoting, ending on page 306 of Corwin's book.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Indeed, according to Mr. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, that agency carried the indirect sanctions idea even farther at times. Violators of its orders, "when detected, were induced or coerced into forfeiting materials or making 'voluntary' cash payments to philanthropic organizations, to the United States Treasury," etc. That is to say, forfeitures and payments that were in essence legal penalties "were imposed and acquiesced in," although, as Mr. Baruch concedes, they were utterly devoid of legal authority. They were in fact little short of blackmail. In World War II the presidential agencies that were especially dependent on indirect sanctions were those which exercised the President's "prerogative" powers, in contrast to his "delegated" powers. As was indicated earlier, this was originally the situation of WLB; and it remained the situation with WMC throughout. Certain of the details are particularly instructive.

The business of this agency was to bring about and maintain the most effective mobilization of the manpower of the country that was available for war work after the armed services had taken their toll. Indeed, by Executive Order 9279, issued December 5, 1942, the President transferred the Selective Service System itself to WMC and thereby vested complete control of the manpower of the country not yet enrolled in the armed services in Chairman McNutt. By the same order, "Each executive department and agency" was ordered so to "utilize" its facilities, services, personnel, and powers as the chairman of WMC, "after consultation with such department or agency, determines necessary to promote compliance with * * * the policies, directions, and regulations" of WMC.

Two months later—on February 3, 1943, to be precise—Mr. McNutt issued his famous "work or fight" order requiring all workers designated as "nondeferrable"—that is, as nonessential—to choose between induction into the armed services and transferring to essential jobs. The order, the purpose of which was to remedy a labor scarcity in 32 specified areas, carried, for those subject to draft, the penalty for disobedience on the face of it. At the same time, draft requirements were significantly lowered. Then on February 9 a Presidential order decreed a 48-hour week, for the duration, and instructed all departments and agencies to take any action within their authority which the Chairman of WMC deemed necessary to effectuate the purposes of the order.

A year and a half later WMC, now in control of 85 percent of the working forces of the Nation, decreed that henceforth all male workers in the United States were to be hired exclusively through USES (United States Employment Service), another Presidential agency that acted subject to WMC's directives. To effectuate this turn of policy the support of employers was of course necessary, and this was guaranteed in a variety of ways. As the Labor Relations Reporter explained it, for employers who do not string along with the program, "psychological pressure" will be used at first, publicity to stir up community reaction, and then pressure from local management labor committees. In addition, they can have their power, lighting, and heat turned off and be deprived of shipping facilities and materials.

"The WMC stated," the Reporter continues, "that Government contracts might be withheld from employers found to be in willful and substantial noncompliance with the ceiling program. Since violators would have all their labor referrals and other manpower services cancelled, Government procurement officers would be unable to renew or place contracts with such firms on the ground that they might be unable to manufacture the products specified for lack of available manpower."

Sanctions so stringent, functioning mainly through employment ceilings and priority referrals, obviously approached the drastic character of a labor draft. If an employer had more workers than his ceiling, he was forced to give them up; if certain workers of a particular firm were needed elsewhere, the firm had to terminate their services and the workers had to transfer to the employment to which they were referred.

Two agencies there were whose orders were backed by legal sanctions, OPA and WPB. Yet OPA occasionally and WPB frequently resorted to "indirect sanctions," in the shape of "suspension orders," which, while they sent nobody to jail, were much more expeditious than criminal prosecutions, or even than suits in equity. So when a congressional committee proposed to forbid "any Federal official the right to inflict or impose penalties, sanctions, or suspension orders of any kind" except as he was specifically authorized by statute to do, WPB protested vehemently. The proposal, said the Board's spokesman, "would destroy our control completely. We might as well close up the Compliance Division" of WPB; and the protest prevailed for the most part. First and last, WPB issued over 700 suspension orders, many times the number of prosecutions that the Department of Justice undertook at its behest.

The problem of accommodating indirect sanctions to the Constitution arose out of the accepted doctrine that Congress alone may enact penalties and that no one may be subjected to a penalty that was not duly enacted by Congress prior to his alleged offense. Not, however, till 1944 did the Supreme Court finally become seized of the opportunity to reduce sanctions to some kind of constitutional regularity capable of differentiating the allowable type from straight-out administrative blackjacking. This was in the case of *Stewart & Bro., Inc. v. Bowles*, in which a retail dealer in fuel oil in the District of Columbia was charged with having violated a rationing order of OPA by obtaining large quantities of oil from its supplier without surrendering ration coupons, by delivering many thousands of gallons of fuel oil without requiring ration coupons, and so on, and was prohibited by the agency from receiving oil for resale or transfer for the ensuing year. The offender conceded the validity of the rationing order in support of which the suspension order was issued, but challenged the validity of the latter as imposing a penalty that Congress had not enacted, and asked the district court to enjoin it. The court refused to do so and was sustained by the Supreme Court in its position. Said Justice Douglas, speaking for the Court:

"Without rationing, the fuel tanks of a few would be full; the fuel tanks of many would be empty. Some localities would have plenty; communities less favorably situated would suffer. Allocation or rationing is designed to eliminate such inequalities and to treat all alike who are similarly situated. But middlemen—wholesalers and retailers—bent on defying the rationing system could raise havoc with it. * * * These middlemen are the chief if not the only conduits between the source of limited supplies and the consumers. From the viewpoint of a rationing system a middleman who distributes the product in violation and disregard of the prescribed quotas is an inefficient and wasteful conduit. * * * Certainly we could not say that the President would lack the power under this act to take away from a wasteful factory and route to an efficient one a previous supply of material needed for the manufacture of articles of war. From the point of view of the factory owner from whom the materials were diverted the action would be harsh. * * * But in times of war the national interest cannot wait on individual claims to preference. * * * Yet

If the President has the power to channel raw materials into the most efficient industrial units and thus save scarce materials from wastage it is difficult to see why the same principle is not applicable to the distribution of fuel oil."

More briefly, indirect sanctions were constitutional when the deprivations they wrought were a reasonably implied amplification of the substantive power which they supported and were directly conservative of the interest which this power was created to protect and advance. Subjecting Mr. McNutt's work or fight order to this test, it does not come off well. To deprive an employer of his rights to certain priorities because he refused to pay a certain wage had no discernible tendency to forward the purposes for which the priorities system was instituted; and to send recalcitrant workers to the fighting front did not remedy the labor situation on the home front, but in the first instance actually impaired it by reducing the available stock of labor.

The fact of the matter is that Justice Douglas' language does not begin to envisage the administration's conception of permissible sanctions. By the latter the President was entitled to require any Department or Agency subject to Presidential direction to do anything within its legal powers for the purpose of making life unpleasant for anybody who failed to obey an Executive order within whose terms he fell. So when Montgomery Ward refused to write a maintenance of membership clause in its labor contracts as it had been ordered to do by WLB, it discovered that the United States Post Office had removed its 70 employees from the company's mail-order house, a service the Post Office had maintained for 30 years for handling parcel-post shipments to Ward's customers. Likewise, when OPA found that large numbers of dealers were violating its price ceilings, it turned the names of more than 3,000 of the suspects over to the Bureau of Internal Revenue for an investigation into their income-tax returns. And when 16,700 rubber workers at Akron, Ohio, failed to heed an order by WLB to end a 2-week-old strike, they were warned that the Goodyear Co. might be released from its obligations with respect to maintenance of membership, check-off, shift premium, vacations, sick leave, and the like.

THE "STEWARDSHIP THEORY" IN TOTAL WAR

Presidential government on the basis of the supposed powers of the President as Commander in Chief in time of war attained its supreme exemplification in the indirect sanction; but the theory itself, as voiced by Mr. Roosevelt in his peremptory demand upon Congress on September 7, 1942, that it repeal forthwith a certain provision of the Emergency Price Control Act, went considerably further. I quote the salient passage from the President's remarkable address on that occasion:

"I ask the Congress to take this action by the first of October. Inaction on your part by that date will leave me with an inescapable responsibility to the people of this country to see to it that the war effort is no longer imperiled by threat of economic chaos.

"In the event that the Congress should fail to act, and act adequately, I shall accept the responsibility, and I will act.

"At the same time that fair prices are stabilized, wages can and will be stabilized also. This I will do.

"The President has the powers, under the Constitution and under congressional acts, to take measures necessary to avert a disaster which would interfere with the winning of the war.

"I have given the most thoughtful consideration to meeting this issue without further reference to the Congress. I have determined, however, on this vital matter to consult with the Congress. * * *

"The American people can be sure that I will use my powers with a full sense of my responsibility to the Constitution and to my country. The American people can also be sure that I shall not hesitate to use every power vested in me to accomplish the defeat of our enemies in any part of the world where our own safety demands such defeat.

"Where the war is won, the powers under which I act automatically revert to the people—to whom they belong."

In a word, the President said to Congress: "Unless you repeal a certain statutory provision forthwith, I shall nevertheless treat it as repealed." On what grounds did Mr. Roosevelt rest his case for power of so transcendent a nature? Although he made a vague gesture toward "congressional acts," it is obvious that his principal reliance was, and could only have been, on his "powers under the Constitution"—that is to say, his conception of these. Presidents have before this in a few instances announced that they did not consider themselves constitutionally obligated by something which Congress had enacted but which, as they contended, trench on Presidential prerogatives. This, for example, was Johnson's position in 1867. But the position advanced by Mr. Roosevelt in the above quoted passage goes far beyond this, claiming as it does for the President the power and right to disregard a statutory provision which he did not venture to deny, and indeed could not possibly have denied, which Congress had complete constitutional authority to enact, and which, therefore, he was obligated by express words of the Constitution to "take care" should be "faithfully executed."

Nor did the first Roosevelt's celebrated "stewardship theory" of the presidency furnish basis for the pretension advanced in the message of September 7, since it stopped short with claiming for the President the right to do anything that he thought would be in the public interest, provided he was not prohibited by the Constitution or an act of Congress from doing it. The message of September 7 strikes this vital reservation out, at least so far as acts of Congress are concerned. The doctrine of the message answers, indeed, to John Locke's definition of "prerogative," which we had before us on an earlier page, "as the power to act according to discretion for the public good, without the prescription of the law and sometimes even against it"—a notion derived from Stuart practice, and one against which most of the framers unquestionably thought they had provided by the "faithfully executed" clause.

The message of September 7 can only be interpreted as a claim of power on the part of the President to suspend the Constitution in a situation deemed by him to make such a step necessary. The claim was not a totally unprecedented one, for Lincoln implied as much when in his message of July 4, 1861, he asked, with reference to his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus: "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated." But Mr. Roosevelt was proposing to set aside, not a particular clause of the Constitution, but its most fundamental characteristic, its division of power between Congress and President, and thereby gather into his own hands the combined power of both. He was suggesting, if not threatening, a virtually complete suspension of the Constitution. No doubt any candid person must admit that the circumstances of total war may render such a measure necessary, but surely Congress, if on hand at the time, ought to be associated in so grave a responsibility, the need for which would presumably be evident to it also.

And certainly Mr. Roosevelt did not improve his case when he said: "When the war is won, the powers under which I act

automatically revert to the people—to whom they belong." The implication seemed to be that the President owed the transcendent powers he was claiming to some peculiar relationship between himself and the people—a doctrine with a strong family resemblance to the leadership principle against which the war was supposedly being fought. A third world war—one ushered in by an atomic bomb attack on our principal cities—might, nevertheless, vindicate even this feature of the message of September 7, or an equivalent thereof.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I close with a very brief summary, because no one need tell me that in this hour of high emotional concern, which has been aroused over the steel case, there is much chance of getting people to understand clearly what one's stand is on the case unless one takes the extreme position of condemning the President and saying he has usurped power, has acted unconstitutionally, and ought to be impeached. People seem to be able to understand that kind of extreme language but I do not think we are going to help solve the case by making that kind of approach. So I summarize my position under three points.

First, on the basis of historical precedents, which I have put into the RECORD today, a great number of instances, going as far back as the time of Jefferson, I am inclined to think that the Supreme Court will rule, once this issue ever gets to it for a direct ruling thereon, that a President of the United States, under the language contained in the Constitution with respect to executive power, has broad powers, sufficiently broad to allow him to take executive action to meet an immediate emergency that constitutes a great crisis to the safety or security of the Nation.

Second, I hold to the view that the existence of the power does not give the President, as a matter of law, unlimited discretion in exercising the power, but that his exercise of the power is subject to the same legal principles and restrictions that the exercise of any other discretionary power is subject to, namely, he must exercise it in a reasonable manner, and I think the rule of reasonableness applies.

In the third place, I hold to the view that after a President exercises a claimed inherent emergency power, which, as I said in my argument, has been variously described in legal literature as a war power, an inherent power, a Commander in Chief power, a stewardship power—no matter what label is used to describe the power, after a President exercises it and sets up a program for its implementation, Congress has a checking power. Congress has power to intervene and pass legislation. Congress has the power to pass legislation placing definite limitations, yes, prohibitions, on the exercise of that power by the President of the United States in a specific case.

In this concluding statement I refer again to the argument I made on this point when I took a position against the President on the troops-to-Europe issue. I rested my argument entirely on the third point, that it is one thing for the President to say he has the power to meet an emergency in the field of in-

ternational relations, for example, to protect the life, property, and interests of the American people on foreign soil, and send troops to meet that crisis. But that does not deny to the Congress the power to prohibit the President from the exercise of that power, and say to him by legislation, in effect, "Bring them home. We deny you the implementation of the program you have put into operation in your attempt to carry out what you claim is an emergency power."

Mr. President, the last point is hard to get across these days, but it places the problem squarely on the doorstep of Congress.

What does that have to do with the amendment before the Senate? There is no question about our power to adopt this amendment. But, in the first place, I do not think it would do the job which even the proponents want done in regard to the steel case. It might cause a break down in the production of steel. Second, I think it is approaching the problem indirectly rather than directly. I would much prefer to see us proceed

directly on this matter with legislation seeking to return the steel mills to the steel companies, under whatever terms and conditions the Congress wishes to impose. That will raise the question for the courts, as to whether or not we have the power to exercise such authority, and whether the President has the power to ignore our exercise of that authority.

I have tried to keep faith with this constitutional issue. I have offered two bills, either or both of which, I think, would raise the issue directly in the courts. If Senators desire to offer amendments to my bill, if they do not like the terms and conditions which I propose in my bill for the return of the steel mills, then let it be amended so as to provide other terms. But my terms or other terms will get the issue before the Supreme Court in a relatively short time, I believe, and once and for all we shall have the old mooted historical question of constitutional law as to the President's alleged inherent powers settled in the way in which I

think it ought to be settled, by a clear-cut decision by the United States Supreme Court.

RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. McFARLAND. I move that, in accordance with the order previously made, the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

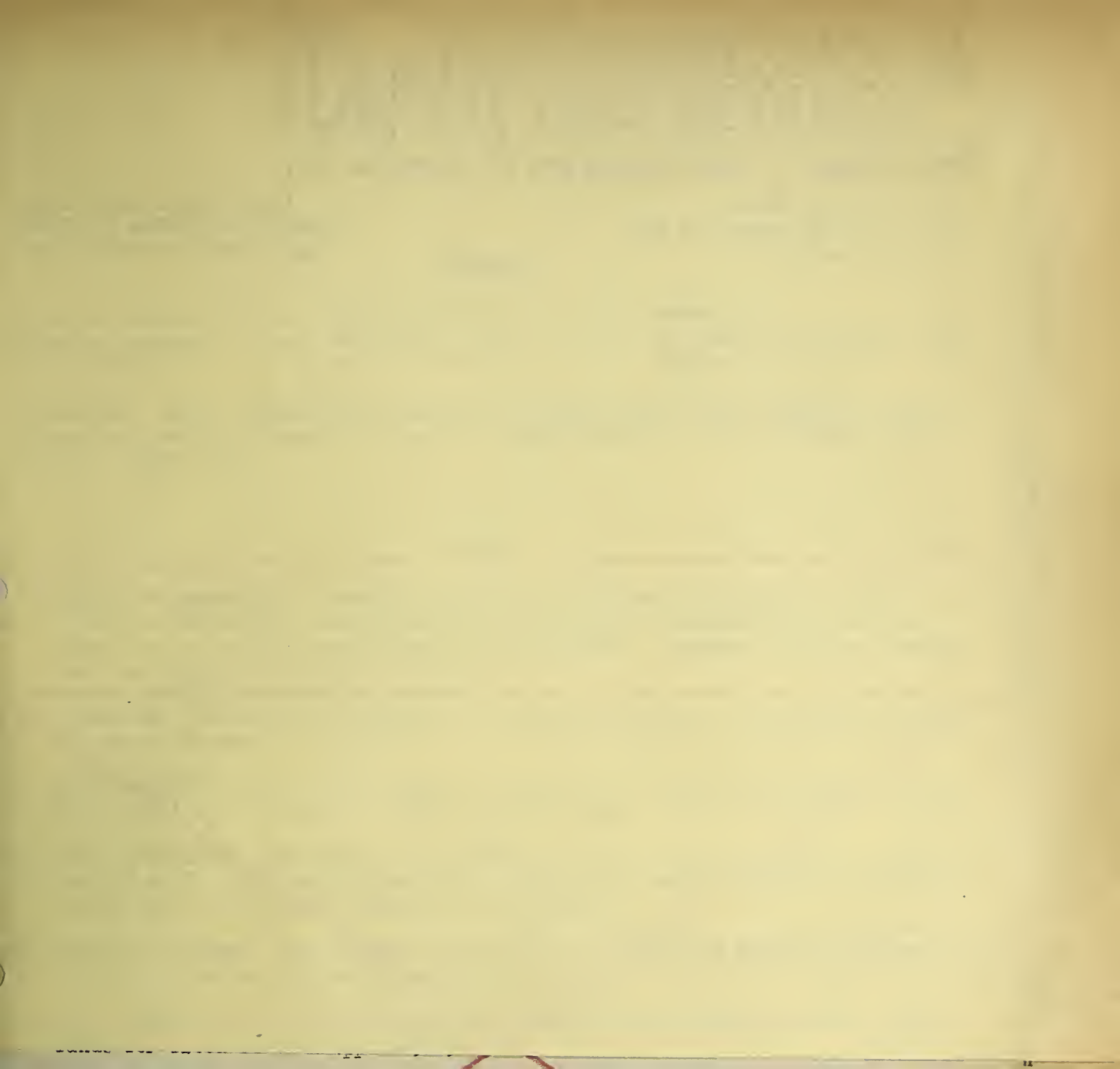
The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 14 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess, the recess being, under the order previously entered, to Monday, April 21, 1952, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate April 18 (legislative day of April 14), 1952:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Robert D. Murphy, of Wisconsin, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Japan.



Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 22, 1952
For actions of April 21, 1952
82nd-2nd, No. 66

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Senate received Andrews nomination as Technical Cooperation Administrator. Sen. Ken urged import control on pork, etc.

SENATE

1. **THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952.** Continued debate on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 4191-227). Agreed, 44-31, to a Ferguson amendment barring use of funds for the steel-plants seizure (pp. 4191-216). Rejected a Douglas amendment reducing highway funds (pp. 4219-27).
2. **NOMINATION.** Received the nomination of Stanley Andrews to be Technical Cooperation Administrator (p. 4234).
3. **PRICE CONTROL.** Sen. Carlson inserted a Kansas Food Dealers' Association resolution opposing price control on food (pp. 4187-8).
4. **PUBLIC CONTRACTS.** Sen. Fulbright submitted various amendments which he intends to propose to S. 2594, the defense production bill, to amend provisions regarding wages, etc., on defense contracts (pp. 4189-90).
5. **ECONOMIC ADVISERS.** Sen. McCarthy criticized the Council of Economic Advisers with Leon Keyserling as Chairman (pp. 4214-5).
6. **FLOOD CONTROL.** Sen. Chavez discussed the Missouri River floods and urged more funds for flood control (pp. 4232-3).

BILLS INTRODUCED

7. **IMPORT CONTROL.** S. 3042, by Sen. Ken, to prohibit imports of pork and other products from behind the iron curtain when these products are in surplus supply in the U. S.; to Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Remarks of author. (pp. 4188-9.)
8. **TRAVEL.** H. R. 7468 (see Digest 60) increases the maximum amount of household goods and personal effects which may be moved at Government expense in connection with official transfers from 7,000 to 10,000 pounds if uncrated and from 8,750 to 12,500 pounds if crated, or the equivalent thereof when transportation charges are based on cubic measurement.

ITEM IN APPENDIX

9. ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY. Sen. Green inserted a New York Herald Tribune editorial favoring this project (pp. A2514-5).

COMMITTEE HEARING ANNOUNCEMENTS APR. 22: Study of flood control, etc., H. Public Works (Brannan to testify). Grain-storage investigation, S. Agriculture (grain dealers to testify). Defense Production Act extension, S. Banking and Currency (ex) (Steelman, Putnam, Arnall to testify). Customs simplification, S. Finance. Civil-service retirement, S. Post Office and Civil Service. St. Lawrence seaway, S. Foreign Relations. Road authorizations, S. Public Works (ex). Foreign aid, H. Foreign Affairs (ex).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 105A.

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to let an all-embracing problem such as the union shop fall within the scope of a Government board. The Taft-Hartley Act, as passed in 1947 and later amended, was designed for one prime purpose: to bring industry and labor together around a conference table, free of the pro-labor Government intervention which had characterized the old Wagner Act, and let them work out their own problems.

In this patrician case, the Wage Stabilization Board heard testimony, debated, and finally—after many midnight sessions—came up with recommendations which had been approved by a split vote of the panel. In every instance, with reference to the major demands, labor and public members voted together. The resulting basic recommendations were these: First, a 17½ cents an hour immediate wage increase—more than the unions originally asked for—plus an additional 2½ cents to become effective July 1, 1952, and another 2½ cents effective January 1, 1953. Certain fringe benefits—pensions, paid vacations, etc.—which would bring the total wage increase up to at least 26 cents per hour. A 50-percent cut in wage differentials between northern and southern mills. And the union shop—the form of which was left up to labor and management to decide by collective bargaining.

The unions, of course, immediately accepted the recommendations, while the industry filed strong objections. Later the steel operators came up with the wage offer that, to my mind, should have come last November. They offered a 9-cent wage increase which was later increased to 12½ cents, along with certain fringe benefits, but made no mention of a union shop. The wage increase, as contrasted to the boost recommended by the Board, was founded on good ground. It is the maximum which is allowable under wage-stabilization regulations set up by the DPA, computed on a base period in January 1951.

The unions said "No," and planned a strike for April 8. As a Washington newspaper put it, offering the steelworkers a 12½-cent-an-hour wage increase, after the WSB had recommended a boost of nearly twice management's offer, was like trying to convince a lion it should turn vegetarian after it had smelled fresh meat.

Last week, the President announced, in a strictly partisan speech which attacked the whole steel industry, that the Government was seizing the steel plants to prevent a strike. He cited no specific authority, but referred only to the powers inherent to the President in a time of emergency.

In his address, President Truman charged that the steel industry could meet the Wage Board's recommended terms without the \$12-a-ton price increase they had declared necessary, which they had requested, and which the Government had refused. The President declared that the industry could grant the Board recommendations and still show a profit of about \$17 a ton.

The President's figures are misleading. The \$17 profit he alluded to was profit before taxes. By the time the Federal and State Governments take their share in taxes, that \$17 profit figure dwindles to little more than \$6 a ton.

I have investigated the Board's recommendations and through material available to me, it appears that the steelworkers are entitled to a wage increase at this time to compensate for the increased cost of living. But the Board's recommendations were, to my mind, too generous. They came at a time when the cost of living had dropped for the first time since pre-Korea days. They contained benefits which the steel industry cannot provide without a price increase. And a price increase could mean only one thing—another round of inflation—since steel is a basic industry.

Since 1939, raw material and construction items—including labor costs—in the steel industry have increased 142 percent. During that period, the increase in sales prices was only 94 percent. In 1939, steelworkers, on an average, were making about 21 cents an hour more than other manufacturing workers. In 1951, without a wage increase since 1950, they were still drawing about 25 cents an hour more than other manufacturing employees. Comparing profits, stockholders received 108 percent more in dividends during the years 1946-50 than they did in the period 1936-40, but employees registered a 157-percent wage increase during the same time.

There is this to be considered, too: The steel companies figured their profits during 1951 at about \$6 a ton after taxes. A very small portion of this goes to stockholders. Just how little is evidenced by the fact that United States Steel shares, worth some \$70 book value, are selling on the open market today for about \$40. Investors apparently don't believe that steel dividends are worth the investment.

The rest of the after-tax steel profit is plowed back into the steel plants, in compliance with Government requests that the steel industry do everything possible to expand production. At this moment our steel production slightly exceeds that of all other steel-producing countries combined, and our steel industry is operating at slightly over 100 percent of capacity.

If the \$13 a ton the steel companies now pay in taxes went to provide a wage increase for steelworkers, the United States Government would lose an estimated \$700,000,000 a year in revenue. Some of this would, of course, be returned to the Government in the form of income taxes from increased wages of steelworkers, but the majority of it would go into consumer channels, building up more inflation.

Those are the facts as I see them. And, I repeat, I believe steelworkers should get a fair wage increase to meet increased living costs, but it seems to me that the Board's recommendations were too high, and that it should have never been allowed to consider the problem of a union shop in the first place.

Here again we find the executive branch taking the intent of Congress, as specified in certain statutes, and ignoring it by crawling through legal loopholes. The Taft-Hartley Act was introduced, debated, and passed with one purpose in mind: To bring labor and management together around the bargaining table on an equal basis—something that had not been possible under the old Wagner Act, since it gave labor every advantage and backed up these advantages with Government sanctions. Under the Wagner Act, labor could ask for the moon, and Government bureaucrats would see that they got it—with complete disregard for the industry's capacity to pay the bill.

Taft-Hartley eliminated this. The Congress had no desire—no intent—to penalize the workman in any way. We rather desired to place labor and management on an equal plane—let them sit around a conference table and work out their own differences without the Government standing over the proceedings with a big stick.

President Truman and the union bosses howled in rage when this law was passed, and immediately they began to fight for its repeal. Taft-Hartley weathered the storm, however, and so it appears the bureaucrats and some greedy union chiefs have tried another tack. Unfortunately, it appears they have the President on their side. In this case the President—using so-called emergency powers, which I frankly do not believe he has—bypassed the Taft-Hartley law and the provisions it contains requiring collective bargaining. Never once were the provisions of this law—sustained several

times by the Congress—put into force. Instead of asking for an 80-day injunction to forestall a strike, as provided for under Taft-Hartley; instead of obtaining this injunction and appointing a fact-finding board to ascertain what the industry could pay, and what labor deserved in the way of a wage increase, and then getting them both around a conference table to reconcile their demands and capacities, the President ignored this law of the land. He referred the matter instead to an executive board and when the companies rejected their pronoun solution seized the steel industry.

Seizure of private industry—which has occurred 89 times since the beginning of World War II—can be defended, to my way of thinking, only as a last resort. In this case it definitely was not that. In no instance, at no time throughout the steel dispute, was the Taft-Hartley Act allowed to play the part for which it was set up.

Several weeks ago, on the floor of the Senate, I cited specific instances of bureaucratic abuses of congressional intent in the labor field. I pointed out how the Federal Government has extended its control over private industry by means of the now obsolete Walsh-Healey Act, which the Congress passed originally as an interim measure to prevent wage abuses while the Supreme Court considered the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

To that example of bureaucratic trespassing and evasion of the desire and will of Congress by what I believe is legal loopholing, I add this present example. Here again, the busy bureaucratic lawyers in the executive agencies, with the consent and help of the President, have been showing the public only one side of the picture, and have twisted and abused certain powers given the Chief Executive to be used in time of extreme emergency and only as a last resort.

It appears to me that once again the Congress will have to step in and, in some way, bring a measure of fair play into the picture. For ultimately it will not be either big business or labor that will suffer alone, but every citizen of this country. The bureaucrats have drawn their map and indicated their guideposts. The ultimate destination is clear to me—at the end of their road lies socialism.

Remember, I invite your constructive criticism; I need your advice and counsel.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Fulbright	McFarland
Anderson	Gillette	Moody
Bennett	Green	Morse
Benton	Hayden	Mundt
Brewster	Hendrickson	Murray
Bricker	Hennings	Neely
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Butler, Md.	Hill	O'Connor
Butler, Nebr.	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Byrd	Holland	Robertson
Cain	Humphrey	Russell
Capehart	Jenner	Schoeppel
Carlson	Johnson, Tex.	Seaton
Case	Johnston, S. C.	Smathers
Chavez	Kem	Smith, Maine
Clements	Kerr	Smith, N. J.
Connally	Kilgore	Sparkman
Cordon	Knowland	Stennis
Dirksen	Langer	Thye
Douglas	Lehman	Tobey
Dworshak	Lodge	Underwood
Eastland	Magnuson	Welker
Eaton	Malone	Wiley
Ellender	Maybank	Williams
Ferguson	McCarthy	Young
Fear	McClellan	

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONROE], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the Board of Visitors to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of a death in his family.

Mr. BRIDGES. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has received a letter from the President of the United States, which he will ask the Secretary to read.

The clerk read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 21, 1952.

The Honorable ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
The President of the Senate.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Senate has before it certain proposed amendments to the third supplemental appropriation bill for the current fiscal year which would restrict the use of appropriated funds for the operation of steel mills under the Executive order of April 8, 1952. The implications of this amendments are of such serious consequence, and much of the debate concerning it has been of such an extreme and misleading character, that I feel I should communicate with the Senate on this subject.

On April 9, 1952, I sent a message to the Congress. In that message, I stated that I had ordered temporary operation of the steel mills by the Government with the utmost reluctance; that the idea of Government operation of the steel mills was thoroughly distasteful to me; and that I wanted to see it ended as soon as possible.

I also indicated that, if the Congress wished to take action, I would be glad to cooperate in developing any legislative proposals the Congress might wish to consider. That is still my position. I

have no wish to prevent action by the Congress. I do ask that the Congress, if it takes action, do so in a manner that measures up to its responsibilities in the light of the critical situation which confronts this country and the whole free world.

I do not believe the Congress can meet its responsibilities simply by following a course of negation. The Congress cannot perform its constitutional functions simply by paralyzing the operations of the Government in an emergency. The Congress can, if it wishes, reject the course of action I have followed in this matter. As I indicated in my message of April 9, I ordered Government operation of the mills only because the available alternatives seemed to me to be even worse. The Congress may have a different judgment. If it does, however, the Congress should do more than simply tell me what I should not do. It should pass affirmative legislation to provide a constructive course of action looking toward a solution of this matter which will be in the public interest.

I have regarded it as imperative, for the sake of our national security, to keep the steel mills in operation. I should not, I think, be forced to a public disclosure of information that would be of value to the enemy. However, I will say this: A shut-down in steel production for any substantial length of time whatever would immediately reduce the ability of our troops in Korea to defend themselves against attack. If the Communists stage another offensive in Korea this spring, the success or failure of that offensive may well depend on whether or not we have kept our steel mills in operation. This is a consideration over and above the drastic effect a steel shut-down would have on our total defense effort.

I hope that any legislation passed by the Congress on this subject will provide a method by which the steel mills can be kept in continuous operation.

Some Members of Congress may think the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act should have been invoked in this dispute. The fact is that, before April 8, we had already had the benefit of a better emergency procedure than that available under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act provide for a fact-finding board, and for an 80-day delay in any work stoppage. The act provides no means for preventing a shut-down while the fact-finding board is making its inquiry, and it forbids the board to make any recommendations.

In the present case, we have had a board which made a thorough study and report on the facts—and recommended a settlement. We have also had a delay—voluntarily—of 100 days in the threatened work stoppage. It may be that some people will insist that we should have had a compulsory delay of 80 days instead of a voluntary delay of 100 days, but I see no advantage in it.

Some Members of Congress may feel that, in spite of all the steps already taken, the Taft-Hartley Act should yet be invoked. It appears to me that an-

other fact-finding board and more delays would be futile. There is nothing in the situation to suggest that further fact finding and further delay would bring about a settlement. And it is by no means certain that the Taft-Hartley procedures would actually prevent a shut-down.

Furthermore, a Taft-Hartley injunction in this situation would be most unfair, since its effect would simply be to force the workers to continue at work for another 80 days at their old wages—despite the fact that they have already remained at work for more than 100 days since their old contract expired, and despite the fact that the Government's Wage Stabilization Board has already recommended a wage increase. To freeze the status quo by injunction would, of course, be welcomed by the companies, but it would be deeply and properly resented by the workers.

These are some of the facts that need to be kept in mind in considering this situation. No real solution can be found that ignores them.

I hope the Congress will give deep and serious consideration to the potential consequences of any action it chooses to take.

If the Congress decides to pass legislation indicating its belief as to what ought not to be done in the steel case, I think it is incumbent upon the Congress to indicate by legislation at the same time its views as to what should be done. And I hope that any such legislation will be worked out carefully and constructively to help bring about a fair settlement of this problem in the public interest.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Since the legislation to which the letter from the President relates is now pending before the Senate, the Chair will direct that the letter of the President of the United States lie on the table.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself and other Senators. The amendment has heretofore been stated, but will be again stated.

The amendment offered by Mr. FERGUSON, for himself, Mr. BRIDGES, and Mr. KNOWLAND, was read by the legislative clerk, as follows:

On page 50, after line 23, insert the following new section:

SEC. —. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or of any funds made available for expenditure by this act, shall be used for the purpose of enforcing executive order 10340, dated April 8, 1952, directing the Secretary of Commerce to take possession of and operate the plants and facilities of certain steel companies, or any other order or regulation relating thereto.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I have carefully read the pending amendment, which provides that no part of the money appropriated in the pending bill shall be available for expenditure to continue operation of the seized steel mills.

I have also examined the amendment proposed by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], for himself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], which would go further and would provide that no part of this appropriation or any funds heretofore made or hereafter available shall be used in seizing any plant, facility, or other property unless the seizure is authorized by Congress.

I object to each of these proposed amendments. Their adoption would attain no final result. The question is whether, under the Constitution, a President of the United States has inherent powers; and, if so, what are the limits of those powers? It is perfectly obvious that there is only one place where the question can be answered, and that is the Supreme Court of the United States.

I have as much right as any of the other 95 Senators to express my opinion as to how the question should be answered, but I have no way of making the answer effective. Even if all the other 95 Senators or more than a two-thirds majority of them were in complete agreement with my opinion, and so voted, they would have no better way than I alone would have to put that opinion into effect. Nothing but a decision sustained by a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States can bring any real result.

The United States Senate is like a locomotive: It can get up steam; it can blow off steam; but it cannot use the steam to go anywhere, unless it has a track to run on. There is no track from the Senate Chamber in the Capitol Building to the courtroom of the white-marble building which faces the Capitol Grounds. Even if it were possible for Senators to arrive there, there is no room on the bench occupied by the nine justices of the Supreme Court for any of the Senators who apparently wish to sit with them in deciding this issue.

If the pending legislative rider is attached to this appropriation bill and likewise to every other appropriation bill, or, for that matter, if the more far-reaching rider proposed by the second amendment is attached, absolutely nothing will be accomplished in respect to a final determination of the issue of whether the Constitution confers on the President of the United States any inherent powers which he can use at any time or under any particular circumstances. Knowing that to be true, I shall vote against each of these proposals.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. It seems to me that what the able Senator from Arizona is saying is that the Congress, instead of being one of the coequal branches of the Government, along with the executive

and judicial, is in fact a subordinate branch of the Government.

Mr. HAYDEN. I interpret the amendments in exactly the other way, namely, as taking the position that the Congress is superior to the judicial branch of the Government and is attempting in this bill to state what the Constitution means on the question which is involved. Congress cannot do that.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield further?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does the able Senator from Arizona question that under the Constitution the Congress has control of the public purse?

Mr. HAYDEN. No, but control of the public purse is not an effective way to answer the question of whether the President of the United States has inherent powers under the Constitution.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield further?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does not the Senator from Arizona agree that this is the first piece of proposed legislation which has been before the Congress since the President's usurpation of power; is it not the first time the Congress of the United States has had an effective way of blocking this usurpation of power; and if we are not to surrender our coequal position in the Government of the United States, this is the time and this is the place for the Congress to give a clear warning signal that we do not intend to sit idly by while the President of the United States seeks to seize an industry without authority of law, and perhaps open the door for the complete socialization of the Nation?

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator from California is rendering an opinion which would be very appropriate if uttered by the Supreme Court of the United States. However, my contention is that the action proposed to be taken by way of these amendments would be utterly ineffective. The Congress can very properly, as suggested in the President's letter, enact legislation setting forth the conditions and terms under which seizures can be made. If a law of that kind were on the statute books, I am sure that no President would not ignore it. I voted for the Smith-Connally Act, under which seizures were made. It is unfortunate that that law is no longer on the statute books and that there now is no law applicable in such cases.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The distinguished Senator from Arizona has said this amendment, if adopted, would be wholly ineffective. If it would be wholly ineffective, the Senator from Arizona is in exact contradiction to the President of the United States, who has just sent to Congress a letter in which he states the serious effect the amendment would have.

Mr. HAYDEN. The President has pointed out that as the matter now stands, there is no law authorizing seizures. If the action now proposed were

taken and if the President obeyed what might be called a mandate of the Congress, there would be a strike and there would be no production of steel.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Arizona has said that the enactment of legislation in respect to seizure has been urged by the President in his message, and others have alluded to it and to the prerogatives of Congress in respect to legislating in this field.

Let me say that tomorrow morning, at 10 o'clock, as on three previous days, one of the Senate's committees will hold hearings on two bills introduced by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] on the subject of seizure. It seems to me that there is the place where constructive good can be done, if Senators will go there and will give to that legislative committee their advice in regard to the way to legislate in this field.

I submit that the Senator from Arizona is eminently correct when he says that the attempt to proceed by way of the proposed amendments amounts to an effort to make a court of the Senate of the United States in regard to a constitutional issue which is not within the purview of the Senate.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, every Member of this body knows the high regard I have for the opinions of my colleague, the Senator from Arizona, to say nothing of my very warm affection for him.

So I regret that I cannot agree with the conclusion he has reached, namely, that this issue is one on which only the Supreme Court and the greatest constitutional lawyers of the Nation can pass.

In the first place, no Member elected to the Senate can take his seat without going to the desk and holding up his hand and swearing on his honor that he will uphold and support the Constitution of the United States. That is point number one.

Mr. HAYDEN. Let me interrupt the Senator from Virginia. When a Senator takes an oath to support and defend the Constitution, does he agree to accept all the various interpretations of the Constitution which may be made by different Senators?

Mr. ROBERTSON. No, he does not. He follows whatever guide he may have to help him follow the pathway of allegiance to the faith of the founding fathers.

Mr. President, the issue now confronting the Senate is not a complicated one. Anyone who knows anything at all about the proceedings incident to the adoption of the Constitution in Philadelphia, in 1787, must be aware of the bitter fight over Hamilton's viewpoint that there should be virtually a dictatorship under George Washington, and the James Madison viewpoint that there should be a central government of limited powers. The Constitutional Convention fought

out that issue, and finally arrived at something of a compromise, in spelling out specific powers and then adding a general welfare clause.

However, as soon as the Constitution was sent to the States, for ratification, and when the States, jealous of their sovereignty and eager to protect the citizens of the United States, heard that Alexander Hamilton claimed that the general welfare clause gave general powers—not to the President, no; no one has ever claimed that in the entire history of the United States—but gave general powers to the Congress, not one State would ratify the Constitution until all the States had been assured that that clause did not mean what Hamilton claimed it meant. Thereafter, in the Virginia Convention there was the bitterest fight anyone could imagine before the Constitution was ratified.

I am proud of the fact that three of my ancestors were there and all of them voted in favor of ratification of the Constitution—but not until after James Madison had given them positive assurance that as soon as the first Congress met, he would author a series of amendments, called the Bill of Rights, which would protect the personal liberties of the citizens of the United States in religion, in freedom of speech, and in freedom of the press. However, he went further than that, and said, in effect, "There will not be any more doubt, because the tenth amendment I am going to propose is going to nail down this question about unlimited power, drive a rivet through it, and double the rivet over on itself on the far side."

So, Mr. President, in the tenth amendment he said and the Congress said and the States overwhelmingly said:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

If that means anything at all—and meaningless language was not placed in the Constitution—it means, as Madison so frequently said in the Federalist papers and in all the debates in which he participated in order to obtain the ratification of this great document, that the general welfare meant only that in exercising the delegated powers of the central government they must be exercised for the general welfare.

No claim is made in the steel seizure case that the President has any specific power. He claims that he has power under the general-welfare clause, and he proposes to exercise it on behalf of 600,000 members of one labor union. Mr. President, that, to me, does not present a complicated constitutional issue. I agree that we do not have the perfect answer in this amendment, but it is the first chance I have to register officially my viewpoint that the President has done an unconstitutional thing, a thing to which I am opposed.

Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. McFARLAND, and Mr. AIKEN rose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arizona yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield first to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, even though it be a fact that, as the Senator from California has stated, Congress controls the purse strings, Congress is still not justified in using its power over appropriations in this round-about way, in order to block an emergency action taken by the President—an action which the President of the United States felt to be clearly within his authority, an action whose legality cannot be finally determined until there is a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. If Members of Congress believe that the President has flouted the Constitution and deliberately usurped powers which do not belong to him, either under the Constitution or under the inherent powers of the Presidency, it seems to me it is the duty of the House of Representatives to seek the impeachment of the President; and I challenge the critics of the President to initiate such a proceeding.

I believe the President was within his clear rights and acted according to his obligations. However, the effort is now made to make the public believe that the President has deliberately flouted the Constitution and has deliberately usurped powers which are not his. If that be true, there is an easy recourse, namely, impeachment of the President. I doubt that the House of Representatives will take that course or that any substantial number of its Members will dare to propose it.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. I understand that the President in seizing the steel industry did so upon the ground of an existing emergency. Mr. Nathan Feinsinger, appearing recently before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, told us the emergency was so acute that it had become a matter of life and death, not only to thousands of persons, presumably, but that it had also possibly become a matter of life and death to the Nation itself. If I were satisfied that such were the case, and that an emergency of such grave a nature actually existed, I should not in the least question the President's decision to seize the steel mills by any means, nor would I raise any question of his authority so to do. However, I, for one, question the gravity of the emergency as represented by the President and by Mr. Feinsinger.

I have known Mr. Phil Murray and other officials of the CIO for a great many years. They are very loyal to their country. During World War II, they withstood extreme provocation for calling workers out on strike. I am sure that today, regardless of whatever provocation may exist, Mr. Murray and his associates never in the world would call their men out on strike, if they thought it meant life or death to thousands of people, or perhaps the destruction of the country itself. I would not for a moment accuse them of being willing to do any such thing as that.

What I desire to ask the Senator from Arizona is based upon the fact that, in my mind at least, this matter revolves around the question of the existence of

an emergency, and the extent of that emergency. Does the Senator from Arizona believe that the Senate or the Congress has any authority or right to determine the existence of an emergency, or does he believe that to be the sole prerogative of the President of the United States?

Mr. HAYDEN. I think it would be the part of wisdom, so far as the Congress is concerned, to anticipate the occurrence of such emergencies and to provide by legislation how they should be handled. That is my personal view of the matter. I am glad to hear the Senator say he does not think Mr. Murray would call a steel strike if it involved disaster to the Nation.

Mr. AIKEN. I am positive he would not.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator from Vermont knows Mr. Murray much better than I do.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Murray would not under any circumstances place his country in jeopardy.

Mr. HAYDEN. It is my hope that that would not happen. In view of the seizure, I am still fearful that if the legislative action contemplated by the amendment should be taken there would be a strike, there would be a cessation of the production of steel, which would be very bad for the country.

Mr. AIKEN. Would it not, then, be advisable to postpone action on the appropriations bill for a few days and to act upon the bills which are now pending before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare?

Mr. HAYDEN. I hope the committee on Labor and Public Welfare will promptly report for consideration by the Senate legislation contemplated by those bills. It is very appropriate that it do so at the earliest possible date.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. Is it not a fact that the language proposed to be written into the bill would not become effective until approved by the President and until the bill becomes a law and, consequently, there would be a delay of several days?

Mr. HAYDEN. There can be no question about that. I think some hope might be entertained that a settlement might be reached before the bill was reported by the conference committee, in which event the proposed amendment, if adopted, could be stricken. Those are practical matters which must await future consideration.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Arizona will indulge me, I may say I do not see how the adoption of the amendment could be interpreted to mean that the Congress would be setting itself up as a court. The amendment does not purport to say that the order shall be nullified, or that whatever may have been done under it shall be illegal or shall be rescinded, or anything of the sort.

Mr. HAYDEN. But would the adoption of the amendment settle the constitutional question as to whether the

President has inherent power to act in an emergency case of this sort?

Mr. CASE. The amendment, if adopted, would set forth that Congress does not believe that the revenues of the Government should be used to enforce the order. Certainly the Congress has a right to say it does not want money to be used for a certain purpose. In saying that the Congress does not say that the order itself is necessarily unconstitutional, or that it meets the emergency. It seems to me that the courts would have to determine whether the President possesses such power.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I wish to make my position clear on this question. With such knowledge of the facts as I possess, I would not have taken the action which the President took in the seizure of the steel mills. I would never use inherent powers of the Constitution when express legislative power are available or obtainable. In fairness, it should be obvious that as a legislator I am not as fully informed with respect to all the facts as those who have been dealing with this situation for weeks and who were charged with this responsibility.

However, Mr. President, that is now a moot question; that is not the issue before us. There has been a great deal of discussion on the floor of the Senate about the Constitution and the constitutional rights of the President. I am a firm believer in the Constitution and in proceeding in accordance with the Constitution. I would call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that our forefathers deemed it essential that the Constitution impose on the Federal Government a system of checks and balances. That system has worked mighty well throughout the history of our country. It was placed in the Constitution to prevent our Government from crumbling as others had crumbled before it.

We here in the legislative branch of the Government are extremely critical of any act on the part of the executive branch which we deem an encroachment upon the legislative prerogative. We are just as critical, and properly so, when the courts, by their decisions, attempt to write legislation.

What is the situation before us today? The authority of the President to seize the steel mills is being tested in the courts. The Constitution of the United States has placed the duty and responsibility upon the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon that act. It is my considered judgment that the adoption of this amendment would be a clear encroachment upon the duties and responsibilities of the judicial branch of the Government and would subject the Congress of the United States to the same type of criticism which we mete out to the executive and judicial arms when we believe they are encroaching upon the prerogatives of the legislative branch.

As has been stated on the floor of the Senate, we have a right to withhold appropriations. Yes, Mr. President, the Constitution placed that right in the hands of the legislative branch of the Government. Yes, we could withhold appropriations for the Supreme Court

of the United States because we did not like one of its decisions or because we were afraid the Court would make a decision contrary to what we conceived to be proper. But would that be carrying out our duties under the Constitution of the United States? No. We could not do away with the Supreme Court, but we could cripple it. Few Justices of the Supreme Court would be able to serve if they did not receive pay.

There is no question in my mind that the amendment is an attempt by the Congress to pass upon the authority of the President to seize the steel mills; but the question of the propriety of the seizure is not before the Congress of the United States.

For these reasons, we should not confuse this issue with the seizure of the steel mills. It should be clearly understood that we are not now voting upon the merits or propriety of the seizure of the steel mills; but rather upon the question of the right of Congress to interfere with or influence a case now pending in the courts. As a lawyer and a former judge, I cannot in clear conscience cast any other vote than in opposition to this amendment to the appropriation bill.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I rise to disagree with the able majority leader. The amendment is not an attempt on the part of the Congress of the United States to move into the judicial field at all. This is the first time Congress has had an opportunity to act in this matter as a coequal branch of the Government of the United States. We have had, for the first time in our history, a seizure of private industry without due compensation, not in wartime, not during the period of a declared war by the Congress of the United States, not during a period of declared emergency by the Congress of the United States, but an act by the President alone, creating his own emergency, reaching out for inherent powers which are not specified, and seizing a private industry without compensation as provided for under the Constitution of the United States.

As has been pointed out on the floor of the Senate on other occasions, the Federal Government is not a Government of unlimited power. On the contrary, it is one of specified powers, and the powers not granted to the Federal Government under the Constitution are reserved to the States or to the people thereof.

I believe, Mr. President, that the Congress of the United States would be derelict in its duty, I believe the Members of the Congress would not be performing according to their oaths of office, if they failed to take action. The oath of the office of a United States Senator to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States is no less valid than is the oath of office of the President or the Vice President of the United States, or of a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I believe the people of the United States are greatly concerned by the action which was taken by the President. It was not many years ago that the President of the United States clearly indi-

cated that he thought he had power to seize cattle on the ranges. As the President himself said, in March 1946, the executive branch of the Government gave the question long and careful consideration and finally determined not to seize the cattle, not because of any constitutional question involved, not because of treating the American farmer any differently from the treatment accorded the Kulaks of the Soviet Union, but, rather, because the cattle were so distributed that it was impracticable on the part of the Federal Government to undertake such a seizure.

The President's action has far-reaching consequences. It not only concerns American citizens, American business, but I have no doubt that it equally concerns American labor. The precedent which is created by the seizure of power, even though it may be temporarily applauded by a small minority of organized labor, may, as a matter of fact, be the opening of a Pandora's box by which labor itself can lose some of the rights to which it is entitled under the Constitution.

Congress should be just as zealous to protect the Constitution of the United States as should the other coequal branches of the Government. Otherwise, I think we would be failing in our duty to the United States, for after all, we are Senators of the United States as well as Senators representing particular States. I believe we would be derelict in our duty if we did not face up to the issue.

It so happened that when the President took this action, the Senate of the United States was in session. The other body happened to be in an Easter recess. As rapidly as amendments could be prepared, the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], joined by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and myself, and later joined by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], on another phase of the problem, offered amendments to be proposed to the bill so that the Congress of the United States could express itself.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President—

Mr. KNOWLAND. As I said earlier in the day, this is the place, and here is the time, for Congress to say, "We are not going to sit idly by and countenance this usurpation of power; we are not going to dilly-dally or fiddle and fiddle while the grave action of the President of the United States is allowed to stand as a violation of the rights of the National Legislature as a coequal branch of the Government of the United States."

The people of this Nation have a right to expect more than that from the one body which is representative of all the 48 States and the 160,000,000 people who constitute this great Nation.

There have been bodies which called themselves legislative bodies who slept on their rights, one of which was the Douma, which saw the rights promised to the Russian people under the Krensky government destroyed.

There have been other legislative bodies in the history of the world which have missed their opportunity to stand up and be counted, which have missed

their opportunity to uphold their constitutional form of government, and at some later date, by the use of earlier precedents, were put on notice, when soldiers came into the legislative chambers and cleared them, that they had become decadent and were no longer able to fulfill their legislative duties.

The adoption of the pending amendment is a legislative duty. There can be no question about that. We are challenging the President of the United States in a field in which Congress has authority under the Constitution. The question is whether the legislative body really does have control of the public purse.

If Senators remember constitutional history, they recall that the men who sat in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia were very wise. They knew the history of the world up to the time of the convention. They knew that where people had lost their freedom it had been lost into the hands of grasping executives, who gained so much power that they could finally overwhelm the other branches of government. Therefore the founding fathers provided a system of checks and balances. Today we are proposing to check and to balance this usurpation of power by the President of the United States.

In passing on such a question I would care not to what party a President of the United States might belong. If he were a member of my own party, and had done what President Truman has done, I would stand up today and challenge him, as I have tried to challenge the President in this instance, because I believe his action tends to be utterly destructive of the ultimate freedom of the American people, of American labor, of American agriculture, and of American business.

Now is the time and this is the place for members of the Senate, the greatest deliberative body in the world, to stand up and be counted.

I say advisedly, contrary to the statement of the majority leader, that the vote upon the pending amendment is a vote to make clear whether Senators believe the President of the United States has power to usurp authority, and in consequence to seize a great industry. In my judgment, a vote against the suspension of the rules, a vote against the amendment offered, is a clear vote saying to the President of the United States, "You have a green light. From here on, go ahead and seize any industry it is your whim to seize."

Mr. President, that would be utterly destructive of everything Senators have taken an oath to uphold.

I now yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. The Senator from California has covered the subject I had in mind at the time I asked if he would yield, which was how Hitler took possession not only of industries but also of all business in Germany; how he took unto himself the role of a dictator. When he was able to destroy the Reichstag in Germany, when the voice of the people, through their representatives in the Reichstag, was silenced by Hitler, it

was then he rose to power and led Germany to the disastrous ending we know resulted for the German people in World War II.

In the particular instance now engaging the attention of the Senate we are again faced with an instance of the Executive, the administrator, taking power unto himself which the Constitution does not provide he shall exercise.

None of us want to see the steel industry shut down; none of us want to see the great steel furnaces cool off. We know that steel is needed. But, fundamentally, Mr. President, we must safeguard our independence and the rights of the people, the rights of businessmen, and the rights of corporations.

I commend the able and distinguished Senator from California for his able remarks on this subject. The question is not whether we want to condone strikes; the question is whether we want to see the constitutional rights upheld—to see that the rights of individuals and the rights of corporations are protected. Those in Congress protecting the people of my own State and all the States of the Union have the responsibility of upholding the rights, independence, and freedom of all citizens of the United States.

The seizure of the steel plants is an instance of one man who has placed himself in the position of a dictator—taking unto himself power to control a great industry of this land.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I may say to the Senator from Minnesota that not very long ago—about the time Hitler was rising to power in Germany—there was written a book under the general title, I believe, "The House That Hitler Built." It told how Mr. Bruening, a great liberal, a man who believed in the Weimar Republic, and apparently believed in the constitution of the German Republic of the time, had established the precedent which Hitler used to destroy the Republic, because under the constitution of the Weimar Republic as written there was a provision which at least afforded something on which Bruening could hang his hat during a crisis in the country, in order to govern the country by decree. So that great supporter of the Weimar Republic established a precedent of governing by decree rather than by legislative action. The book pointed out very clearly that when Hitler came to power he used Dr. Bruening's action as a precedent, pointing out that the exercise of that power had not been challenged when used by Dr. Bruening, the Chancellor. Therefore, Hitler said he, himself, was using it and expanding it. When he did so he destroyed the Weimar Republic and established a totalitarian state in Germany.

Mr. President, it so happened that in Germany, and also in Italy under Mussolini, among the first to be regimented and put under governmental control were labor organizations. I suppose there were some shortsighted business men who may have applauded that action, but all they were doing was sealing their death warrant.

I venture to make a suggestion to the fine men and women who constitute

organized labor in this Nation, not only in the steel industry, which is directly affected, but everywhere, in the CIO and in the American Federation of Labor, citizens whose sons are fighting in Korea for the preservation of the American system of constitutional government, presumably for our system of free, competitive enterprise, for the preservation of a free world and free men. I hope they will look very carefully at this action, because it may carry with it the seeds of their own destruction, because if a President can seize the steel industry, since the industry cannot produce steel unless workers labor to produce the steel, the same President could reach out, and under claimed inherent powers, force workers to work in steel plants in order to produce steel. We would have opened up a whole field. As is said in connection with atomic energy, we would have opened up a chain reaction, and no man knows what the ultimate result would be.

I have pointed out the previous action of the President of the United States in suggesting to the farmers that he was contemplating seizing their cattle. He did not do so only because it was impracticable, not because it was unconstitutional, not because it would have treated the farmer like a Russian Kulak; but only because it was impracticable, cattle being so widely distributed throughout the country.

I called attention to the fact that during the railroad strike, without proper authority from Congress at the time, the President of the United States proposed that railroad workers be drafted into the Army. Had it not been for the able Senator from Ohio rising on the floor and raising objection at that time, such legislation might have been rushed through Congress on the very night it was proposed, without either labor or management or the general public having an opportunity to discuss it fully and provide necessary safeguards.

Yes, Mr. President, labor, management, farmers, and the general public have a vital stake in this question, as do the Members of Congress, who are elected representatives of the people of the United States.

I wish only to say in conclusion—

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will yield when I have finished.

This morning the President of the United States sent to this body a letter attempting to tell us how we should legislate on the bill which is before the Senate. I think the President is stepping out of his field as the Executive. His job is to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and our job is to pass laws. We are not going to be intimidated by the President of the United States. We are not going to be intimidated by the President of the United States. We are not going to be intimidated by any outside agency into not doing our duty as we see it. We have to follow our conscience. We have to follow our oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to the people of the United States, whom we represent.

Mr. President, I believe we would be derelict in our duty if we failed to pick up this challenge of the President and adopt this amendment by an overwhelming vote thereby serving notice not only on the President, but also on the country as well that the great legislative branch of the Government of the United States in this time of constitutional crisis, does not intend to abdicate its responsibility.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. Of course, I agree wholeheartedly with the condemnation of Hitler expressed by the Senator from California; but I do not believe that the two situations—the one in Germany at the time Hitler came into power, and the present situation—are in the slightest degree analogous. Hitler clearly seized and usurped the entire power of the state. He usurped all power and used force to keep himself in power.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The President has clearly usurped power.

Mr. LEHMAN. May I finish? In this case of the steel industry the distinguished Senator from California, and some of his associates, claim that the President usurped power. I feel that he certainly did not usurp power. He merely exercised an emergency authority which he felt was his. The courts will rule on its legality. Some of my associates, happily, agree with me. I do not know whether I am right or wrong. I am not a constitutional lawyer; but I doubt that the Senator from California can give convincing proof that the President of the United States usurped power.

We have an agency of Government to determine constitutional questions. Recognition has already been had to that agency in an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, which has the confidence and respect of all the people of the United States. An appeal has been taken from the decision of the President, and undoubtedly the Supreme Court will hand down its decision. When it does, I, for one will be perfectly willing to abide by that decision. But I do not believe that the Senator from California is any better qualified at this time than I am to pass upon the great question of constitutionality and the inherent powers of the President.

The President has taken this action during an emergency, in the belief that it is in the essential interest of the people and the country. I believe that the President had no alternative, because it has been clearly demonstrated by the testimony of those with full knowledge that any other action might have caused a curtailment of several million tons in the production of steel, a greatly needed commodity now in short supply—a curtailment which not only would have seriously affected our defense efforts, but would also have seriously affected the entire national interest and economy.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I do not know whether that was a question. I had the floor, and I understood that

the Senator rose to ask a question. At any rate I wish to make a comment.

Of course, on the issue involved in this case and in many others there is room for an honest difference of opinion. I have merely said that so far as I am concerned I do not intend to abdicate what I believe to be a legislative responsibility on the part of the Senate and the House of Representatives. If the Senator from New York wants to be a rubber stamp for the President of the United States, if he wants to subordinate the legislative arm of the Government of the United States to the executive, that is his responsibility and that is his right. He can cast his vote to that end on any question pending in this body. So far as I am concerned I do not intend to be a rubber stamp for this President of the United States or any other man who may occupy the White House. I do not intend to stand idly by while any man in the White House seeks what he calls inherent powers for the purpose of seizing private industry without due process of law, opening the door to the complete socialization of the Nation. I do not intend to sit silently in the United States Senate while that is being done. Mine may be the only vote in opposition, but I shall resist such efforts with every parliamentary device at the command of a United States Senator. At every opportunity I shall offer a motion to challenge this usurpation of power on the part of the President of the United States. I have sufficiently observed his performance in the past, and I have no confidence that he would not abuse this power.

Only the other day, before a group of men gathered in the White House at a press conference, he indicated that he might also have the same power to seize control of the press and the radio. If he has any such ideas in his mind the Congress of the United States had better clear them out right now, because if we let this incident pass, the next thing the public knows it may be presented with a fait accompli, a situation in which the only news would come through White House hand-outs broadcast over every radio station in the land, and through a press of which, in the office of every editor and publisher of every newspaper in the land, a colonel would be in control. In this way the people would get only a one-sided view, that of the President of the United States.

I do not intend to sit by and allow our freedoms to be destroyed in that manner, as an iceberg is destroyed when it moves into warm waters. There are some who say that we must be like eunuchs, taking no action in the legislative branch until the President of the United States decides to seize more power, or until the Supreme Court, which today is composed of eight members of one political party, and only 1 of another, decides, perhaps in 2 or 3 years, what the ultimate decision shall be. By that time our entire economic system may be socialized.

This is the place to carry the issue to the people. It is being carried to them at this time, and will be placed before them in the November elections. This

is the time for Senators to stand up and be counted, as to whether they support constitutional government as we have known it, or whether this body is to degenerate into a mere rubber stamp. I say to the Senator from New York that I want no part of that philosophy.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. The Senator may have the floor.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I have no desire to try to persuade the Senator from California to be a rubber stamp. I know that he never has been, any more than I have been. He votes according to his conscience, as I vote according to my conscience. But let me say, Mr. President, I think it is unworthy of the great dignity and ability of the Senator from California, unworthy of the great State which he represents, to rise on the floor of the Senate and try to compare our present fine President, President Truman, to Adolf Hitler. There is no justification for that kind of remark, or accusations, innuendoes, implications, or charges such as have been made by the distinguished Senator from California.

Did Hitler, when he took over power from the Reichstag—and at that time my voice was raised against such action, because I saw that the world was suffering and would continue to suffer from that action—permit his action to be reviewed by the supreme legal body of the German Government?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President—

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I have the floor.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I do not think the Senator from New York wants to misinterpret or misstate what I have said. The Senator is misstating what I said on the floor, and I rise as a matter of personal privilege. What I did point out was that the precedents established under Chancellor Bruening, who presumably was an upholder of the Weimar republic, were ultimately used by Hitler to destroy the republic. That is the statement which I made.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEHMAN. In a moment.

The Senator from California may interpret his statement as he wishes, but I am willing to stand on the record of what has been said and implied today. I repeat my question: Did Adolf Hitler permit judgment by a supreme court of the acts which he had committed?

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; the Senator from New York will not yield for a moment. I will yield when I have completed my remarks.

The Senator from California refused to yield to me. I shall continue to make my statement until I have concluded. Then I shall be very glad to yield first to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], and then to the Senator from Maryland.

Did Adolf Hitler go before the Reichstag and report what he had done and

say, "If you do not concur with what I have done in the handling of a situation which was of an emergency nature and which threatened the security and national economy of our country, tell me what you would do?" President Truman did that only this afternoon.

Did Adolf Hitler subject himself to the challenge of impeachment, as our President has done? I challenge Senators to move in that direction if they believe the President deliberately and ruthlessly flouted and disregarded the Constitution of the United States.

I do not know certainly whether the action of the President is constitutional or not. I believe it is. But Senators who criticize do not know, either, and nobody will know until the Supreme Court of the United States has acted. In the meantime we are facing an emergency, an emergency which the Senator from California on many occasions has referred to, an emergency on which we dare not turn our backs. Any other action on the part of the President in my opinion would have placed in jeopardy our very security and our national economy. I say that, while I realize just as other Senators do that the power of the purse strings rests in the Congress of the United States—and there can be no question about it—that power should not be exerted trivially and should not be exerted for the purpose of gaining political advantage.

The Senator from California has stated that he wants to carry this question into the campaign that is ahead of us. Of course I would be glad to have the people of the country weigh this issue. Still I wonder whether the Senator from California is not more deeply interested in making a record here and in political considerations than he is in serving the interests and the security of the United States. I tell my colleagues on the other side that they cannot possibly say with any authority that the President went beyond his powers. Therefore I say again that I resent, and deeply resent—

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President—
Mr. LEHMAN. I deeply resent the reference to and comparison of President Truman with Adolf Hitler. I think it is slanderous. I think it is unjustifiable.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President—
Mr. LEHMAN. I want it to be known that I deeply resent it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask that the Senator from New York be required to take his seat under the rule, because he has reflected upon the honesty and integrity of the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEY in the chair). The Senator from New York will take his seat temporarily.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Minnesota that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order. [Putting the question.]

The "noes" appear to have it.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President—
Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota will state it.

Mr. HUMPHREY. May I find out whether or not, in view of the announcement by the Chair, it is possible to have a division?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is in order to request a division. The Chair announced that the "noes" appeared to have it.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I have suggested the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Fulbright	McClellan
Anderson	Gillette	McFarland
Bennett	Green	Moody
Benton	Hayden	Morse
Brewster	Hendrickson	Mundt
Bridges	Hennings	Murray
Butler, Md.	Hickenlooper	Neely
Butler, Nebr.	Hill	Nixon
Byrd	Hoey	O'Connor
Cain	Holland	O'Mahoney
Capehart	Humphrey	Robertson
Case	Jenner	Russell
Chavez	Johnson, Tex.	Seaton
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Smathers
Connally	Kem	Smith, Maine
Cordon	Kerr	Smith, N. J.
Dirksen	Kilgore	Sparkman
Douglas	Knowland	Stennis
Dworshak	Langer	Thye
Eastland	Lehman	Tobey
Eaton	Lodge	Underwood
Ellender	Magnuson	Welker
Ferguson	Maybank	Williams
Frear	McCarthy	Young

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] that the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN] be permitted to proceed in order.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan will state it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is it possible for me to request that the Senate now allow the Senator from New York to continue in debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan can submit such a request.

Mr. FERGUSON. I ask unanimous consent that at this time, following the quorum call, the Senator from New York be allowed to continue in debate.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, although I do not intend to object, I wish to join in the request of the distinguished Senator from Michigan that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? If there is no objection, the Senator from New York may proceed—

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, as a matter of fact I had concluded my remarks when the Senator from California made his motion.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I did not make the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan made the motion.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes; I should have said the Senator from Michigan made the motion. However, believing the motion to be most unfair, I declined to state that I yielded the floor.

I shall be glad to yield the floor if the Senator from Michigan will withdraw his motion that I take my seat, for I do not believe I said anything which would justify the motion of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I feel that the request that the Senator from New York take his seat was entirely proper and justified under the circumstances.

However, at this time I desire that the Senator from New York may proceed in order, because I, as well as other Senators, am entitled to hear his debate. Therefore, the motion having been voted on once, I now ask that it be withdrawn—not that it was not justified, but for the reason that we ought to hear the Senator's discussion at this time.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state the inquiry.

Mr. GILLETTE. There is pending before the Senate, is there not, a motion by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] to allow the Senator from New York to proceed in order? That motion was put by the Presiding Officer. Following a voice vote, the Presiding Officer stated that the "noes" appeared to have it. At that point the proceedings were interrupted for a quorum call. A quorum call having been had, what is now pending before the Senate is the motion of the Senator from Minnesota to allow the Senator from New York to proceed in order. Is that not true?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate has a right to vote upon that motion if it so desires.

Mr. GILLETTE. That is the pending question.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I ask for a division.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] has asked unanimous consent that the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN] be permitted to proceed in order; but if the Senate desires to vote upon the motion of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], that is in order.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state the inquiry.

Mr. McFARLAND. I thought the last request was for permission to withdraw the motion. The Senator from Michigan asked unanimous consent to withdraw his motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan now make that request?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan at this time asks unanimous consent to withdraw his motion, in order that we may proceed with the debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETTE. No, Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state the inquiry.

Mr. GILLETTE. What motion does the Senator from Michigan ask to have withdrawn?

Mr. FERGUSON. The motion to require the Senator from New York to take his seat.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, if the Chair thinks—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair state the situation? The Senator from Michigan made a point of order that the Senator from New York was not in order. Under the rules of the Senate, the Chair was required to request the Senator from New York to take his seat temporarily. The Senator from Minnesota then moved that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order. The Chair put the question. The Chair then announced that the "noes" appear to have it, thus leaving the matter open. Demand was made, first, for a yeas-and-nays vote. That demand was withheld. The absence of a quorum was then suggested. The motion of the Senator from Minnesota is still pending before the Senate. Of course, the Senate, by unanimous consent, may do anything it desires in that respect, but in the absence of some unanimous-consent agreement the Senate would have to vote on that motion.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GILLETTE. The request of the Senator from Michigan that he be permitted to withdraw a motion is not a proper one, since he made no motion. He called the Senator from New York to order, under the rule, and the Senator from New York took his seat, under instruction from the Chair. The Senator from Michigan has no motion pending. The only thing he did was to make the point of order under the rule. Is not that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Iowa demands the regular order, the question is upon the motion of the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator from Iowa demands the regular order.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I request a division.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order?

Mr. CAIN rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is not debatable.

Mr. LEHMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CAIN. Would it be proper to have the clerk read those portions of the statement of the Senator from New York in which he cast aspersions upon the Senator from California?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington wish that read upon the motion that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order?

Mr. CAIN. The Senator from Washington would appreciate its being read, in order that he and perhaps other Senators might be guided by the actual references to the Senator from California, which a number of Senators, not being present, were of course unable to hear.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state the inquiry.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I hope the Presiding Officer will bear with me. The Senator from Washington may not have been in the Chamber when the Senator from California joined with the Senator from Michigan in a request that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order. I hope that the Senator from New York may be allowed to proceed in order, for such other remarks as he may have. I did not suggest that he take his seat, and, while I might differ with the remarks of the Senator from New York, I certainly want to join in proceeding to disentangle the situation in which the Senate finds itself at this moment.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, in view of that explanation, I withdraw my request that the statement of the Senator from New York be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is whether the Senator from New York shall be permitted to proceed in order.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I ask for a division.

Mr. LEHMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEHMAN (when his name was called). Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be excused from voting.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from New York is excused from voting.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the Board of Visitors to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of a death in his family.

Mr. BRIDGES. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Massachu-

setts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Ives], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER], the Senators from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPFEL and Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] are detained on official business.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 71, nays 0, as follows:

YEAS—71

Aiken	Fulbright	McFarland
Anderson	Gillette	Moody
Bennett	Green	Morse
Benton	Hayden	Mundt
Brewster	Hendrickson	Murray
Bridges	Hennings	Neely
Butler, Md.	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Butler, Nebr.	Hill	O'Connor
Byrd	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Cain	Holland	Robertson
Capehart	Humphrey	Russell
Case	Jenner	Seaton
Chavez	Johnson, Tex.	Smathers
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Smith, Maine
Connally	Kem	Smith, N. J.
Cordon	Kerr	Sparkman
Dirksen	Kilgore	Stennis
Douglas	Knowland	Thye
Dworshak	Langer	Tobey
Eastland	Lodge	Underwood
Ecton	Magnuson	Welker
Ellender	Maybank	Williams
Ferguson	McCarthy	Young
Frear	McClellan	

NOT VOTING—25

Bricker	Lehman	Pastore
Carlson	Long	Saltonstall
Duff	Malone	Schoepfel
Flanders	Martin	Smith, N. C.
George	McCarran	Taft
Hunt	McKellar	Watkins
Ives	McMahon	Wiley
Johnson, Colo.	Millikin	
Kefauver	Monroney	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 71; there are no nays. The motion is agreed to, and the Senator from New York may proceed in order. Does the Senator from New York wish to be recognized?

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I had completed my remarks before the point of order was made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], but I had not yielded the floor finally. I now wish to yield the floor.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the question of the amendments to the appropriation bill, involves of course, much more than the mere dollars and cents in the appropriation. What we are really talking about, which I think has been well stated by those on both sides of the question, is the authority of the President to seize the steel mills; but even more important is the question, What could the President have done in this critical period of emergency?

Mr. President, I propose to speak for a few moments on some of the facts and circumstances which led up to this most unfortunate incident of the seizure of a vast amount of private property, namely, the steel mills which are spread out from one end of America to the other. I am sure that once we get the proper perspective with reference to the question we may have a little better view.

It was in December of 1950 that the United Steel Workers of America, CIO,

and the steel-mill owners and operators entered into a contractual agreement following a substantial period of collective bargaining and also recommendations of a number of Government conciliators in connection with the wage contract of December 1950.

That is the first fact we need to know. The wage contract of December 1950 is the only wage contract which the steel workers have had with the steel-mill owners and operators since that time. That is a fact which cannot be ignored in the present difficulty.

The second fact is that the United Steel Workers of America, CIO, gave notice in November 1951, of their desire for a new contract with the steel companies, at the expiration of the contract on December 31, 1951. They gave the notice because of what we all know to be the rise in the cost of living, and there had been no adjustment whatsoever in their wages or their working conditions or their benefits, such as health and welfare funds, since December 1950.

Fact No. 3 is that since December 1950 to the present hour there has been no change whatsoever in the wages or working conditions, or in what we call the fringe benefits, as applied to the steel workers. However, supporting that fact, there have been increases in the price of steel. From December 1951 to the present time, the steel workers and the management have been negotiating in an effort to arrive at a new contract. This has been testified to before a committee of the Congress. Hours and hours and weeks and weeks, yes, months, have been spent in deliberation, conciliation, mediation, and collective bargaining. Three times the United Steel Workers of America postponed a strike, which is a legitimate weapon of a union.

Fact No. 4, Mr. President, is that during the period of these postponements of strikes, approximately 100 days elapsed.

Fact No. 5 is that in December 1951, the President of the United States had taken into consideration, according to the testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the institution of Taft-Hartley injunction proceedings, in order to keep workers on the job so that steel production could be maintained. After consultation with his advisers, the President decided against that, primarily because injunction proceedings would have interrupted the production processes of the steel industry. Also, he decided against use of a Taft-Hartley injunction because it would have made it difficult to arrive at an amicable and equitable settlement between the parties.

So, with the hope ever eternal in the eyes and in the heart of the Government, the President of the United States and his advisers in the United States Conciliation Service, hoped that they would be able to get an agreement. It was only in the last hour of the last day, when all other efforts had failed, that seizure of the mills took place.

Mr. President, why do I recite this background? It is factual and could be stated in much more detail, but I have given the important steps. I cite it because the question is not whether we

like seizure or not. Frankly, I do not like it. I have said so again and again. The question is, What could have been done in that hour, on the 8th day of April, I believe, at midnight, to keep production of steel going full blast? Already furnaces were being cooled. I desire to cite as a part of the evidence that already management had started to cool the steel furnaces. Already they had reduced operations in preparation for what they considered to be an inevitable strike.

So the President as Commander in Chief, as Chief Executive of the United States, was faced with tremendous responsibilities for maintaining military assistance abroad, national preparedness at home, and the war in Korea. The President was faced with stark reality, not with opinion, not with some sort of academic discussion. He was faced with the reality of a cessation of steel production. What could he have done? Only one of two things. Let us quit kidding ourselves into believing that he could have done anything else. He could have done one of two things. Two means of action were open to him.

My colleague and friend, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], has pointed out that the President could have possibly used a different means of approach; that he could have called in more people, or could have possibly come to Congress on the question of seizure, or could have done many other things. But there were two ultimate methods open to the President. One was to resort to the Taft-Hartley law injunction process, under title II of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, as amended. The second alternative was seizure. Under what law? No statutory law. Under what powers, if any? Under article 2 of the Constitution of the United States, and under two sections of that article, one under his powers as the Executive, and one under his powers as Commander in Chief. I shall come to a discussion of that matter a little later. Those were the only two alternatives available to the President of the United States.

Let me repeat that months had gone into the negotiations and in efforts at conciliation. Let me repeat that agencies of the Government had been meeting in New York City with the steel companies and their managers and with the union and their representatives, and that top labor conciliators in America were working feverishly and ceaselessly in an effort to bring about a settlement.

Those efforts failed, and the President of the United States was confronted with the sad and unfortunate threat of a cessation of steel production in the midst of our defense program and in the midst of our efforts on the battlefields of the world.

I shall state what he could have done. We went over this ground on Friday of last week. Some people think he could have obtained an injunction from a Federal court under the Taft-Hartley Act. That is how simple some would make it. But I want the American people to know, and I would greatly appreciate having my friends in the press gallery

report this statement, that it would have been impossible for the President of the United States to have obtained an injunction to keep workers on the job even if he had worked at almost miracle speed. It would have been impossible.

The Senator from Oregon, whom I greatly respect as an expert in the field of law, and who is a former member of the War Labor Board, testified on the floor of the Senate on Friday last that obtaining such an injunction would have taken 3 weeks. I said 7 days. I am giving critics the benefit of the doubt. However, the number of days taken in other actions, according to the National Labor Relations Board, has been 9, indicating it would have been at least that long before the President could have obtained an injunction.

This country could not have afforded a cessation of steel production for 9 days. It could not have afforded such a stoppage extending over 5 days, or a week. Therefore, Mr. President, surely this Nation could not stand a cessation in the production of steel for 3 weeks, any more than it could stand 3 weeks of no traffic on our railroads.

So the President had to take some action. He seized the mills. Today the opposition says that the President should have used the Taft-Hartley injunction process. I want one of the Senators who are today complaining about the seizure of the mills to stand on this floor and explain to the junior Senator from Minnesota or to anyone else how the President could have applied the Taft-Hartley injunction process within less than a week and have had any steel. I challenge the opposition. I challenge them again and again.

I challenge the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], who have talked about a Taft-Hartley injunction, to come before the Senate and produce their evidence. I have heard their assertions and their charges. I want them to show my committee how, if any of them were the President, they could have abided by title II of the Labor-Management Relations Act and have been able to obtain an injunction in less than a week. If they could obtain an injunction in less than a week, they would be the speediest executives, or would-be executives, the world has ever known. It simply would not have been possible. I want them to come before the Senate and tell us what would have happened in America if steel production had been shut down for a week.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. In a moment. I want those Senators to come before the Senate and explain in intricate detail what a cooling of the furnaces would mean. I want them to explain how, once the furnaces had been cooled and production shut down, the steel furnaces could have been quickly restored to maximum production. I want them to give testimony before our committee. I want them to find out whether at the time the President was consulting with

the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Defense, with the facts he had before him, said it was vital that the steel mills be kept operating. The fact is that an officer of the United States Government testified before a standing committee of the Senate that the Secretary of Defense said it was imperative that there be not one moment of lag in steel production; that there be continuous production. The burden of proof rests upon those who are now attacking the President. The burden of proof rests upon those who today want to stop him dead in his tracks in keeping the steel mills operating.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] is now on the floor. I want the Senator from Michigan to tell the United States Senate how the President of the United States could have kept steel mills in operation by means of an injunction. I should like to have him tell us.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Will the Senator from Minnesota tell the Senate how the President will be able to have steel produced under his order if the men do not want to obey it? Naturally, if they would be reluctant to obey a court order, why say they would obey an illegal order of the President?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me say to the Senator that again he is in the right chamber, but he is in the wrong argument. I am not saying that steel workers would not obey an injunction. I am simply saying that the processes of law make it impossible to obtain such an injunction in less than a week. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], on the other side of the aisle, said it would require 3 weeks. The record shows that the average time required is 9 days.

What was the alternative of the President?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is the Senator from Minnesota familiar with the length of time required actually to present to a court a proper petition under the Taft-Hartley law, and obtain an injunction?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Minnesota is very familiar with it, and I shall now help the Senator from Michigan by telling him that before any such petition can be presented to a court there must be appointed, first, a fact-finding board, which must ascertain the facts. I am sure that the Senator from Michigan wants all the facts carefully weighed. He does not want the decision to be made on the basis of prejudice. He wants it made impartially and objectively. I am sure that he is fully aware of the fact that there were literally months of testimony and negotiations between the steel companies and the CIO. I am sure the Senator knows that the Wage Stabilization Board has many volumes of facts upon which to base its judgments. So all I am saying is that the fact-finding board would at least have had the statutory legal duty of carefully

and impartially scrutinizing and analyzing the facts, and then making its findings available to the President of the United States.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has passed over the fact that the President could have used the Taft-Hartley law, which has been on the statute books for some time.

Mr. HUMPHREY. No. That is what the Senator from Minnesota is discussing.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator now contend that if Congress enacts a law the President does not have to follow the law if he is to proceed under that law? Would the Senator want Congress to enact a law to authorize seizure without any procedure at all, but giving the President the sole discretion to make an order seizing the steel plants?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is not what the Senator from Minnesota is saying. I am sorry the Senator from Michigan was not in the Chamber earlier. We are now talking about the Taft-Hartley law, which the Senator from Michigan discussed so eloquently—but without all the information. He discussed it eloquently, but he was not fully informed.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan understands the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. HUMPHREY. He did not understand in on Friday. He may have "boned up" over the week end, but he certainly did not understand it on Friday.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan understands it, and has always understood it, ever since it was enacted.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from Michigan may understand the law, but not the application thereof. That is exactly what the Senator from Minnesota is addressing himself to. If the Senator from Michigan will stay with us, we shall find out what the two alternatives were.

The two alternatives which were open to the President in the situation which the Senator from Minnesota has carefully reviewed were, first, a Taft-Hartley injunction; or, second, seizure. The only other choice would have been no production. I do not imagine that any Senator would want a situation in which there would be no production of steel.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. CASE. It does not seem to me that the Senator has described all the courses of action available to the President. If there were an emergency of the gravity which the President has suggested, he could have come before the Congress with a special message, as he did in the railway case some years ago, and asked for special legislation. He could have asked the Congress to join him in declaring an emergency, which would authorize seizure or whatever other procedure might grow out of the situation. It seems to me that the Senator is unduly circumscribing the President when he says that he could merely

seize, or operate under the Taft-Hartley law. He could have asked for new legislation. He could have asked the Congress to join with him in measuring the depth of the emergency.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from South Dakota. I remind him that negotiations in the steel strike were taking place as late as 11 o'clock on the night of April 8. Three times there had been a postponement of the strike. Frantic efforts had been made by the Conciliation Service and by members of the Wage Stabilization Board, which comprises some of America's finest arbitrators and negotiators in the field of labor-management relations.

The United States Senate was not in session at 11 o'clock on the night of April 8. Even if it had been, we could not have passed a bill in less than 15 minutes. Once the steelworkers had walked out on strike great damage would have been done to the production program.

Surely we would not have had the time to draft intricate legislation in less than 24 hours. I hope we shall never legislate in that manner.

I am simply pointing out two alternatives. One was an injunction. I say that every fair-minded man should know that the injunction procedure would not have been applicable in this situation at that late hour. The record also shows, in connection with injunctions under the Taft-Hartley law, that during the time such an injunction is in effect it wholly stops collective bargaining. During the time the Taft-Hartley injunction is in effect against the workers collective bargaining is suspended.

Furthermore, under title II of the Labor-Management Relations Act, the fact-finding board has no powers of recommendation. It has no power of conciliation. The fact-finding board has one power only, and that is to find the facts, and leave the mess. That is the only power it has.

It is interesting that no one seems to be alarmed over the possibility that an injunction might have been used. Against whom would the injunction have applied? Not against management, of course, in this instance, but against the workers. Seizure is, in effect, an injunction against both. It denies to the worker the right to strike in the particular situation; and for a temporary period of time it denies to the employer full prerogatives in the management of his business. It does not deny profits or dividends. It does not take the managers out of their managerial positions.

I repeat that no one in his right mind wants to see seizure established as a pattern. But I wish to take up the argument where the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN] and the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] left it.

I was astounded to hear on this floor the insinuation that the procedures which were being followed by President Truman were within the framework of the procedures which had been followed by Chancellor Bruening, of the Weimar Republic in Germany, which had set the precedent for Hitler when he came into power. There is only one deduction anyone can draw from such an analogy,

and that is that Bruening set precedents which put Hitler in power. The conclusion sought to be drawn is that Chancellor Bruening of Germany under the Weimar Republic, by his actions in the emergency, under the state-of-siege powers contained in article 65 or article 68, if my memory serves me correctly, of the Weimar Constitution, established precedents which placed Hitler in power.

All I can say is that that is a fine assertion, but it is very poor history. It is one thing to make an assertion, but it is another thing to get the right answer. Anyone who has ever corrected papers in school knows that many answers are put down which are wrong. This is another wrong answer.

Any alleged relationship between Mr. Bruening and Mr. Truman vis-à-vis Hitler is nothing more nor less than some kind of partisan coincidence. Mr. Truman has seized the steel mills. Chancellor Bruening, under emergency powers in the German Republic, seized some mills, but that is not what brought Hitler into power. The thing that brought Hitler into power was the fact that the German Republic failed to take action when it needed to take action against some of those who were going about the land marauding and destroying the government. It was not the action of the Chancellor of the Weimar Republic which destroyed the republic, but it was the inaction of the government which permitted the republic to be destroyed.

Furthermore, let me say to my friend from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], who is not now present in the Chamber, that Hitler took power in Germany not by seizing any steel mills, but by seizing the Ministry of Police. There was the coalition government with Von Papen. Then in the elections Nazi storm troopers brutally beat and assaulted the electorate and the citizenry. The polls were rigged. Then there were the purges of June 1934. That was a tragic chapter in the history of the world. It ought not to be used, on the floor of the Senate, in referring to a function of our Government in this critical hour, when we are fighting for freedom, when we are leading the world in the struggle for freedom, and when steel is as vital to the preservation of freedom today as are men themselves.

With all the hue and cry about the seizure of steel mills, is it not interesting that we have not heard a word spoken on the floor of the Senate on the subject of the extension by the Department of Defense of the enlistment period of 125,000 young men by 9 months?

Did the critics of the President's action have anything to say about that? Over the week end it was announced—and I thought that surely some of my critics and friends would say something about it—that the enlistment period had been extended. I felt sure that the statement would be made: "Look what they are doing to the boys in the military forces." Oh, no. They are not saying anything about that. They have their minds on the steel mills.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; the Senator from Minnesota does not yield at this point. This is not the first time the Government of the United States has extended the enlistment period and has taken the bodies of men and has said to them, "You are going to stay in the service and you are going to go here or go there under the powers given to the Commander in Chief under the Constitution."

It seems to me, so long as such a hue and cry is made about executive usurpation of power, we should put it on a basis that makes some sense.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, I yield.

Mr. CASE. Does the Senator from Minnesota suggest that it was an executive usurpation of power by which the enlistment period was extended?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Oh, no.

Mr. CASE. It was done under law.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Nor do I think that what the President did in the steel case was a usurpation of power.

Mr. CASE. What the Senator from South Dakota suggested awhile ago was that if we are confronted with an emergency which calls for action of this sort the problem should be submitted to Congress. I submit that there was greater violence done to the institutions and traditions of America by the President's action than would have resulted by way of damage to America by not producing steel for a few days. It would have been far safer to have done things in a proper way than to have acted as the President did.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I may say that, in view of his justifiable concern over property rights, the Senator from South Dakota should suggest that if there were such a great emergency as to require an extension of the terms of service of the men who enlisted for specific periods of time, perhaps the President should ask Congress for the power to extend enlistments.

Mr. CASE. That action was taken under law.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator from South Dakota does not ask for that, but he says that in the case of the steel crisis such a great emergency was involved that the President should have come to Congress. The President did not come to Congress. He acted on what he thought was on behalf of the best interests of the country. I am not saying that the procedure was right. I am saying that he was confronted with a fact. I say that the situation caused by the impending steel strike could have been handled in two ways—and I still ask anyone to suggest a third way—one by seizure, and the other by injunction.

This point has been mentioned again and again, and there has been much talk about the President's usurping powers. We have had to listen to a recital of a great deal of constitutional history. Some people have been paraphrasing the

Constitution. I think I shall read some of it.

I am willing to base my interpretation of the Constitution upon the words contained in it. I should also like to mention what a great Republican, the candidate for President in 1916, said. He said: "The Constitution is what the judges say it is." Not what the Senate says, but what the judges say. The Constitution is what the judges say it is. Ultimately questions of constitutional law and questions of powers under the Constitution can be decided only by the United States Supreme Court or by the people themselves.

What does article II of the Constitution say? It says:

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.

Mr. President, I have heard a great deal said today about the Bill of Rights, particularly the tenth amendment. The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] referred to the tenth amendment to the Constitution. He said that it contained certain limitations and certain restrictions, and that those limitations and restrictions were designed to restrict and restrain any action on the part of Congress or the President which was not specified in the powers given to Congress or to the President. What does the tenth amendment say? It says:

The powers not delegated—

I ask Senators to listen to this—

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

There is nothing contained in that amendment with reference to specific powers. It says:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution—

I am sure that we in this body are sufficiently wise and informed to know that under the interstate commerce clause of article I of the Constitution the Supreme Court has interpreted the meaning of the clause very broadly and over a wide area. Under the interstate commerce clause the National Labor Relations Act and a host of other legislation was enacted which 50 or 100 years ago could not possibly have been enacted under the interstate commerce clause. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the interstate commerce clause encompasses such legislation.

The Constitution is what Mr. Hughes said it was, namely, that it is what the judges say it is, not what the Senate says it is.

I have also heard comment today about the fact that the President was trying to intimidate us with his message. It was said that he was trying to bring pressure to bear upon us, and that that was beyond his prerogative.

Section 3 of article II says:

He—

The President—

shall from time to time to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such

measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

This is an order in the Constitution to the President to submit information to Congress. It is an order to the President to send messages such as he has sent today. It is an order to the President of the United States to suggest that we may want legislation in certain fields.

Mr. President, I submit that no man on the floor of the Senate is competent by background, training, or experience—nor has there ever been any such man—to be able to give full interpretation of what is meant by Executive power. The term "Executive power" is subject to interpretation, understanding, and adaptation. The term "Executive power" not only includes the term as used in the Constitution but includes also the historical meanings and connotations of the term. It goes back all the way into the great area of international law. The Executive power in international relations is interpreted broadly. The Executive power in domestic affairs is likewise interpreted year by year more broadly.

By the way, Mr. President, I think there are Senators in this body who, as students of history, will remember that when President Andrew Jackson under his Executive power removed three Secretaries of the Treasury the Senate said it was unconstitutional and that it would destroy representative government. They called Andrew Jackson King Andrew and Dictator Andrew. They called any President who ever amounted to anything in the history of our country in terms of public welfare a dictator, king, or something worse. History books are filled with the vitriolic venom of those who abused Thomas Jefferson, of those who abused Andrew Jackson, of those who abused Abraham Lincoln, of those who abused Woodrow Wilson, and of those who abused and still abuse Franklin D. Roosevelt; and now they are after Harry Truman.

The fact of the matter is that Presidents in our history who were men of great honor, distinction, vision, and perspective are those who suffered injustice and slurs and attacks. They were Presidents who had the vision to see what was ahead.

Frequently Presidents of the United States have had to take action in order to protect the Republic and to defend the Constitution, and they have taken action under the shortest article, if my memory serves me correctly, in the Constitution, which is article II.

There were three basic articles in the original Constitution. The first article referred to the legislature, the second article referred to the executive, and the third article referred to the judiciary.

Mr. President, if you read article III, referring to the judiciary, you will find very little language which gives powers to the Court which it now seems to possess. Likewise, if you read article II, you will find very little language in it which gives powers to the President he now seems to have.

Is there anything in article II about the President being able to enter into a gentlemen's agreement? Is there anything in article II which gives the President the vast political power he now exercises?

Mr. President, the great story of the American Constitution is the story of the development of the powers of the Office of the Executive.

I remind this august body that the Chief Executive is elected by the people. That is a neat differentiation between the Chief Executive of the United States and a king or a dictator or a monarch abroad. The Chief Executive of the United States is subject to the vote of the people. I repeat what the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN] said on this floor earlier, and what I said last week: If anyone thinks the present President or any other President is guilty of malfeasance in office or is guilty of usurpation of power or is guilty of violating his constitutional obligations and responsibilities, that person knows what to do, namely, impeach the President instead of merely debating about him. Let articles of impeachment be filed against the President, if that is the case.

However, articles of impeachment will not be filed, because no man who is honest with himself can say that he knows precisely whether the President has violated the Constitution. Some persons may have a feeling that the President has violated the Constitution, but feelings are not sufficient. There is only one place where this great constitutional issue can finally be resolved, and that is in the Supreme Court of the United States, which is where it will be resolved.

Let me remind my colleagues that this is not the first time this question has arisen. I should like to know how many of the present Members of the Senate were on the floor of the Senate in 1943 when President Roosevelt seized what is known as the Pee Wee Coal Co.? It was seized by the United States Government. Let me hasten to add, before I am asked to yield, that that company was not seized under the War Labor Disputes Act. It was merely seized, just as the steel mills were seized.

Listen to this statement regarding the seizure of the Pee Wee Coal Co.:

The Pee Wee Coal Co. seizure occurred on May 1, 1943, before the War Labor Disputes Act had been passed by Congress, for it became effective on June 25, 1943.

The seizure order did not mention any particular law of the Nation. Here is what President Roosevelt said when he seized that coal company:

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, it is hereby ordered—

And then the Pee Wee Coal Co. was seized.

Mr. President, the present case is not to be confused with the United Mine Workers case, which was before the Supreme Court. In that case the mines were seized under the Smith-Connally Act. However, in the Pee Wee Coal Co.

case the mine was seized under the powers of the President, as he saw them, under the Constitution and as Commander in Chief. Therefore, Mr. President, what has happened in the present instance is not unprecedented.

The Department of Justice filed a rather substantial brief before the Court. The brief is 69 pages long. In it there is a lengthy discussion of the entire subject matter of seizure and the power of the President to seize.

Mr. President, at the time when the Smith-Connally Act was being debated Representative DIRKSEN—a Member of the House of Representatives at that time and now the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois—contended that the bill was unnecessary. I quote now from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at page 5974, Representative DIRKSEN, now Senator DIRKSEN, speaking:

Secondly, let me submit to you that the Commander in Chief who can occupy Iceland with the troops of the United States and advise Congress of this action 6 days later does not need any legislation to occupy a plant in the United States of America. He has done it once and he can do it again. Surely no proponent of the pending bill will arise to confess that what the President did before in California was or is illegal.

I think it is also interesting to note that the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on several occasions described the object of the Smith-Connally bill, stating:

There is no explicit and definite provision in any statutory enactment authorizing the taking over of plants on account of labor disturbances. The authority heretofore exercised has been the general power of the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and such subsidiary powers as were derived from the War Powers Act. The Second War Powers Act carries a clause with regard to condemnation, under which the Government may take over temporarily any plant or property, but even that does not carry the specific authority. It was my thought that, regardless of the legal technicalities involved, it would be a wholesome thing for the Congress of the United States specifically, and in direct language, to authorize the President to do these things, and to confirm and ratify, if necessary, what the President has done and let the country know that the Congress is squarely behind the President.

Let me say to the Senator, these matters have never reached the courts. They may reach the courts in view of some Senators who are against the invasion of private property. If they do reach the courts, I want the law to be so clear and so explicit and plain that the actions will be maintained by the court.

So we see that at the time of congressional action on the Smith-Connally bill, the President had been engaging in seizure and had been taking certain positive actions in that connection, under his powers as Commander in Chief. However, the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] wanted then what I want now, namely, to have those powers spelled out expressly.

Mr. President, I shall conclude by saying that I am not befuddled about the

issue in this case. Let me say quite frankly that it is very interesting and amusing to me to note that, when an amendment pertaining to seizure of the steel industry is submitted, seizure of the railroads is neatly excused. However, one who is opposed to seizure of the steel mills should also be opposed to seizure of the railroads. After all, the railroads of the United States have been seized; and, following seizure, there has been rate increase after rate increase, even though some persons would scream bloody murder if the steel workers received a wage increase after the steel mills have been seized by the United States Government. Yet the railroads have been seized and have been operated by the United States Government for well more than 1 year.

So, Mr. President, if we are going to put an end to Government seizure of the steel mills, let us also put an end to Government seizure of the railroads. However, if that happens, and if private relationships are restored to the railroad industry, the railroad engineers and conductors and firemen—without whom it is impossible to operate a railroad, for they cannot be operated by someone sitting in an office in New York City—will not go back to work until their grievance is settled. That is an old American custom, and we believe in the freedom of the individual. If the Government attempts to obtain an injunction some time will be required to obtain it, and in the meantime the railroads will have ceased to operate. In view of that fact, the Government has seized the railroads, in the hope that the dispute may be amicably settled. So I point out that there is a weakness in seizure. In the railroad dispute many things can be done to clarify the situation.

If the Senate is going to adopt the pending amendment, literally forbidding the Government to seize the steel mills, let the Congress do the same thing with respect to the railroads. Yet, no one has mentioned that.

Mr. President, this issue has become a hot, controversial one, with much publicity in the newspapers and over the radio. The steel companies evidently have made up their mind that they are going to jam down the Government's throat their demand for an increase in the price of steel. However, the steel companies have talked for the most part, not about the price of steel, but about the terrible thing the Government has done in seizing the steel mills.

Mr. President, do you know how we can put an end at once to that seizure? That can be done by having the steel companies and the steel-company workers sit down and agree to a settlement. However, the steel companies want an increase of \$12 a ton in the price of steel. They do not deserve such an increase; and if it is granted to them it will be robbing and hijacking the people of the United States.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me at this point?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator from Minnesota object to my using another

figure of speech to describe the conduct of the steel mills if they receive the requested \$12-a-ton increase in the price of steel? I call it economic rape of the people.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The phrase used by the Senator from Oregon is apropos, accurate, and painful.

Mr. President, let me say that when this issue arose and this great controversy began, what we heard about were the collective bargaining differences. We heard about wages and hours of labor and prices. The simple fact of the matter is that now the steel companies have stopped talking about prices, and now even the Government is intimating that a settlement may be reached with an increase of \$5 or \$6 in the price of steel. If that is done, Mr. President, it will constitute a "sell out," according to the evidence which was developed and according to the statements and the evidence of the Iron and Steel Institute itself.

Certainly we are going to talk about the legitimacy of the President's seizure order. But I repeat that if the steel companies would leave it up to the Office of Price Stabilization to do for them what the automobile plants have been willing to have done, what the packing houses have been willing to have done, what the farm-machinery producers have been willing to have done, and what General Electric has been willing to have done—if the steel companies would sit down with the union representatives to bargain about their contract, regardless of the prices of steel, which would be adjusted under the law, there would be no strike, and there would be no prejudice.

The difficulty can be settled; but unfortunately, what has happened has created a great backdrop, and there must be a period of orientation for the American people. They are not going to be convinced that the only way by which this strike can be settled is to give in to the greatest monopolists of America, monopolists who ought to be prosecuted under the Sherman Antitrust Act, instead of being sympathized with. I understand, Mr. President, that such a case is now in the Department of Justice. I want to know why the Department of Justice is not busy prosecuting them. Pittsburgh plus. When did the steel industry get to be the Puritan of competitive enterprise? We had before the Senate not long ago a bill known as the basing-point bill. The steel industry is now talking about freedom. Freedom for whom? There is not an industry in America which has practiced more monopolistic practices than has the steel industry, in violation of the law of the lands. They have been before the courts heretofore, and their emissaries are now in Washington trying to disrupt the entire machinery of the stabilization program. Some persons have been giving them a helping hand.

Yes, Mr. President, every public member of the Wage Stabilization Board has been assailed—every one of them. Yet what is the record of these men? The public members of that Board are men of character, they are men of experience, they are men of background, they are

men of intellect, of honor, and of integrity. The public members of this Wage Stabilization Board have served industry after industry in America with honor and respect and fairness. But Mr. Randall, of Inland Steel, rose to say they were on the CIO payroll. He simply did not tell the truth. He merely told half of it. He told a half truth, Mr. President, which is worse than the big lie. Certainly Mr. Feinsinger was on the payroll of the CIO, but also on the payroll of management, because as an arbitrator, management and labor split the cost. What kind of half-truths are these, discrediting the whole program of stabilization, discrediting the whole Wage Stabilization Board, saying that it is nothing but a political payoff, saying that these public members are only the pawns of labor, and are being used by the President to do the bidding of the CIO? Shame on them for talking like that.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. The statement of the Senator regarding a half-truth is confirmed by reference to the poem of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, entitled "The Grandmother," in which he said, "That a lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies."

Does the Senator not agree?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I assuredly do, and I thank the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. President, I am merely checking the record. I should like to give the background of a few of the members of the Wage Stabilization Board, because this is all part of the issue. Let us not deceive ourselves with the idea that this is of little moment. The amendment is but a symbol of the real issue. The real issue is the controversy, not between the union and the steel companies but between the steel companies and the United States. That is the controversy. It is the question of whether they are going to get a new price increase, of whether we are going to build a backdrop of prejudice and misinformation which will compel the Government to yield to the pressure tactics of the steel companies. That is what the issue is, and they are making a big one of it. Some people are becoming weak-kneed.

I am a little dubious about the talk I hear of a nice, amicable settlement. Some want to settle before the fight has even begun, but I am of opinion that much of the talk which is being heard about impeaching the President for usurpation of power and because he has acted illegally is only a part of an effort to discredit the policy and the program now being followed to obtain an equitable settlement in this case.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator from Minnesota agree with me that if those who are talking of impeaching the President would go ahead with their impeachment proceedings we would at least then be able to get to the Ameri-

can people all the facts in regard to this case?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator, from Oregon is eminently correct. I may say to him that, in his usual candor and frankness, he has put his finger exactly upon the point. Let those who think the President ought to be impeached inaugurate impeachment proceedings. If articles of impeachment were adopted by the House, the Senate would sooner or later sit as a court, Senators could then put on robes, as judges, and have their day to settle this issue.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a brief observation?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Of course, in my opinion no basis for impeachment exists, but I say very seriously that I hope those who are advocating impeachment will initiate impeachment proceedings, the procedures for which are all outlined for them in the Constitution of the United States. Let us get on with it. I think we should then be able to focus the attention of the American people on what really is involved in this case. The American people again would see that there are great forces in this country who would like to subordinate the Government of the United States to the economic dictates of great monopolistic enterprises in America.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from Oregon. He has made a nice legal analysis of the problem before us, a most thoughtful and provocative presentation. I have often hesitated even to quote from some of the legal documents which are to be found on my desk because of the Senator's own brilliant analysis of those papers and documents. I do not claim to be an expert in the law. I do claim, however, to be able to see what some of the facts are. I have watched this program develop. I have watched and noted how carefully through the weeks and the months when they were postponing a strike, the newspapers were filled with comment after comment on the part of steel companies' sleek public relations experts, who fed out material until the public mind became poisoned. Never was there a word said against the Wage Stabilization Board, until the Wage Stabilization Board submitted its recommendations. That is all they are—recommendations. Then, all at once, the Wage Stabilization Board turned in to a CIO pawn, turned into a political pay-off for the President of the United States. Mr. President, I think such a suggestion is nothing short of scandalous.

I submit that there are no finer men in the field of labor-management relations in America than those who serve as public members of the Wage Stabilization Board. There may be some of less standing than the one and only William Leiserson though he, too, has been picked on when the steel companies did not agree with him. There may be others—some in this body—with great experience who have criticized the Board; but these men are competent. Mr. President, listen to something of their background.

Mr. Feinsinger, for example, happens to be the arbitrator for a large steel plant in my State, the Honeywell Co.—not a small plant, but a large one, doing critical work for the Government, one of the finest plants in America. By the way, he is paid by both the union and the management to settle any differences. He is highly respected, and, what is more, the Wage Stabilization Board recommendations would still leave the U. S. Steel behind the pay schedule and the working conditions of the plant in Minneapolis, Minn.

It is fair to say that the wage levels and the working conditions and the fringe benefits in the large steel plants today are less than they are in comparable industry. This is documented. It is fair to say that General Electric, itself, has submitted statements to its own workers, in which it was said that even if all the Wage Stabilization Board recommendations were given by the company, and were agreed to, the General Electric workers would still be ahead of the steel workers.

The Senator from Oregon spoke in righteous indignation concerning the profits of the steel companies. How I wish every Senator could have heard the former Governor of Georgia, Mr. Arnall, testify from charts, graphs, and documents concerning the figures, buttressed by the Federal Trade Commission and by the Iron and Steel Institute, the companies' own research body. They have stopped talking about profits. They are now talking about seizure, and they have a great many allies. They are going to try to drive the Government of the United States out of the case. But before that is done, we shall be burdened with an increase in the price of steel far beyond any reasonable limits, far beyond what the steel companies deserve, far beyond what the Government should grant, because the Government will be browbeaten.

That is what is going on, Mr. President. The companies are browbeating the Government. I am a member of the Government, too, so I shall stand up for the public interest. It is not the constitutionality of the President's seizure order that will be settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. We can settle every legislative question by reporting a bill, which I trust and hope will be reported by a legislative committee; but this debate is over a matter of public policy, a debate which is far beyond a constitutional question. It is an economic question.

Mr. President, if there is any group of industries in America that has a bad record in terms of a competitive economic system, it is the steel industry that has had the "Pittsburgh plus," basing points, fixed prices, regulated production, and, besides that, more than two and one-half billion dollars' worth of gifts from the American people in the past 18 months in tax amortization certificates. Who are they to be complaining?

Mr. President, I mentioned the Wage Stabilization Board and its members. I have a list of the members, and I should like to go through them. I mentioned

Mr. Feinsinger. He served as special assistant to the attorney general of the State of Wisconsin, functioning as general counsel for the first Wisconsin Labor Relations Board. He has taught labor law at the University of Wisconsin since 1937. In 1940 he served as a special agent for the National Defense Mediation Board in the settlement of various critical labor disputes. Beginning in 1942, he was associated with the National War Labor Board in various capacities, including the capacity of associate general counsel, alternate public member, and then, finally, a public member of that Board.

He served for a time as Director of National Disputes, including steel and coal and other major industries. In 1946 he served as Chairman of the Steel Fact Finding Board, which was not obliged to hold any hearings. The case was settled without any hearings or recommendations by that Board.

Subsequently he served various departments of Government, particularly in the west-coast longshore and maritime disputes and the Hawaiian longshore, pineapple, and sugar disputes.

When did he become such a "no-good"? Did anyone ever say any unkind words about him when he was on the Wage Stabilization Board?

He served as an arbitrator for a number of companies and unions, including General Motors, Allis-Chalmers, Minneapolis-Honeywell, Consolidated Vultee, and their respective AFL, CIO, or independent unions.

He wrote a text on labor law.

This is the man, Mr. President, who is said to be biased. This is a man who is playing into the hands of the union—a man who has literally collapsed from fatigue.

Yes, Mr. President, each and every one of the members of the Board have been "taken apart."

Then there is Mr. John Dunlap, a public member of the Board, a Harvard professor, who has been hired as an arbitrator in various disputes in the field of construction, a man who has an eminent record as an impartial arbitrator. He, too, is under attack.

There are other members of the Wage Stabilization Board, all of whom have been subject to the same relentless attack in order to discredit them.

I conclude, Mr. President, by saying that the issue in this case is not the Ferguson amendment. The issue is not the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. The issue is whether the American people are to be compelled, because of a type of political and economic intimidation, to pay exorbitant prices for steel and make it possible for the steel companies to obtain huge profits, unprecedented profits, in a period of national crisis, as the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] so well stated, at a time when we are calling upon men for service and upon many of them to die.

The constitutional issue was raised in connection with the Social Security Act, with the Child Labor Act, and on other legislation of that kind. And now the opposition comes forward saying, "We

are going to break down the whole stabilization machinery if the Government of the United States continues to act as it is acting."

If we adopt these amendments, we should know what we are doing. We will have trouble. We will deny the executive branch of the Government the right to protect the public interest. We will deny the executive branch of the Government an opportunity to keep steel in production, and we will leave this country with a dispute, the like of which we have not had for a long time. I repeat there will be trouble. There can well be a strike. If there is a strike, the Senate of the United States will have to accept its responsibility for having instigated a renewal of the controversy, because, today production is in process, and management and labor are trying to work out a settlement. But the Senate of the United States says, "Leave it to us; we will settle it. We will deny the Government of the United States the necessary funds to keep alive the processes of production."

If that happens, the Senate will bear the blame and the burden for the disruption of production in an essential industry. The Senate will be performing the most unpatriotic act that has ever been performed by a legislative body. I plead with my colleagues not to fall into the trap of an amendment that can do such terrible things to the future well-being of our Nation.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I wonder if the Senator would clarify some features of the Taft-Hartley law, particularly sections 206, 207, 208, 209, and 210 dealing with threatened strikes. Is the understanding of the Senator from Illinois correct that up until the time a board of inquiry has made a report, the Attorney General may not ask for an injunction?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is absolutely correct. A board of inquiry must first be appointed to obtain evidence. Once it has gotten the evidence, it must analyze it and make a report to the President of the United States.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Only after the report has been received can the President direct the Attorney General to apply for an injunction?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct. It is presumed that the court would not automatically grant the petition. It has to be assumed that the court would measure the sufficiency of the complaint on the part of the Government, and grant an injunction if the facts were sufficient.

Mr. DOUGLAS. If an injunction is granted, the strike is delayed only for 80 days. Is that correct?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. At the end of the 80 days, the union would be free to strike?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The strike could be renewed. That has happened in some instances.

Mr. DOUGLAS. So that the maximum delay which the Government could obtain under the Taft-Hartley law would be 80 days.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is the maximum delay.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it not true, as the Senator from Minnesota outlined in the early part of his speech, that by voluntary methods the Government was able to obtain a delay in the threatened strike from the first of January until the 8th of April?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct. Up to the time of the seizure I think it was 98 days.

Mr. DOUGLAS. So the Government obtained by voluntary methods a delay 18 days longer than the maximum which could have been provided had the Taft-Hartley Act been invoked originally?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator is absolutely correct—18 days longer.

Mr. DOUGLAS. And the workers did this voluntarily.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The workers did this at the request of their union officials, and voluntarily on their part.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is correct. Therefore, if the Taft-Hartley law had been invoked by the President at 11 o'clock that night as the Senator from Minnesota has pointed out, the workers would have been free to strike, until and unless an injunction was later obtained by the Government.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. And during the intervening period of time, the steel industry would have been tied up.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct; the steel industry would have been down. It would not only have been tied up; furnaces would have been cooled, and the entire production stopped.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Weekly production of steel is approximately 2,000,000 tons. Had the shutdown been limited to 9 days, the country would have lost 3,000,000 tons; had it been 3 weeks, the loss would have been 6,000,000 tons. That is a crucial factor both in civilian industry and in war preparation.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, if the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], for himself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], were put into effect, and the seizure shall be ended, workers would be free to strike.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. And they could not be stopped until after a board of inquiry had been appointed and had made its report, and the Government had appeared before a court and made its case.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. So, in all probability, the adoption of the pending amendment would result in a strike, the tying up of the steel industry, and the loss of production.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I do not think there can be any doubt about that. Furthermore, it should be noted that once a strike occurs, the whole process of collective bargaining becomes far more difficult, and it is necessary to extend negotiations over a considerable period of time. We can rest assured that just so surely as the Government filed an action for injunction under the

Taft-Hartley law, so, too, would the union try to interfere to see that the injunction was not issued. That is to be expected, just as the steel companies today are contesting the seizure order.

Mr. DOUGLAS. In other words, the union would make a presentation before the court and argue that an injunction should not be granted.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I wish to thank the Senator from Minnesota for clarifying a point which I think has not been sufficiently understood by the public.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from Illinois for his contribution to the discussion.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. KERR. I hand the Senator from Minnesota a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Friday, April 18, and show him a paragraph on page 4150, a statement by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], and ask him if he will refresh his memory as to a statement the Senator from Michigan alleged the President of the United States had made.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The paragraph to which the Senator from Oklahoma is pointing is on page 4150 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, 1952. It reads:

Mr. President, I am about to read a brief statement, and I wonder how many Senators will know who made it. This is not suggested as being in the nature of a quiz program, but I desire to quote a remark which was made on February 19, 1948:

"Conditions are too grave in the world at this time to put Congress in control of the purse strings of this country—a Congress which does not and cares not to understand what the facts are."

The Senator from Michigan continued:

Mr. President, that statement was made by the present occupant of the White House, Harry S. Truman, on February 19, 1948.

Mr. KERR. The question I wish to ask the Senator from Minnesota is this, if that quotation is inaccurate, might it not be an evidence of the confusion of the Senator from Michigan, not only with reference to the amendment he has offered, but also with reference to the reasons why it should be adopted?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I would say to the Senator from Oklahoma that if he could prove that this statement is inaccurate, it could surely give what I would call living testimony as to the possibility of doubt as to the validity of the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. KERR. I should like to limit the question I have asked the Senator from Minnesota to confusion of the Senator from Michigan either as to the merits of his amendment or as to the effect or content of the quotation he gave to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I would say this was contributing evidence of the position which is now being taken by the Senator from Oklahoma, but first I think we ought to show if there is any contradiction.

Mr. KERR. As a predicate to my next question, I should like to read to the Senator from the remarks of the President of the United States on February 19, 1948.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Oklahoma be permitted to read from the remarks of the President of the United States on February 19, 1948.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERR. I now quote the President:

It is your business as members of the greatest party in the world—

And I take it that no one is so confused here as to think that the President was talking to any other than a Democratic gathering [laughter]—

to see that the common, everyday man learns the truth, and if he knows the truth, he will not turn the Government over to a bunch of reactionaries who are trying to take it back to 1896.

In order to clarify the confusion, I should like to state in parentheses that the President at that point was referring to the leadership of the Republican Party.

I continue to quote from the President's address:

Conditions are too grave in the world at the present time to put an isolationist in the White House.

Now I shall read the part of the quotation which the Senator from Michigan misread, and which he lifted from context:

Conditions are too grave in the world at this time to put a Congress in control of the purse strings of this country—a Congress which does not and cares not to understand what the facts are.

I ask the Senator from Minnesota, if that is not a direct statement with reference to a Republican Congress, which the President felt should not be put in control of the purse strings of the country, rather than to the Congress itself, which, according to the language as quoted by the confused Senator from Michigan, would be interpreted to mean the President was referring to Congress as an institution.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I think the interpretation of the Senator from Oklahoma is accurate. The very fact that the little, simple article "a" was left out—"a Congress," as differentiated from Congress as an institution—indicates the propriety of the Senator's remarks.

Mr. KERR. I thank the Senator for yielding to my question, and I ask him again if it is not apparent that a Senator who is so confused, first, as to take a quotation from context, and then to delete language from it so as to change its meaning, might not be too confused to be worthy of our confidence in leading us in an attempt to have this confusing amendment adopted?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from Oklahoma, because I believe he has pointed out how confusing this amendment is.

Mr. KERR. And how confused the author of it is.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I would say that the Senator from Oklahoma has likewise pointed out that there are those who, in the presentation of this amendment, are trying to confuse what the issue is.

Mr. KERR. I must say that that is the Senator's own conclusion. The viewpoint I had taken was not that they were trying to confuse the issue, but that the Senator from Michigan was so confused himself that others would do well to be wary of following him while he was in that condition.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. CAPEHART. I wondered if there was any connection between the confusion of the able Senator from Oklahoma and the elections in Nebraska a couple of weeks ago. [Laughter.]

Mr. HUMPHREY. I will have to let the Senator from Oklahoma answer that question. It would seem to me that the Senator from Oklahoma was anything but confused. He was giving a dissertation on the subject of confusion, but it was not a soliloquy.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an observation?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. KERR. The Senator from Oklahoma wishes to say that he is not confused as to what happened in Nebraska, nor was the result so detrimental that he is unable to recognize at this time another chapter in the continuing confusion of the distinguished Senator from Michigan. So far as I know, the Senator from Michigan has had no such jolt in the recent past as to justify the belief that the condition under which he labors at the present time is either temporary or that with reference to it there is any hope of recovery or improvement.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate reject these two amendments, in the national interest, and in the name of honor in the field of legislation.

I stated on Friday that I thought this proposal was a back-door, bankhanded way of coming to grips with an important issue. I prefer that we do it openly, by legislative process. I think we shall have the opportunity to do so.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I hope the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR] will not, in his confusion, leave the Chamber at the present time.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Oklahoma desire me to yield before I begin my remarks?

Mr. KERR. I desire the Senator to yield for a question.

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. KERR. Did I correctly understand the Senator from Michigan to say that the Senator from Oklahoma was leaving the floor?

Mr. FERGUSON. No. I said I hoped that he would not.

Mr. KERR. I wish to remove from the Senator's mind either the fear or the hope in that respect.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan, being such a close friend of the Senator from Oklahoma, understands his confusion. I am reminded somewhat of the man who was going down the road, very depressed. He was dragging a rope. When one of his friends asked him what the difficulty was, he said that he was confused. Upon being asked what was the cause of his confusion, he replied that he could not figure out whether he had found a rope or lost his mule. [Laughter.]

The Senator from Michigan is not confused in this matter. The quotation which was made on the floor of the Senate was read to the Senator from Michigan by a member of the staff of the Library, taken down in his own handwriting, and read to the Senate of the United States. The Senator from Oklahoma seems to think that the word "a" belonged before the word "Congress." It is clear from the reading of this statement that there would be no distinction, because, speaking later, the President said "a Congress which does not and cares not to understand what the facts are." It was a qualification of what was said of the particular Congress about which the President was speaking. The President made this speech, it is true, and the Senator from Michigan quoted it. It is now apparent from the letter which the President has written to the Congress today, April 21, 1952, that he does not desire to have the present Congress in charge of the purse strings of this great Nation.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; the Senator from Michigan will not yield.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, the Senator has made a remark about what the Senator from Oklahoma said as to what was contained in the speech of the President. The Senator from Oklahoma would like to ask the Senator from Michigan a question.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan will not yield at the present time.

Mr. President, I wish to discuss some of the issues relevant to the particular amendment which is now before the Senate.

It has been said that the President of the United States, being the Executive, has the executive powers of a President. But it cannot be forgotten that the legislative power of the United States, which is a Republic, is in the legislature and not in the Executive. This is a Government of law, and not of men.

It has been said that the President of the United States had the right and duty to choose between one of two things, namely, either seizure of the property or compliance with the Taft-Hartley law. It has been pointed out on the floor of the Senate that the reason the President of the United States did not use the Taft-Hartley law was that the parties voluntarily, without the law, had proceeded to negotiate, and had engaged in negotiations extending over a period of approximately 99 days.

The Taft-Hartley law provides that when in the opinion of the President an

emergency arises, he shall at that time use the Taft-Hartley law. The question before the Senate is clear. It is whether or not the Chief Executive should use a law which he personally finds to be burdensome and which he personally desires not to use, or whether he shall proceed on his own responsibility.

It now appears that some would have the President perform an illegal act because it is expedient, because it is fast, because in his opinion it is the most effective weapon which exists.

There is grave objection today on the floor of the Senate to any reference to a dictator of the past. It is said that it is not fair or proper to refer to history, or to the name of a dictator of former times. However, let me say that the great American Republic grew out of the fact that in past history there have been many dictators. That situation was responsible for the creation of a republic with three co-equal branches of government, each operating independently of the other under the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, Congress has a duty. Congress has a right, and has an obligation to speak.

This is not a new question. The Federalist papers are largely attributed to Alexander Hamilton. In the Federalist No. 77, as published in the New York Packet for Friday, April 4, 1788, the following appears:

We have now completed a survey of the structure and powers of the executive department, which, I have endeavored to show, combines, as far as republican principles will admit, all the requisites to energy. The remaining inquiry is: Does it also combine the requisites to safety, in a republican sense—a due dependence on the people, a due responsibility? The answer to this question has been anticipated in the investigation of its other characteristics, and is satisfactorily deducible from these circumstances; from the election of the President once in 4 years by persons immediately chosen by the people for that purpose; and from his being at all times liable to impeachment, trial, dismissal from office, incapacity to serve in any other, and to forfeiture of life and estate by subsequent prosecution in the common course of law. But these precautions, great as they are, are not the only ones which the plan of the Convention has provided in favor of the public security. In the only instances in which the abuse of the executive authority was materially to be feared, the Chief Magistrate of the United States would, by that plan, be subjected to the control of a branch of the legislative body. What more could be desired by an enlightened and reasonable people?

That is the meat of it. He would be "subjected to the control of a branch of the legislative body."

Then Hamilton said:

What more could be desired by an enlightened and a reasonable people?

So, Mr. President, we have here today a case which no doubt Alexander Hamilton had in mind, namely, control of the Executive when he goes outside the sphere of the Constitution of the United States. It is for us in the Congress to exercise our constitutional rights, our constitutional privileges, and our constitutional responsibilities. We have the opportunity today to act under those responsibilities.

The President of the United States, when he wrote his message to Congress, did not say that he wanted any legislation passed. Today he comes before Congress with his letter to the Vice President of the United States, dated April 21, 1952, and in it presumably he asks for legislation.

Mr. President, is he going to use such legislation if we pass it, when he already has legislation on the books which he could use? If it were to conflict, we would have to repeal the Taft-Hartley law. He would have to take the steps provided by such a law, unless, as is proposed by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] and other Senators, he were given the arbitrary statutory power to seize both management and labor without any strings and without any obligations.

Mr. President, when the President of the United States sends a message to the Congress and asks for legislation—and, if enacted, he could act only under that legislation—how do we know that he would not defy the legislation Congress might pass now?

Is the President sincere? On the 30th day of June, 1949, the Senate passed, by a vote of 51 to 42, Senate bill 249. A provision in the bill would have modified the Taft-Hartley law. If finally enacted, the bill would have been known as the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1949.

At this point in my remarks I ask to have printed sections 301, 302, 305, 306, and 307, beginning at page 58 and continuing through line 12 of page 64 of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MOODY in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the excerpt from the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TITLE III—NATIONAL EMERGENCIES

SEC. 301. Whenever in the opinion of the President of the United States a threatened or actual strike or lock-out affecting an entire industry or a substantial part thereof engaged in trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or with foreign nations, or engaged in the production of goods for commerce, if permitted to occur or to continue, will imperil the national health or safety, he shall issue a proclamation to that effect and urge the parties to the dispute to refrain from a stoppage of work, or if such stoppage has occurred, to resume work and operation in the public interest.

SEC. 302. (a) After issuing such a proclamation, the President shall promptly appoint a board to be known as an "emergency board."

(b) Any emergency board appointed under this section shall promptly investigate the dispute, shall seek to induce the parties to reach a settlement of the dispute, and in any event shall, within a period of time to be determined by the President but not more than 30 days after the issuance of the proclamation, make a report to the President, unless the time is extended by agreement of the parties, with the approval of the board. Such report shall include the findings and recommendations of the board and shall be transmitted to the parties and be made public. The Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service shall provide for the board such stenographic, clerical and other assistance and such facilities and services as may be necessary for the discharge of its functions.

(c) An emergency board shall be composed of a chairman and such other members as the President shall determine, and shall have power to sit and act in any place within the United States and to conduct such hearings either in public or in private, as it may deem necessary or proper, to ascertain the facts with respect to the causes and circumstances of the dispute.

(d) Members of an emergency board shall receive compensation at the rate of \$50 for each day actually spent by them in the work of the board, together with necessary travel and subsistence expenses.

(e) For the purpose of any hearing or inquiry conducted by any board appointed under this title, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 (relating to the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents) of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 16, 1914, as amended (U. S. C. 19, title 15, secs. 49 and 50, as amended), are hereby made applicable to the powers and duties of such board.

(f) Each emergency board shall continue in existence after making its report for such time as the national emergency continues for the purpose of mediating the dispute, should the parties request its services. When a board appointed under this section has been dissolved, its records shall be transferred to the director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

(g) A separate emergency board shall be appointed for each dispute. No member of an emergency board shall be pecuniarily or otherwise interested in any organization of employees or in any employer involved in the dispute.

SEC. 303. (a) At any time after issuing a proclamation pursuant to section 301 the President may submit to the Congress for consideration and appropriate action a full statement of the case together with such recommendations as he may see fit to make.

(b) In any case in which a strike or lock-out occurs or continues after an emergency board has made its report the President shall submit to the Congress for consideration and appropriate action a full statement of the case, including the report of the emergency board and such recommendations as he may see fit to make. If the Congress or either House thereof shall have adjourned sine die or for a period longer than 3 days, he shall convene the Congress, or such House, for the purpose of consideration of and appropriate action pursuant to such statement and report.

SEC. 304. (a) After issuing a proclamation pursuant to section 301 the President may direct the Attorney General to petition any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties to enjoin such strike or lock-out or the continuing thereof or for authority for the President to take immediate possession and through such agency or department of the United States as he may designate to operate such industry, or both, and if the court finds that such threatened or actual strike or lock-out—

(1) affects an entire industry or a substantial part thereof engaged in trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or with foreign nations, or engaged in the production of goods for commerce; and

(2) if permitted to occur or to continue, will imperil the national health or safety, it shall have jurisdiction to enjoin any such strike or lock-out, or the continuing thereof or to authorize the President to take immediate possession and through such agency or department of the United States as he may designate to operate such industry, or both, and to make such other orders as may be appropriate: *Provided*, That during the period in which such agency or department is in possession, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and the emergency board

shall continue to encourage the settlement of the dispute by the parties concerned, and the agency or department designated to operate such industry shall have no authority to enter into negotiations with the employer or with any labor organization for a collective-bargaining contract or to alter the wages, hours, and conditions of employment existing in such industry prior to the dispute.

(b) In any case, the provisions of the act of March 23, 1932, entitled "An act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes," shall not be applicable.

(c) The order or orders of the court shall be subject to review by the appropriate circuit court of appeals and by the Supreme Court upon writ of certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28 of the United States Code.

SEC. 305. (a) Whenever a district court has issued an order under section 304 enjoining acts or practices which imperil or threaten to imperil the national health or safety or authorized the President to take possession and operate such industry, it shall be the duty of the parties to the labor dispute giving rise to such order to make every effort to adjust and settle their differences.

(b) At the end of a 60-day period following the issuance of a proclamation pursuant to section 301 or upon a settlement being reached, whichever happens sooner, the Attorney General shall move the court to discharge the injunction and return the industry to the owners thereof if the President has taken possession, which motion shall then be granted and the injunction discharged.

SEC. 306. When a dispute arising under this title has been finally settled, the President shall submit to the Congress a full and comprehensive report of all the proceedings, together with such recommendations as he may see fit to make.

SEC. 307. The provisions of this title shall not be applicable with respect to any matter which is subject to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, as amended from time to time.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, section 304 of the bill provided:

After issuing a proclamation pursuant to section 301, the President may direct the Attorney General to petition any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties to enjoin such strikes or lock-out or the continuing thereof or for authority for the President to take immediate possession and through such agency or department of the United States as he may designate to operate such industry, or both, and if the court finds that such threatened or actual strike or lock-out—

And so forth. What did the President and his party in the House of Representatives do when the Senate sent to the House that bill, which provided for the seizure of plants through proceedings in the court? He had his party in the House of Representatives block the proposed legislation. Was he sincere? Did he want legislation which he could use as a dictator, or did he want to use legislation as the Constitution of the United States decrees that he shall use it?

That bill was blocked by the President's own party in the House of Representatives. He did not want Congress to pass legislation which would prescribe methods and rules for the seizure of plants in an emergency. Today he is asking Congress not to pass legislation which would give him power of seizure in accordance with due process of law,

but to pass legislation which would amount only to approval by Congress of acts he had already performed, namely, seizure of the plants and the unions.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. Gladly.

Mr. DIRKSEN. There is pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency at the present time a proposal to provide, among other things, that the Wage Board shall have statutory authority; that the number of public members of the Board shall exceed the aggregate of the labor and industry members; and that the public members shall be confirmed by the Senate. Certainly it is a constructive proposal. Yet, if it may be assumed that Dr. Feinsinger is speaking for the President, he appeared before the committee and condemned the proposal. So what reason is there to believe that anything Congress passes will find favor at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue?

Mr. FERGUSON. I thank the Senator from Illinois for his remarks. They indicate the trend of mind of those who are saying that the Taft-Hartley law cannot be used because it provides for a finding of fact, and that before the facts can be found an injunction cannot be obtained. Tom Clark, who was Attorney General when the bill to which I have referred was before the committee, said he did not want the kind of procedure it provided. He claimed at the time that the President of the United States could go before any court, and that the court had inherent power to grant an injunction.

If I correctly read the President's letter today, he says, in effect, that all the workmen in the steel mills and their leaders in the unions will strike if the plants are turned back to their owners; that they will disregard the existence of an emergency; and that the only way he can appease them is to seize illegally the plants and the labor unions.

Mr. President, what is there in the record to show that the labor unions will act one way after the President seizes the plants illegally, and another way after the President seizes the plants legally, or has an injunction issued? I, for one, believe that labor is loyal, that labor wants to do what is right, that labor wants law rather than men to control their lives and their existence in the United States of America, and that they are more anxious to follow the President of the United States and his orders when he acts according to law than they are when he acts illegally.

It is stated on the floor of the Senate that the only way that labor will keep from striking is for the President to act illegally. I do not think that is true.

I say again that the policy-making branch of the Government and the branch which has the power to legislate upon this question is the Congress of the United States. The only way there can be compliance with the due-process-of-law clause is through legislation, not by Executive order.

Therefore, there are only two methods open to us. One is by impeachment, which I have not advocated, but which the House of Representatives, having

been challenged by certain Members of the Senate today to bring about, may or may not accept the challenge. There is another way, and that is by control of the purse strings. The President of the United States by his letter indicates clearly that he does not want the Senate to speak upon that question, because he knows that when we do we say to the people of the United States, "We have found that the President of the United States did not have the authority to seize labor, management, and industry as he has already done." We are here to exercise our prerogative, to perform our duty, and to say to the people of the United States that we believe that the President does not have the power he claims, and that the only method now open to Congress is through the control of the purse strings. We ought to exercise that control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], on behalf of himself and other Senators.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I had intended not to speak on this subject until after tomorrow, for the reason that on tomorrow there will appear before the Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am a member, Mr. Feinsinger, Chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board; Mr. Steelman, the Acting Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization; Mr. Arnall, Director of the Office of Price Stabilization; and Mr. Putnam, Administrator of the Economic Stabilization Agency. At that time we shall try to obtain from them the facts. It is my hope that after we have heard the testimony of those gentlemen we shall hear from representatives or executives of the steel companies who know the facts; and that thereafter, having all the facts at our command, we shall reach a decision as to what should be done or what should not be done with respect to this matter.

However, the amendment is before the Senate this afternoon, so I shall discuss it briefly.

Mr. President, one of the chief problems confronting the Congress is that of obtaining the facts. What are the facts in the present case? This afternoon I have listened, as I did on Thursday and Friday, to a great deal of demagoguery, many statements, truths, half-truths, suppositions, accusations, and condemnations of this group, that group, or the other group. But what are the facts?

It seems to me that at the moment, so far as this debate or this amendment is concerned, we should be concerned with only one fundamental fact or fundamental principle, although, of course, in our committee we shall try to obtain many facts bearing on this question. So far as I personally am concerned, the amendment now before the Senate relates to only one fundamental fact or one fundamental principle. Thus, in voting on the question of the adoption of the amendment, I shall not give consideration to the question of whether the steelworkers are correct in their views or whether the steel companies are correct in their views or

whether there should be an increase in the wages of the steelworkers. I believe there should be some increase in their wages, but I am not prepared to say how much the increase should be. Of course, as a businessman, I know that if wages are increased prices must be increased. In this instance I do not know how much the increase should be because I do not have the facts.

However, Mr. President, I shall vote in favor of adoption of the amendment for the reason that the greatest asset we have as Americans is the American system of government. When the President of the United States seizes private property, as he has done, I believe the American system of government is being broken down and destroyed. I would prefer to have a 10-day or 30-day steel strike, if you please, rather than to have established a precedent which would destroy the American system of government.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield to me at this point?

Mr. CAPEHART. I prefer not to yield at this time, if the Senator from New Hampshire will pardon me. I shall yield in a moment.

Mr. President, what I have just stated is, to my mind, the big issue. The President has seized the steel mills. I shall not take time now to read the statement the President issued over the radio and the television; suffice it for the present to say that at that time the President took the position that he was correct and that the steel companies should pay increased wages to their workers, or, in other words, should do what the Wage Stabilization Board had recommended, and should do it without an increase in the price of steel. I do not know whether the President is right or wrong in that regard. For the purpose of this argument, so far as I am concerned, that point will not enter my mind.

Because the steel workers and the steel companies were unable to agree, the President of the United States proceeded to seize the steel mills—private property—without having any statutory authority for doing so. The President himself admits that, and I believe there is no argument on that point; certainly I have not heard anyone say that the President had any authority for that action other than the inherent powers which may exist under the Constitution. At any rate, the President had no statutory authority for the action he took.

On the other hand, there was a statute by means of which he could have proceeded to stop the strike. That statute is known as the Taft-Hartley Act. Regardless of whether the Taft-Hartley Act is a good one or a bad one, regardless of whether the Congress should have passed the Taft-Hartley bill or should not have passed it, and regardless of whether 3 days or 5 days or 10 days would be required to put into effect the provisions of that act, the President of the United States should have used the available law on the statute books, for, after all, the President of the United States has no more right to violate the law than does any other citizen of the United States.

The argument the President has used and the argument which has been stated on the floor of the Senate against the use of the Taft-Hartley Act was that 3 days or 5 days or 10 days would be required to put its provisions into effect, and the result would be the loss of X thousand tons of steel. But, Mr. President, I say to you that we had better lose 5,000,000 tons of steel rather than lose the American system of government. Whenever there is a disagreement between the owner of a business in the United States or between a group of owners or businesses in the United States and those who work in the plants, if the parties to the disagreement can run to Washington and can say, "We cannot get together," and the President is to be the sole and only judge of whether he should seize the property involved, then I say we shall lose the American system of government.

Of course, the President said he acted as he did in the best interests of the people. I am willing to admit that possibly he thought he was doing so, as he viewed the situation. But I wish to remind the Senate and the American people that everything Stalin ever has done in his official life he has claimed he did in the best interests of the Russian people. Similarly, every move Hitler ever made was claimed to be in the best interests of the German people. That is clearly shown by the orders issued at the time. In the same way, every move Mussolini ever made under his inherent powers as a dictator, with himself the sole judge, he claimed he made in the best interests of the Italian people. The same can be said of Napoleon, so far as the French people were concerned; and of every other man who took upon himself the power and the right to act in his own name, without the benefit of legislation.

The other day the government of one of our good neighbors to the south, Cuba, was taken over by a general. That act was consummated without the firing of a shot. The general's answer was that he took that action in the best interests of the people of Cuba. He claimed that the government previously in power could not longer serve the people of Cuba well, and that therefore it was necessary that he take over the government. In Argentina, Peron has acted on a similar basis.

Mr. President, we had better forget whether we would lose a little steel production and we had better forget everything else except the question of whether we are establishing a precedent which will destroy the American system of government, the greatest asset we as Americans have. After all, the American system of government, and nothing else, is what has made our Nation great. Of course, we like to throw out our chests and say that we are the great Nation we are because we are more intelligent than other people; in fact, in Indiana we sometimes say, "We are smarter than other people." We often say that the present high standard of living we enjoy—with more automobiles, more telephones, and other conveniences used in the United States than in any other

country—is because, so we say, we are more intelligent because we are Americans. However, Mr. President, there is no such thing as an American in the sense of blood or nationality, because America is made up of people of every known nationality. In fact, the only difference between any two Americans is the difference in time between the arrival of themselves or their grandparents or their great grandparents or their great, great, great grandparents in the United States, from some other country.

That is the only difference between any two Americans. We are not more intelligent than other people. We enjoy our high standard of living and we enjoy the freedoms we have, and all the other things with which other Senators are as familiar as am I, because of the American system of government under which we have been living. We have a government of laws, a government made up of three distinct branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

But there has been a tendency during many years past for the Executive of the Government—I dislike to make this statement—to take over and do, Mr. President, as he pleases, disregarding the Constitution of the United States. I have sat on this floor within the past 3 or 4 days listening, as Senators laughed at the Constitution of the United States, Mr. President, if you please, and scoffed at it. I have listened to them either say or intimate that one "cannot eat it," and I have listened to them say that the President of the United States had the power and right to take over the steel industry.

I am not arguing, and I am not going to get into the argument, as some have done, that the steel mills represent a giant monopoly, that their owners are bad boys. Perhaps they are bad boys, perhaps they constitute a monopoly. But I should like to remind those who have been talking along that line, that possibly they and their party above all others are responsible for their being bad boys and are responsible for their being a monopoly, since their party has been running the Government for the past 20 years. I do not intend to become involved in an argument on that point; it makes no difference to me; but every Member of this body ought to be equally interested in upholding his oath of office and in protecting and defending one American or one small business or one large business, and in defending the American system of Government. That is our responsibility and duty.

The President of the United States seized the steel industry. He has the steel mills. The Congress of the United States is saying, or I hope it will say through this amendment, "Mr. President, you cannot do that." I am aware of the fact that if we should say that, he would have to return the steel mills to the steel companies, and then, if the steel companies and their wage earners could not get together, he would have to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act. I am also aware of the fact that if, at the end of 80 days, he failed in his efforts under the Taft-Hartley Act, the Congress would have to pass new legislation, unless the

steel companies and steel workers were able to get together. Yet, Mr. President, I say to you I would rather go through that course than to sit here and permit by inaction the President of the United States to seize private industry without statutory authority.

I believe Senators should wake up to what is happening in America, and to what has happened. Labor also had better wake up to what has happened, because if the President of the United States can seize the steel mills, he can seize the farms, and he can seize anything else in America he may desire to seize. All under the sun that he would have to do would be to say that, "It is in the best interests of the American people." He seized the steel mills because, as he said, it was in the best interests of the American people. He assigned no other reasons. He said that in his personal opinion, seizure was in the best interests of the American people. Then, Mr. President, what is to prevent his seizure of any business? What is to prevent his seizure of a labor organization? What is to prevent his seizure of the bank accounts of the steel companies tomorrow, merely because he, and he alone, may say to himself, and then to the American people, "I am going to seize private property. I am going to seize bank accounts. I am going to seize them, because to do so is in the best interests of the people."

Mr. President, no one, of course, would expect the President to say, "I am seizing the steel mills because it is not in the best interests of the American people." The President says it is in the best interests of the American people. Never would he say it was not being done for the best interests of the American people.

Mr. President, I say we had better wake up. We had better forget such material things as a few thousand tons of steel. We had better start thinking about the greatest asset we have in America, namely, the American system of government.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I will yield in a moment. Our boys are fighting in Korea. I was in World War I, my son was in World War II, and if I had a grandson old enough, I presume he would be in Korea—fighting for what? Mr. President, if it is not a fight to maintain the American system of government, and to enable the Congress under its constitutional power to deny to any man, whether he be the President of the United States or someone else, the right to seize private property in America, then those who died in World Wars I and II, and those who are dying or who have died in Korea will have died in vain. What are we fighting for?

Are we to make sacrifices throughout the world and send our boys into various wars, while we sit silent and lose the American system of Government, lose the freedoms we told the boys in the past they were fighting for, and which we tell American boys today they are fighting for? What kind of business are we engaged in? What is it all about? The President says there is a great emer-

gency. He is the same President who says Korea is a police action. What is this? How silly can we become? How far can people go?

It is said that we must have steel for Korea. If the facts were known—and I believe this to be a true statement; if not, I wish someone would correct me—we have not yet delivered any new tanks to our forces in Korea, and we have delivered but very little new material. Let us forget about who is right in the matter of the steel strike. Let us forget whether the steel companies are right or wrong, and whether the wage earners are right or wrong, and let us think of but one thing—the American system of Government. Let us put a stop to unauthorized action now, not after it has been done two or three or four times. Let us stop it now. Let us in the American Congress have the courage to stop the first President of the United States who openly admits having seized private property without due process of law, without the aid of a statute on the books. Let us stop it now. Let us not wait. Let us not allow a series of precedents to be created under which future Presidents may take similar action.

I would be saying the same thing regardless of who happened to be the President of the United States. Whether he were a Democrat or a Republican would make no difference to me, because I never was any more sincere in my life than I am when I say that our greatest asset is our American system of Government.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. KEM. I wondered if the Senator from Indiana had noted that Representative REECE of Tennessee had suggested that the President seize the Missouri River.

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes; I saw that statement.

Mr. President, before I take my seat I should like to say, although I realize I am repeating a statement I have already made, that the American system of Government is our greatest asset. It is what has made this Nation great. It has not been our natural resources that have made the Nation great. We have no more natural resources than have some other nations. Our greatness has not been due to our location or to the fact that we are Americans in the sense of nationality. It is due to the American system of Government.

I say to the American people that they are about to lose it. It is getting away from us. It is getting away from us primarily because we in the Congress of the United States do not have the courage to stand up and defend it. Instead of defending it, we do what? We defend minority groups and pressure groups instead of defending the American system of government, instead of being fair to everyone. We had better stop it and start dealing with the question of maintaining the Constitution of the United States and the American system of government. If we do not do so, we shall lose our freedom.

I do not like to refer to our good neighbor to the south, but when the President of the United States was at Key West, 90 miles across the water a general took over the Government of Cuba. He simply walked in and took it over. No one in the United States paid any attention to it. We say it cannot happen in America. I say it may happen in America.

I do not know what we are thinking about when we draft our boys, put them into the armed services, send them to defend freedom and the private-enterprise system, and then show so little concern about it ourselves on the floor of the United States Congress. What are we thinking about, Mr. President?

I hope Congress has the courage to say to the President of the United States, "We think our judgment is as good as yours, and we want to follow the Constitution of the United States. We want you to follow the Constitution and the laws of the United States. We do not think there is an emergency existing at the moment that permits you to seize private property in America."

I hope the Senate will have the courage to vote for the amendment.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, last week I made myself clear on the question of the President's seizure of the steel plants. I was supporting the amendment which has been submitted, for the reason that deemed it to be my duty to make every effort at any time I can to let the American people know that there has been a usurpation of power and an undermining of the principles of the Republic. As I view the matter, the President alone sets himself up as the judge of what is in the public interest. There is some question as to whether the courts can pass upon the question. It is the judgment of the President that he has the right to take the action which he has taken. Of course it is the function of the courts to state whether laws comply with the Constitution. The Congress is the fundamental policy-making branch of the Government of the United States. As has been so well stated by the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] this afternoon, it is the duty of the executive branch to administer the laws passed by the Congress, carrying out the policy which has heretofore been determined by the Congress of the United States. If the courts have no authority whatsoever to pass upon the judgment of the President of the United States, he is the sole judge and the sole enforcer of his own individual opinions. That is the stuff of which tyrants are made. That is the beginning of the rule of tyranny. That is the beginning of the destruction of the fundamental rights of the American people under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It is a defiance of the very fundamental concept so beautifully expressed in the Declaration of Independence. If there were ever a time in the history of the world when we should guard against usurpation of power, it is at this very hour. We have seen nation after nation fall because of the aggrandizement of power on the part

of the executive branch of the government.

It was the usurpation of power by Mussolini that destroyed the liberties of the Italian people and led them ultimately to defeat. It was the power which Hitler claimed he possessed constitutionally which destroyed a great nation which had contributed vastly to the world's progress. It is the power in the hands of Stalin that threatens the peace of the world and everything we hold dear.

This Government was instituted as a bulwark against the exercise of unauthorized power, in order to preserve the rights of the people—the only government in the history of time that recognized that the rights of man, under law, in relation to his fellow man and to his government and his God, are inalienable. These rights are not given by government. They cannot be taken away by government, as our fundamental charter has heretofore been interpreted.

The President's recent action is a gesture in the direction of taking away those rights, if it is not an absolute violation of the provisions of the Constitution itself. There is no satisfying the greed for power when once it comes into existence. That is my reason for voting today as I shall vote. At every opportunity I shall cast my vote in behalf of preserving the liberties of the American people, of holding inviolate their inalienable rights and of curbing the power of government. The greed for power on the part of the government is insatiable.

It will be recalled that Hitler started his ascent to power and tyranny and absolute destruction of the rights of his people by first having his followers stone the fronts of the stores of the small Jewish merchants in German cities. Not satisfied with that, how did he proceed? By seizing 6,000,000 of those helpless people, who had contributed so much and so mightily to mankind, and sending them into fiery furnaces.

Stalin took a land of 5,000,000 Russian peasants because they would not bow to his dictation, drove those helpless people to starvation and death, and turned their land over to those who would follow his orders.

There is no satisfying the greed for power over men once a dictator gets control over a people. Stalin has sent 30,000,000 people to a living death in prison camps. It might be said that that cannot happen here, but there is an indication that we are started down the road to absolute government power, authoritarian power, totalitarian power, on the part of the executive branch of the Government, and Congress has supinely sat by.

Every day we read in the press that the Congress of the United States has a responsibility which it has heretofore not assumed. This is one chance we have of making a record. Let no one think he can get a temporary advantage from the President's exercise of power. There may be a temporary advantage to some segment of society. But if government takes over industry today, tomorrow it may take over labor; if tomorrow it takes over labor, ultimately it may

take over agriculture; everyone will be dependent upon the central, dictatorial, absolute, powerful authority at the capital, Washington.

It is the responsibility of everyone who has taken an oath as a Member of the Congress of the United States to abide by the Constitution, carefully to consider in his own conscience how best to support it and come to a judgment that, so far as his own conscience is concerned, he is doing his part, be it small or great, to maintain the fundamental charter of the liberties of the American people, because if we do not preserve liberty in America, it will be lost for a long, long time everywhere else in the world. The joy of living, as we have known it in this Nation, will be no more.

I shall never forget the testimony of a great leader who, when describing war, the history of war, the meaning of war, and the purpose of fighting, ended by saying that so great is the power of destruction in the hands of men today, so powerful are the weapons available to them, that after the next war is ended, if it be world-wide, with all the weapons there are at hand to destroy, the only happy people left on the face of the earth will be the dead, and those who are still living will wish they had died with their comrades. If liberty ends here in the United States, there will be no more liberty left in the world. There will be an end to individual opportunity, creative ability, and just reward, as we have had them in this country.

During the last World War, which we all remember, nations allied with us on the side of righteousness were fighting with us on one battlefield, their fleets and ours were on one sea, they were fighting in the air with us on the battlefield. The American soldier, the American sailor, and the American flier were upon every field, wherever liberty was challenged by a well-armed foe. Our fleet fought not on one sea but on the seven seas. We fought not on the western front alone but on every front. Our armies were everywhere during that conflict. Why were we able to contribute so much, when our allies took a limited part as compared with the part we played?

Furthermore, we were able to give our allies supplies and money, to the amount of \$50,000,000,000, earned by the labor of Americans, and taken out of our great natural resources.

Why were we able to do that? There is only one answer. The sun shines on other lands just as it does on ours. The rain falls upon other peoples the same as it does upon us. Their soil is as productive as ours. Their natural resources in the aggregate are multiplied many times over those we have. Their people have the ability to work, the same as we have. They have the desire to live, the same as we have, and certainly they have a better way of life than they have heretofore enjoyed.

Why were we able to do so much in that great conflict in the cause of what we believed to be right, on what history will record as the righteous side? There is only one answer and one explanation, and that is that we in this country have

been free, freer than any other people on the face of the earth. We have been governed better by being able to restrict our people and our Government so that orderly society can continue without curbing the rights of the individual, without destroying initiative, and by promotion of industry and business with proper rewards.

We are faced today with a threat that these liberties which have made us great are to be destroyed by the orders of one man, the President of the United States. We took the same oath of office the President took. If he violates his oath of office, there is all the more reason why Members of the Congress must keep their oaths. Throughout the years of the history of the United States the Congress has been looked upon as the bulwark of liberty. We have heard that said on every side by citizens. We have heard it said that Congress is the shield of protection for the American people. We have heard it said time and again. Throughout the years of the history of America, we have looked upon the courts to protect our freedom. We have heard it said on every side by citizens that the greatest protection of the American people is the courts.

I will say, however, that there is a danger that too many judges of courts have been appointed, not because of their ability as lawyers, not because of their experience as judges, not because of their integrity as disciples of the law, but because they have been disciples of a political philosophy that concurs with the present action of the President of the United States.

When the whole story of this debacle is finally told, if liberty is ever lost in this country, it will be found that no small part of the reason will be that the courts have been politically indoctrinated and have become an agency of one branch of the Government. Certainly that will be true if they continue to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of the Congress of the United States and refuse to pass upon the constitutionality of Executive orders, decrees, and mandates of the President of the United States, either directly or through bureaucratic boards which have been built up, of course, with the approval of Congress.

An opportunity is afforded each Senator by the approaching vote on the amendment to record his judgment on the Constitution of the United States, and to be counted as to whether he wants to vote to maintain the liberties of the American people and the hopes of the future.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I think there is something ironical about this situation. It is rather interesting that, if there is one industry which is an instrumentality for killing and death, it is the one that is seized.

Certainly, of course, there is some relationship between the policies that have been pursued abroad and what has happened at home. I detect an undercurrent here which indicates a belief that the recent action on the part of the President was unexpected. I doubt very much that it was unexpected. In the message delivered to the AMVETS the other day,

the President proclaimed that he would call a special "turnip day" session every day from now on, if necessary, in order to secure the amount of money he wants for the defense of the Nation. That is a peculiar kind of cynicism on the part of the Chief Executive. That is a strange kind of arrogance on the part of a man who ought to exercise the utmost humility in a rather trying and emergent hour. So this action is not wholly unexpected in my book.

I go back to February 15, 1949. Simply to orient Members of the Senate, that was, roughly, 16 months before Korea. On that date my old friend, Representative SPENCE, of Kentucky, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, introduced the celebrated Spence bill. As I say, that was 16 months before Korea. That was long before the President made the observation in Missouri that we were closer to peace than at any time in 5 years—a rather singular observation, which was made 27 days before our troops were moved into Korea.

But let us go back and spell out the blueprint which we find in the Spence bill. That is a blueprint for disaster to freedom because the whole picture is there of what it was proposed to do in peacetime, before there was an emergency confronting the country.

So as I appraise the action which was taken with respect to the steel mills and fit it, like a piece of a jigsaw puzzle, into everything else that has happened in the past 3 or 4 years, this action comes as no surprise to me. Nor, I may say to my friend from Ohio, does the action of a Federal court which refuses to delimit the power of the President or so cautiously passes upon it that for practical purposes the decision has little legal value.

Can we expect anything different? If we are in an emergent situation, I doubt whether any Federal court will stand up on the side of Congress. If the job is to be done, it must be done in that branch of Government which James Monroe characterized as the very core and center of the Government of the United States, namely, the Congress.

There is a rather interesting note in the message which the President sent us today. It is rather revealing. In the second paragraph he says:

On April 9, 1952, I sent a message to the Congress. In that message I stated that I had ordered temporary operation of the steel mills by the Government with the utmost reluctance; that the idea of Government operation of the steel mills was thoroughly distasteful to me; and that I wanted to see it ended as soon as possible.

That is the reluctance of a father who takes his son to the woodshed. He says to him, "My son, this is going to hurt me more than it does you." That is paternalism speaking. The President was reluctant to take this step. He found it extremely distasteful, but he did it. After the seizure he begins to throw us a note of what he thinks is comfort by saying that he will be glad to cooperate in developing any legislative proposals which Congress may wish to consider.

Mr. President, the horse has been stolen, and the President now says to us that he will be glad to cooperate in anything we wish to do. But the fact has been accomplished, as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] said. The seizure of property has taken place. The astonishing thing—and I have been in the Chamber all afternoon—is that there has been so much hacking at the branches instead of the roots, as old Henry David Thoreau, the philosopher of Walden Pond, used to say. The emphasis is on welfare—the well-being of the country. The question of how illegal an act may be seems to be of little consequence in some quarters on the floor of the Senate. What is the alternative? It is welfare that counts.

I concur in what the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] has said. There has not been a dictator who has lifted his head since the fight between King John and the Commons at Runnymede Meadow, more than 700 years ago, who has not inevitably and invariably said, "This is for your welfare." That is the way it always works. That was the scheme under which Hitler operated. That was the basis upon which Mussolini operated. In his corporative state he reviled the free institutions of America, which he called decadent. Then he would give utterance to a great apostrophe and say, "This is for welfare." So nothing else seems to count.

We are told to forget about the illegality of the seizure and the fact that it was private property that was seized. We are asked, "What else could have been done?" Now that it has been done—distastefully and reluctantly, as the President would have us believe—the President is now willing to cooperate.

There is one other thing which has intrigued me to some extent. The President speaks in his message about a shut-down in steel production for a substantial length of time. He says that it would immediately reduce the ability of our troops in Korea to defend themselves against attack. Is it not rather astonishing that somehow there is the assumption that steel workers have no interest in those who are fighting our battles in Korea? I cannot believe it. The men who do the puddling in the steel mills, and the men who attend the fires and the furnaces of the Republic Steel Co., the United States Steel Corp., and elsewhere have boys in the Army today. They have sons in Korea. The astonishing thing is that such an appeal is not addressed to them. The appeal is addressed to us, and seeks to put the Congress in a bad light before the country because it asserts and asseverates that this is an illegal act, irrespective of the alternatives and irrespective of the consequences which are involved.

I say to the Senate in candor that so long as this emergency exists, a Federal district court having rendered a decision such as that handed down in Washington, we should ask the question, What about some of the other industries?

Not long ago I inspected an aircraft plant where bombers are manufactured. The owners of the plant are having

trouble. As I understand, a meeting was held with representatives of the manpower. They virtually agreed, by collective bargaining, what the wage rates should be. Then the case was sent to Washington. The general manager of the plant told me, when I was in the western section of the country, what the arrangement was. When the case reached Washington the Wage Stabilization Board awarded the workers twice as much as they had asked for.

There are disputes in other industries. There is a dispute in the Boeing Aircraft concern. The aluminum industry is being confronted by possible wage difficulties. The oil industry is today in the same situation.

Then what? As the Senator from Ohio has asked, Shall we fight it out now, or, like a bunch of whipped dogs, shall we forever retreat from the legislative position of the Congress? Goodness knows, Congress has been in retreat for a long, long time. This event follows so gaily the pattern which has been manifest in so many sections of the world. Since I was a soldier in World War I, I believe more than 20 countries have lost their identity. They have lost their freedom. It has been sponged out. When we go back we discover that almost invariably freedom was lost when there was supreme surrender by the legislative branch. That is the beginning. The Congress is the bulwark of freedom. The legislative branch is the frontier of freedom. No matter what kind of fancy language the President may put together in a message which should never have been sent to the Congress in the first place, the legislative branch is the defender of freedom. We must stand our ground.

There is one little note of comfort. It is in the first paragraph of the President's message. He speaks about the amendment which is pending, and then says:

The implications of this amendment are of such serious consequence, and much of the debate concerning it has been of such an extreme and misleading character, that I feel I should communicate with the Senate on this subject.

I do not know where he got the idea that the debate was misleading or extreme in character, unless it came from the confusion on his own side of the aisle. Certainly we have sensed and appraised the real issue, which is the illegal seizure of private property. Take it or leave it. If we take it we merely accept an insult from the President of the United States to the legislative branch of the Government. I join my friend from Ohio in saying that I, for one, will not take it. I would rather not be a Member of the Senate if I have to take that sort of thing lying down.

In this paragraph he does have some regard for the power of the purse. We propose to take away the money for the operation. As was said long ago, the power of the sword is given to the Executive, and the power of the purse is given to the Congress. It is one power that we can exercise. It is one power in which there is the force of discipline, if we

will but use it. So today I think there is a chance for us to assert the power of the purse in a way that may be effective. Once having tasted of that power may we continue to assert it in the interest of a balanced budget, a balanced economy, and the ultimate solvency and sanity and safety of the Nation.

One other thing, Mr. President. The President of the United States has considerable to say about the Taft-Hartley Act. I can only say that it has joined the youngsters who have been in and out of Korea as one of the casualties of the emergency. I went back and explored in some detail several times the report made by the Wage Stabilization Board and what the issues were that confronted the Board at the time. When we have a board which is created by Executive order and Executive authority one never can tell what will happen.

Originally the Board consisted of nine members. After the labor members walked out, the Board did not function for 2 months. Then the Board was reconstituted by the President. It was made an 18-man Board, divided equally between public members, labor members, and industry members. If it is desired to get a certain kind of action from a board, all it is necessary to do is to pick the right kind of public members. I do not mean to reflect upon Dr. Feinsinger or on any of the learned and wise people who constitute the public membership of the Board. I merely say that if I had to do it, I would require Senate confirmation of the public members. Then we would have a chance to look at their background.

Perhaps there is some wisdom in the suggestion made before the Committee on Banking and Currency that all the members ought to be public members. Perhaps it should be expected that labor members would divide here, that industry members would divide over there, and that consequently the balance of power is in the public members.

The real interest is the public interest. Why should they not all be public members? Why should their names not be submitted to the Senate for confirmation? In that way we would have an opportunity to examine into their background and to see whether some of them may have slanted or oblique views which would prevent them from reaching good and impartial conclusions with respect to the issues which might be involved.

I sincerely hope that when the committee meets we shall be able to deal with that matter. Had we had such a statutory board and had we had such safeguards, the chances are that this question would not now be engaging the attention of Congress and the attention of the country.

Those are some random observations I wanted to make as I went through the President's message. There was never any doubt as to what my own attitude would be. I shall join in asserting the one power the Congress has, namely, the power of control over the purse, in the hope that we can perhaps wield it in the interest of our country and in the interest of the integrity of a document formulated and ratified long ago which

has carried us through thick and thin for a long time.

The other evening I spoke to a group of ladies down town, and I said that 165 years ago, when the Constitution makers had finished their work and they came out of Independence Hall in Philadelphia with old Benjamin Franklin, then 83 years old—and what a sight he must have been, Mr. President—a woman went up to talk to him. She was Eleanor Power, whose husband had been mayor of Philadelphia. She asked what I think is a classic question. She said: "Well, Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?" All of us remember Franklin's classic reply. He said, "A republic, if you can keep it." That was 165 years ago. At this time the issue before us transcends steel and transcends all political considerations. The issue is, after all, nothing more than the echo of what Benjamin Franklin said to a humble woman 165 years ago: A republic, if you can keep it.

Ours is the one branch of Government that can go on record this afternoon as a manifestation of its determination that the great inheritance which is ours we are going to keep, if we are willing to do so.

I yield the floor.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote! Vote!

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD at this point in my remarks an article written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Star of April 2, 1952.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECISION NOW UP TO WHITE HOUSE—UNITED STATES MOVING TOWARD ECONOMIC CRASH WORSE THAN IN 1929; FIRST STEPS IN CYCLE CERTAIN TO COME WITH A STEEL STRIKE

(By David Lawrence)

America is moving slowly toward an economic catastrophe which may be worse than the one that was ushered in back in 1929.

The decision whether such a disaster shall be averted rests with White House action in the next few days. The 10-year depression period—1929 to 1939—started with very little warning. At least, the Nation was not prepared for it.

The next crash will come in a matter of months—not years—if the White House persists in driving to the edge of the precipice. The Nation will be able to see the cycle start. No one will be able to say this time that no warning note was sounded.

The first steps in the cycle of disintegration will come with a steel strike. This is due to start next week. Then will come seizure of the steel companies by the Government.

Immediately after seizure, the Government will surrender to the unions by ordering the recommendations of the Truman Stabilization Board to be put into effect at once.

The financial structure of the steel companies thus will be sabotaged. Their stockholders will interpret this to mean that from now on the Government intends to allow unlimited wages to union workers, but will refuse to pay fair wages to the investors.

When this happens, it is the beginning of the end of the free-enterprise system. Investors generally will lose confidence. For

the same pattern followed in steel will be exhibited to all industries—higher and higher wages will have to be paid or seizure will be the penalty.

With a rising wage level and no offsetting of costs through higher prices, it is only a question of a few months before the backbone of the entire defense program in America—the steel industry—will have its back to the wall. Stalin could hope for nothing more useful to his purpose.

President Truman is being advised that he must not permit any price increase in steel, and that the companies must absorb all wage increases out of current profits. Actually there is a basis for compromise in a modest wage increase and a moderate increase in prices.

What Mr. Truman may do this very week, therefore, is to set the wage levels for the lean years that must come when the defense program tapers off. Peace is always a possibility, and any decided turn for the better in the international situation can catch the American economy in a trap.

High wage levels cannot be deflated. Instead of allowing the steel companies to build a reserve and to accumulate funds now to buy new machinery so as to operate more efficiently and to reduce prices, especially for future construction needs, the President is being told by Economic Adviser Leon Keyserling that he now can boost the wage levels to unprecedented heights. It was Mr. Keyserling who upset the apple cart on Mr. Truman's return from Key West by telling him the steel companies could pay the wage increases based on "normal profits" and "normal operations." His reasoning has not been divulged, but it is not in accord with facts put in evidence at the recent hearings.

The Keyserling formula means that the Government will lose hundreds of millions in tax money. Other sources of revenue will have to be found. The stockholders in steel will face a wage cut. It means, moreover, that such a high level of wages will have been forced upon the steel industry that, with the slightest contraction of defense orders, here will be extensive casualties among the marginal steel companies. This will result in widespread unemployment and further loss of tax money.

The design for an economic crash is being made this very week in Washington. The 1929 debacle was the result of overspeculation by private citizens, but the crash that lies ahead will be Government-made. It is doubtful how much of the wreckage a new administration taking office in 1953 can possibly repair. The momentum of a downward cycle is hard to arrest. It can be stopped in its tracks now if Mr. Truman will allow an impartial group of economists to study the facts for him.

If the Government, under the guise of an international emergency which it is believed will last another decade anyway, is to set up a permanent system whereby wages are to be increased whenever the labor unions demand it, but no price increases are to be permitted to compensate the producers, then the collapse of the major industries becomes a realistic threat.

Mr. Truman says he is not a candidate to succeed himself, but he wants to see a Democratic Party victory. Hence Trumanism becomes the issue. The campaign debate may determine how far Trumanism has tended to coincide with state socialism in depriving those who save their money from receiving a fair return on their investments.

Inflation is slowly depreciating fixed investments. Trumanism is now about to impair the only hedge the investor has had—the opportunity of equity stocks to rise. But, with Government seizure and with Government dictation, there can be no hope of reasonable dividends.

There are more wage earners than stockholders, so on a political basis Trumanism holds to the false premise that it is politically sound to increase wages no matter what happens to the financial position of the companies.

The crash that will result from such a misguided policy will do the workers of America more harm than any wage increase can do them good. For if private enterprise is crucified, if incentive is impaired, and if efficiency is retarded, the end result is Government control and then operation of all major enterprises. This was the instinctive purpose of the New Deal and it is the obvious purpose of the so-called Fair Deal. The political crisis of 1952 will have a direct bearing on the economic crisis that is certain to come if Trumanism is to be the dominant philosophy of the Nation in economics as well as in politics.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to read one paragraph from the article by David Lawrence.

He said:

The design for an economic crash is being made this very week in Washington. The 1929 debacle was the result of overspeculation by private citizens, but the crash that lies ahead will be Government-made. It is doubtful how much of the wreckage a new administration taking office in 1953 can possibly repair. The momentum of the downward cycle is hard to arrest. It can be stopped in its tracks now if Mr. Truman will allow an impartial group of economists to study the facts for him.

Mr. President, in this article David Lawrence points out what is general knowledge in Washington, namely, that the man who is advising President Truman with respect to the steel seizure is Leon Keyserling. Leon Keyserling has been chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers since Mr. Nourse resigned. It will be recalled that Mr. Nourse said that he could not serve because the council was trying to socialize the Nation. I think the Senate should have certain facts in mind with respect to Mr. Keyserling before a vote is taken today.

I shall give the Senate some information, which I would not normally give to the Senate at this time. It has to do with the current proceedings of the Loyalty Board of the Department of Commerce. We should very definitely distinguish between the Commerce Department's Loyalty Board and the State Department's Loyalty Board. The Commerce Department's Loyalty Board under Mr. Sawyer has been doing, to the best of my knowledge, a fairly good job.

Leon Keyserling's wife, the former Mary Dublin, works in the Department of Commerce. Mary Dublin Keyserling and Leon Keyserling have been under oath testifying before the Commerce Department's Loyalty Board a short time ago. They were asked about the Communist activities of Leon Keyserling, the man mentioned in the David Lawrence column, who is the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. They were asked about his Communist activities and about his wife's Communist activities. The evidence presented to the Board shows that Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling had been a member of the Communist Party and that she belonged to an unlimited number of Communist fronts. The evidence before the McCarran

committee is to the effect—that evidence has not yet been made public, and I hesitate to make it public except that I think the Senate should have the information at this time—the sworn evidence before the McCarran committee is to the effect that Leon Keyserling had been approached and asked to join the Communist Party. At the time he said he agreed with all the principles of the party except that he would not agree on the necessity for a so-called "black belt" or Negro republic in the South. He would not agree with the Communist Party on that point. I am referring now to the sworn testimony before the Board. He also disagreed with the Communist Party's theory that the United States could be communized only through a bloody revolution.

He said in effect: "Given the necessary power, we can do this job through economic measures, without any bloody revolution."

The sworn testimony shows that at that time Keyserling was a rather obscure clerk in a Senator's office, and was subsequently skyrocketed to power, until today, as the Senate knows, he is Chairman of the Economic Council.

For the benefit of the members of the McCarran committee, I may say that this information as to the testimony before the McCarran committee was not obtained from the membership or the staff of the committee.

As to the Department of Commerce Loyalty Board hearings, let me say that that board held hearings in regard to Keyserling's wife, who has been working in the Department of Commerce. The testimony before that board, as I believe I have stated, was that she had been a member of the Communist Party and active in an unlimited number of Communist fronts. Both she and Keyserling were called to testify. After they finished testifying, some members of the Department of Commerce Loyalty Board felt that the record should be submitted to the grand jury for perjury indictment because the Keyserlings lied about their Communist activities, but no formal decision was made.

Thereafter the pressure from the White House has been unlimited to keep them from submitting the Keyserling cases to the grand jury.

I would suggest that the proper Senate committee call the membership of the Commerce Department's Loyalty Board, call the panel which has been holding hearings in the Keyserling case, and put them under oath; and I know that at least one of the members of that Loyalty Board will be willing and eager to give the Senate the picture as it developed, covering the Communist activities of these two individuals.

With that picture, Mr. President, I think the words of David Lawrence become doubly important, when he says:

The design for an economic crash is being made this very week in Washington.

For we know, or will know if the Senate gets the facts from the Department of Commerce Loyalty Board, that that decision was made by a man whose wife is a member of the Communist Party, and who himself has said, "I believe in

all of the Communist Party program except a Negro republic for the South; I differ on that and also on the necessity of a bloody revolution—we can communize this country without a revolution if we have the economic power."

Now he has that economic power.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], on behalf of himself and other Senators.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, before the vote is had, I desire to make a few brief remarks on the pending amendment.

I have always mistrusted and feared the doctrine of what is called inherent power. I fear the invocation of inherent power even in the greatest emergency. If the American people ever suffer for a loss of their rights and liberties, in my opinion that loss will flow from the use or abuse of what men choose to call inherent powers.

Ours is a Government of written laws. It must never become a Government by the edict of any one man. All laws have some standards; they have some limitations. When we commence the application of inherent powers, there is no limit except the self-restraint and the sense of fairness of the men in authority who assert and apply such alleged powers.

Any statute, even a poor one, even a bad one, is highly preferable in any case to the assistance of the naked power of an individual. The law written by the Congress, the representatives of the people, should always be utilized, rather than government by executive fiat.

Mr. President, I do not approve of the President's action in seizing the property of the steel companies under the claim of inherent presidential powers. At least two statutes were available, even though it can be strongly urged that their use either could have brought about delay or would have required a strained construction.

However, Mr. President, let it be remembered that if the President of the United States has the power to seize the steel mills, he has the power to seize the unions of the employees in those mills. The members of the steel union would feel great resentment if they found some captain or major of the Army sitting in the place of their business agent or the secretary-treasurer of the local union.

Mr. President, I am not one of those who think that President Truman has any desire to impose a dictatorship upon this country. Nevertheless, his action in relying on inherent powers does furnish a blueprint to any future President of the United States who might find that the ends justified the means, and might issue a series of proclamations which could result in a dictatorship.

Mr. President, I am perfectly willing here and now to support remedial legislation that will take the steel mills from the hands of the President and will provide a definite law for the settlement of this controversy. I will support any fair legislation for this purpose, even if it be opposed by the unions or the management of the steel companies, or by both the unions and the management of the steel companies.

But, Mr. President, no such legislation is brought forward here. The amendment which is before us does not solve this problem; it does not propose or pretend to solve it; and it certainly will not abate the confusion which now surrounds the seizure of these mills by Presidential action. If this amendment can have any substantial effect other than to increase that confusion, I cannot read it into the language of the amendment. At very best this amendment constitutes only an expression by the Congress of disapproval of the President's methods.

I have no objection whatever to expressing my disapproval of the President's action; I am doing so here. However, I do not wish to add to the danger of chaos by taking action here that is purely negative in dealing with such a delicate problem.

Mr. President, if the Congress is to adopt this amendment, we should likewise propose a legislative remedy at the same time. It is not clear that the adoption of this amendment as proposed would have any effect whatever, and it could cause chaos if the President chose not to invoke the law; it could interfere with and delay the adjudication by the courts of the propriety of the President's action. Such a negative approach to this problem might bring about conditions that no man can foresee at this time.

If the legislative branch of the Government wishes to assert its power in this matter—and there is no doubt whatever in my mind that the legislative branch does possess that power—we should do so by affirmative law providing a remedy and a recourse rather than to take an action that is purely negative in nature.

In my judgment, adoption of this amendment would do nothing but contribute to the confusion and add to the dangers to the national health and safety which already have been created by the mishandling and the bungling in this steel controversy. I do not believe this amendment, as submitted, will be helpful. I can see many ways by which it can be harmful.

Unless it is in some way coupled with some legislative remedy of an affirmative nature, I will feel in duty bound to oppose the amendment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield to me? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I merely wish to take this opportunity, not to take the time of the Senate, but to express in connection with this matter my association of thought—both legal and otherwise—with the statement the Senator from Georgia has made; and I shall vote against the amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield to me? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. BRICKER. The Senator from Georgia has been critical of the remedy which has been proposed by Senators on this side of the aisle. Does the Senator from Georgia have any suggestion along so-called affirmative lines at this time, to cope with this situation?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have not. I doubt very much the wisdom of undertaking to deal with it in an appropriation bill, in the first instance; I do not think that is a constructive approach, by offering an amendment which I have been told relates only to \$30,000 or \$40,000. But there are provisions that could be offered. I am not a member of the committee which deals with this subject. Unfortunately, I have not had time to draft a proposal, though I have consulted with a member of the drafting service about the matter. I have discussed with those who have proposed this amendment the question of suggesting additional remedies. I wish that something could be offered. However, in my youth, I was taught never to bite off my nose to spite my face; and, merely because I do not like the President's action, I do not intend to support action which I think would be harmful rather than helpful.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] for himself and other Senators. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business, as a member of the Board of Visitors to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of a death in his family.

I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is paired on this vote with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay" and the Senator from Ohio would vote "yea."

I announce also that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is paired on this vote with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "nay."

I announce further that if present and voting the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] would vote "yea."

Mr. BRIDGES. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], and the Senator from California [Mr. NIXON] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from California [Mr. NIXON], the Senators from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN and Mr. DUFF], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] would each vote "yea."

On this vote the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Ohio would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—44

Aiken	Eaton	O'Connor
Bennett	Ellender	Robertson
Brewster	Ferguson	Schoeppel
Bricker	Hendrickson	Seaton
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smathers
Butler, Md.	Hoey	Smith, Maine
Butler, Nebr.	Holland	Smith, N. J.
Byrd	Jenner	Stennis
Cain	Kem	Thye
Capehart	Knowland	Tobey
Case	Lodge	Welker
Cordon	Maybank	Wiley
Dirksen	McCarthy	Williams
Dworshak	McClellan	Young
Eastland	Mundt	

NAYS—31

Anderson	Hennings	Moody
Benton	Hill	Morse
Chavez	Humphrey	Murray
Clements	Johnson, Tex.	Neely
Connally	Johnston, S. C.	O'Mahoney
Douglas	Kerr	Pastore
Frear	Kilgore	Russell
Fulbright	Langer	Sparkman
Gillette	Lehman	Underwood
Green	Magnuson	
Hayden	McFarland	

NOT VOTING—21

Carlson	Kefauver	Millikin
Duff	Long	Monrone
Flanders	Malone	Nixon
George	Martin	Saltonstall
Hunt	McCarran	Smith, N. C.
Ives	McKellar	Taft
Johnson, Colo.	McMahon	Watkins

So the amendment offered by Mr. FERGUSON for himself, Mr. BRIDGES, and Mr. KNOWLAND was agreed to.

SEIZURE OF STEEL PLANTS

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I intended to make a statement with reference to the seizure of the steel industry by the President, but because of the lateness of the hour I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed at an appropriate place in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HICKENLOOPER

On April 8, 1952, the President of the United States issued an Executive order which amounted to confiscation of the steel industry of our country.

The evidence proves that this drastic action was totally unnecessary. Notice was served upon the President by the steel unions on December 31, 1951, that a strike was impending. It was obvious to everyone that a shut-down of the steel industry would deal a crippling blow to the national security and to the national preparedness effort. The President had available for his use the Taft-Hartley law, an act which had been specifically designed to provide lawful procedures to cope with such situations. In past disputes of this nature, he had invoked that law nine separate times. It had been tested in the courts and upheld as a proper legal procedure for dealing with industrial disputes, but in this instance, for some reason, the President refused to use this clearly defined and legal means provided him by the Congress for use in such cases.

In addition, the Congress was in session and the President could have requested additional legislation in the event that he deemed it necessary. This was not a crisis in the sense of an unavoidable disaster, calamity, or sudden catastrophe necessitating the exercise of emergency powers, because legal machinery was available.

It is my contention that, in accordance with the all too familiar pattern of the New Deal administration of the last 20 years, an infection which could have been controlled, and probably satisfactorily cured, was allowed to fester and to spread until the last hour when, with dramatic cries of "emergency," the Executive could usurp autocratic powers.

It is not without significance that the seizure order was issued by the President at a time when the communications industry was in the throes of a strike which has to this moment prevented the people from completely expressing their views to their legislative representatives.

There are many questions involved in the seizure of the private property of this basic American industry by the President of the United States. To me the dispute between management and labor is one for settlement under our private-enterprise system and is a matter collateral to the basic issue. In my opinion, the reasonableness or the unreasonableness of the recommendations of various parties in the controversy is beside the point as compared to the fundamental question.

I have long been a supporter of industrial arbitration, but I am shocked by the use of Presidential position to claim emergency powers in an effort to make binding upon labor or management the recommendations of a Government board whose findings were intended to be merely a basis for negotiation between the parties to a dispute.

The fundamental question involved is whether or not the President of the United States actually possesses the power which he has assumed in such unwarranted and dictatorial fashion.

Every informed American is aware that the President bypassed the legislation in force and put the Government into the steel business without the authority of the Congress or of the people. The question of what he should have done is now academic. The American people are faced with the fact that he did seize the steel industry of our country in time of peace without any specific constitutional authority. The problem now to be decided is whether or not his action shall be allowed to go unchallenged by the Congress and the people of the Nation.

The Constitution of the United States provides for a system of checks and balances between the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches. Under the Constitution certain powers are delegated to each branch; certain powers are specifically prohibited to each branch; and the remaining powers are reserved to the people.

The question of the inherent powers of the Chief Executive has been debated since the birth of this Republic. The Supreme Court of the United States has never drawn a clear line of demarcation to serve as a standard of limitation by which the acts of the President can be evaluated, but certainly the whole burden of judicial decision has been that Executive authority extends only to carrying out the specific duties assigned by the Constitution and the execution of the laws passed by Congress.

Most Presidents, however, have shown no disposition to strain this authority to the point where the people become fearful of their liberty. In fact most Presidents have assumed a solemn purpose of protecting private rights against seizure.

It is the solemn responsibility of the Executive of the United States to exercise his powers in such a way as to faithfully perform the duties of his office in accordance with his oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Under our system of Government the mere fact that the President makes a categorical declaration or assumption of power does not mean that the Executive has the power which he claims, or that he is entitled to the exercise of that power.

It is the equally solemn responsibility of every Member of the United States Congress to evaluate the acts of the President insofar as they may constitute a usurpment of the constitutional power of the legislative branch, and an arrogant flouting of the basic responsibilities of the one branch of Government truly representative of the people.

I am not impressed by arguments which I have heard presented on the floor of the Senate that this is a constitutional issue of such complexity that only the learned professors of constitutional law are equipped to discuss it. Constitutional lawyers are not the guardians of the rights of the Congress. They are private advocates of their own theories and disagree among themselves. The question with which we are now concerned is not so much the debatable inherent powers of the President as it is the protection of the specifically defined and recognized powers of the legislature as they are enumerated in the Constitution. In my opinion, every Member of the legislative branch must search his own conscience and decide whether or not this action of the Executive is an encroachment upon the constitutional power of the legislative branch. If the answer is "Yes," it is the responsibility of each Member of the Congress to resist that encroachment with all lawful procedures available. I fail to see how any Member can avoid that responsibility. I further fail to see how any Member of the Congress can evade the question, or can delegate to anyone else the responsibility for determining whether or not the constitutional prerogatives of the Congress have been set aside. In the final analysis, common sense, which seems so uncommon today, should prevail.

After careful reflection, I have concluded that the action of the President was a dictatorial assumption of the legislative authority of the Congress and a violent attack upon the private rights of citizens. I am of the opinion that this confiscation of private property without due process of the law was in violation of the Constitution of the United States. I am convinced the steel dispute between labor and management was one of a type anticipated and clearly provided for by legislation which had been enacted by

the Congress of the United States. In bypassing the existing statute, I conclude, therefore, that the President has seized authority which clearly belongs to the Congress.

I am gravely concerned about the precedents which have been established in the last 20 years relative to the seizure of private property. The fact that Mr. Truman, since taking his oath of office, has invoked seizure on numerous occasions is alarming. If the Chief Executive may, in time of peace, confiscate one of the largest industries in the United States, take over the powers of the Congress, and dictate to industry and labor the terms of settlement of their dispute, I fear for the destruction of our constitutional system.

The political device used by the administration during the past 20 years of creating crisis after crisis, may ruin some of the public into the acceptance of authority no matter what its source and to allow our Anglo-Saxon heritage of political and economic traditions to be abandoned, but if we are to have a government of laws instead of a government by men, we must not allow the destruction of the institutions which protect the liberties of the people, and we must move swiftly and vigorously against any executive who attempts seizure of power in order to rule rather than serve the people.

This is not the first time the President of the United States has demonstrated his contempt for the Congress. I remember on February 20, 1948, President Truman stated, "Conditions are too grave in the world at this time to put a Congress in control of the purse strings of this country." We are all aware of the numerous occasions on which the President has refused to reveal the Congress information concerning the conduct of the people's business. In fact, the day has come when the President asserts that the Congress is not sufficiently wise to be entrusted with public information, essential to protect the integrity of Government, but also should not have "control of the purse strings." The file clerks and the messengers of Mr. Truman's executive morass can be told, but not the Congress. I have not forgotten that our present executive succeeded in getting himself elected in 1948 on a campaign libelling the Congress of the United States.

The American people must be aware that the first step toward socialism and toward dictatorship is the destruction of the national legislature. Let there be no public apathy at this time. Hitler burned the Reichstag; Mussolini emasculated the Chamber of Deputies. If the President of the United States is allowed to govern by decree from the White House, the Congress of the United States might just as well pack up and go home.

As far as the press is concerned, Mr. Truman has castigated his critics on innumerable occasions and has recently issued an Executive order which the president of the Associated Press characterized as inviting "a creeping censorship of a kind never before established in this country in time of peace or even in time of war throughout history."

At his last press conference the President implied that if he thought proper, under his claimed inherent powers, he could seize the press of America as he had seized the steel industry. This remark was no doubt a true reflection of his views, but it is further ominous proof of his philosophy. It must further shock the American people.

Our institutions which must protect the rights and liberties of the American people from an autocratic Executive are the Congress, the courts, and the free press. All three of these institutions are now under Executive fire.

Having concluded that this latest act of seizure by the President is an unwarranted high-handed assumption of legislative au-

thority, I am prepared to support all lawful measures to oppose this action. Some responsible Members of the Senate have publicly stated that, in their opinion, the President's action constitutes prima facie grounds for impeachment proceedings. That is a matter to be decided by the Members of the House of Representatives who are constitutionally charged with that responsibility. Pending such decision, I have joined in sponsoring and will vigorously support the resolution filed by the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and others calling for a penetrating inquiry into the action of the President in connection with his seizure order. I will support all other lawful procedures such as the withholding of appropriations, the withholding of advice and consent on confirmations, and the enactment of special legislation which will aid in preserving to the Congress of the United States its rightful functions, and fundamental powers to legislate for the Nation.

I am convinced that unless the Congress of the United States fights for the preservation of its constitutional powers, our very system of government of checks and balances is threatened with destruction.

Mr. SCHOEPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement which I had intended to make on the steel seizure situation but did not make because of lack of time.

There being no objection the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR SCHOEPEL

Ten years ago, on Sunday, December 7, 1941, at 1:25 p. m., New York time, the naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan shattered Pearl Harbor.

President Roosevelt said it was a day which will long live in infamy. He said that there "is no blinking at the fact that our people * * * and our interests are in grave danger."

About 2 weeks ago, on Tuesday, April 8, 1952, at approximately 10:35 p. m., New York time, President Truman announced his intention to seize the steel industry. He has since been engaged in the work of carrying out that purpose.

Today, as on December 7, 1941, our people and our interests are in grave danger. I speak not of those who pull the strings from behind the iron curtain. I speak of an act which has no constitutional basis whatsoever. I speak of the seizure of steel by Executive fiat.

For 6 years now, we have been at grips with Russia in a cold war in Europe.

We have done this because we believe our freedoms and the safety of our homes are at stake.

I say that if the evil effects of the seizure of steel are not undone, we shall face a greater menace from within than that which we are fighting from without. In our zeal to protect our freedoms and our homes from our external enemies, we will have lost all that we hold dear.

Basically, the claim of the President is that he has the so-called inherent power to do what he did. He leans ponderously for support on article II, section 1, of the Constitution which states that "The Executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States."

He can find no comfort there.

Charles Warren, the distinguished student of constitutional law, said in his book, *The Making of the Constitution*, that "In view of the very narrow powers granted to the State executives by the State constitution, or actually exercised by such executives, it can hardly be doubted that the Convention intended to vest in the President only such

authority as was contained in the various specific powers granted in the second section or as might be implied from each such specific power."

This is as it should be. For if the situation were otherwise, where are we to draw the line? By what yardstick are we to measure the President's inherent power? How are we to say—how are the courts to say—you have exceeded your powers? And if the time arises when no other authority can say this, will the President not be a dictator? Will we not have passed into a government of men and not of laws?

To me it seems as absurd to say that the President shares the power to take property with Congress, as to say that he shares with us powers to levy and collect taxes, to raise and maintain an army, to coin money, to regulate interstate commerce, or to do any of the things which the Constitution entrusts to us. Let me illustrate what I mean.

Suppose Congress decides that a 3,000,000-man Military Establishment is sufficient for our defense. And assume that we have appropriated \$30,000,000,000 for all of our needs.

Suppose also that the President decides that we should have 7,000,000 men under arms, and believes that a \$100,000,000,000 budget would satisfy his needs. He goes on the air to speak to the people. President Truman's speech of 2 weeks ago may be used, with appropriate modifications, to fit the occasion:

"I have to think about our soldiers in Korea, facing the Chinese Communists, and about our soldiers and allies in Europe, confronted by the military power massed behind the iron curtain. I have to think of the danger of our security if we are forced, for lack of money, to cut down our atomic-energy program.

"I have no doubt that if our defense program fails for lack of money and men, the danger of war, the possibility of hostile attack, grows that much greater.

"I would not be faithful to my responsibilities as President if I did not use every effort to keep this from happening. * * * Therefore, I am taking two actions tonight.

"First, I am directing the Secretary of the Treasury to raise \$70,000,000,000 by taxation.

"Second, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to draft 4,000,000 men immediately."

It can happen here if we let this illegal seizure go by default.

Some people say that the President did the right thing in this emergency. He himself implies that he did the only thing possible under the circumstances.

But our Supreme Court has informed us that "emergency does not create power." And Mr. Justice Jackson has said that "Security is like liberty in that many are the crimes committed in its name."

The hour of decision is upon us.

Shall we stand up and repudiate this gross usurpation of our power?

Shall we resolutely shield the people from the menace to their rights?

Or shall we condone it by inertia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a letter which I received today from E. J. Lavino & Co. under the signature of Edwin M. Lavino, and a copy of a letter sent by Mr. Lavino to the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Sawyer, both letters dealing with the steel seizure. I am asking that the letters be printed in the body of the RECORD because they tie in with the debate of today.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, April 18, 1952.

HON. STYLES H. BRIDGES,
United States Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The President's unauthorized seizure of the steel plants which were threatened with a strike, outrageous as it was, is even more outrageous with respect to our company, which is not engaged in the production of steel, has no defense contracts, was not a party to the labor negotiations the breakdown of which precipitated the strike threat in the steel industry and in fact had no labor negotiations in progress.

Our only connection is that at two of our plants, which produce ferro-manganese, and a third plant which produces basic refractories, the employees are members of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO.

At these plants our wage contracts with the locals of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO, do not terminate simultaneously with the wage contracts of the steel manufacturers and we have never participated in the bargaining negotiations of the steel industry.

Our prices do not follow the pattern of the steel industry but are affected by world conditions since our principal raw materials must be imported. Basic refractories' prices are governed by an entirely different set of competitive conditions not related to the steel industry. Our products are standard products not made specially for the steel industry, and are used in many types of industry. Furthermore our competitors in the basic refractories industries which do not happen to have employees in the United Steel Workers of America, CIO, have not been seized, which discriminates against us and places this phase of our business under a severe competitive handicap.

Therefore, we are not within the scope of the President's seizure order, although the Secretary of Commerce has seen fit to take the position that we were and is still in possession of the three plants above referred to, located at Lynchburg, Va.; Sheridan, Pa.; and Plymouth Meeting, Pa., although our other plants and facilities were released as stated in an AP dispatch of April 16.

We enclose herewith copy of a telegram sent to the Secretary of Commerce. We ask your earnest consideration of its contents and particularly that in any discussion on the floor of Congress you emphasize the distinguishing features of our situation.

Yours sincerely,

E. J. LAVINO & Co.,
EDWIN M. LAVINO,
President.

APRIL 14, 1952.

HON. CHARLES SAWYER,
Secretary of Commerce of United States,
Washington, D. C.

E. J. Lavino & Co., referred to below as "Lavino," hereby requests that you return to Lavino possession of its plants at Sheridan, Pa.; Lynchburg, Va.; and Plymouth Meeting, Pa.

Reference is made to the Executive order of the President of the United States, your order No. 1, Notice of Taking of Possession by the United States of America, and copy (received April 10, 1952) of telegram addressed to "President.....Steel Co." contained in an envelope addressed to me as president of E. J. Lavino & Co. appointing me operating manager for the United States of the properties of Lavino. In your telegram dated April 12, 1952, mailed by Western Union at Philadelphia April 13, and received by me today, you state that all properties of Lavino are excluded from the operation of the seizure order except Lavino's Plymouth meeting plant and Sheridan plant in Pennsylvania and its Lynchburg plant in Virginia.

This application is made pursuant to the President's Executive order and your order No. 1 above referred to.

The Executive order of the President above referred to was by its terms based upon a controversy which had arisen between certain companies in the United States producing and fabricating steel and certain of their workers represented by the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, referred to below as "Steelworkers" regarding terms and conditions of employment and upon the further circumstance that said controversy had not been settled through the processes of collective bargaining or through the efforts of the Government including those of the Wage Stabilization Board to which the controversy was referred on December 22, 1951, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10233.

Lavino was not a party to the controversy referred to in the Executive order of April 8, 1952, and no controversy to which Lavino was a party was referred to any agency of the Government, including the Wage Stabilization Board. Specifically, no controversy existed between Lavino and the steelworkers which was referred by the President of the United States to the Wage Stabilization Board on December 22, 1951. Lavino is not and has not been engaged in the production or fabrication of steel. Its plants at Sheridan, Pa., and Lynchburg, Va., manufacture ferro manganese and its plant at Plymouth Meeting, Pa., manufactures basic refractories.

For the purposes of collective-bargaining negotiations under the National Labor Relations Act, Lavino has never in the past participated, and is not now participating, in collective-bargaining negotiations carried on by representatives of the steel companies and the steelworkers.

The practice of Lavino and the steelworkers has been to make collective-bargaining agreements which expire after the terms of the collective-bargaining agreements negotiated by the steel companies with the steelworkers. Moreover, the practice has been for collective-bargaining negotiations between Lavino and steelworkers to be postponed until after the pattern of new collective-bargaining agreements has been set as a result of collective-bargaining negotiations between the steel companies and the steelworkers.

The present three collective-bargaining agreements between Lavino and the steelworkers all expire on January 31, 1952, which is 30 days after the expiration of the contracts between the steel companies and the steelworkers. No collective-bargaining negotiations have taken place between Lavino and any representatives of the steelworkers regarding terms and conditions of employment under a new collective-bargaining agreement. As stated above, the usual course would be that such collective-bargaining negotiations would be undertaken after the steel companies and the steelworkers had arrived at the basic terms of a new collective-bargaining agreement.

On April 4, 1952, Philip Murray, president of United Steelworkers of America, wrote Lavino letters stating that a strike has been called at its Sheridan, Lynchburg, and Plymouth meeting plants effective 12:01 a. m., April 9, 1952. However, no controversy regarding terms and conditions of employment then existed between Lavino and the steelworkers and no collective bargaining negotiations had been undertaken. As stated above, Lavino has never been a party to negotiations between the steel companies and the steelworkers regarding terms and conditions of employment and Lavino was not a party to the controversy which was referred to the Wage Stabilization Board by the President of the United States on December 22, 1951.

Any agreement which may be reached by the steel company and the steelworkers on terms of a new collective bargaining agreement cannot be determinative of many important terms of collective bargaining agreements between Lavino and the steelworkers.

The plant at Plymouth Meeting, which produces basic refractories, of necessity, has labor classifications and other methods of doing business which follow the practice of the refractories industry. These classifications and methods differ to such an extent from those prevailing in the steel-producing industry that few of the wage rates and job classifications of steel producers apply to Lavino's refractories plant.

The plants at Sheridan, Pa., and Lynchburg, Va., which make ferromanganese, have classifications similar to some of the classifications used by steel producers, but this is true only of blast furnace operations. Insofar as concerns the production of ferromanganese, these plants are in no way comparable as to hourly rates and job classifications with those which prevail in the plants which produce or fabricate steel.

The methods of doing business in each of Lavino's three plants necessarily conform closely to conditions which prevail in plants of competitors who do not have collective bargaining agreements with the steelworkers.

While we realize that the Government contends that price relief is not immediately involved in the controversy between the steel companies and the steelworkers, we submit that no fair and equitable agreement can be arrived at between the companies whose plants have been seized and the steelworkers without the Government affording price relief to the companies with respect to prices. In the case of Lavino, an additional ground for price relief arises out of the fact that one of the critical elements in the production of ferromanganese is manganese which is imported from foreign countries which are not subject to price controls imposed by the laws of the United States. Consequently, in the event that the present controversy between the steel companies and the steelworkers should be settled by a plan which involves price relief, such relief would not be applicable to Lavino, which would need special price relief adapted to the conditions of its own business.

Under all the facts, I request that you not only terminate your possession of all of Lavino's plants but that you simultaneously terminate my appointment as operating manager on behalf of the United States.

This telegram of necessity has been prepared in haste and Lavino reserves its right to amplify its statement of the grounds on which your possession of its plants should be terminated.

This application is made without prejudice to Lavino's legal rights and remedies, including its position that the seizure of its plants was unwarranted by law and was ineffective. You are respectfully requested to act on this application forthwith as Lavino desires to promptly protect its rights by appropriate action.

E. J. LAVINO & Co.,
EDWIN M. LAVINO, President.

CORRECTION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS IN HOUSE BILL 6947

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have corrected some typographical errors appearing in an amendment offered by me and adopted by the Senate to House bill 6947, last week. I ask that the words "to the" appearing in each of the titles of the five assistant secretaries, including the assistant attorney general, be stricken from the amendment.

This language appears on page 46, line 16, of House bill 6947.

The corrections will cost no money and make no change in the bill, but the corrections should be made in order to have the proper language in the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I should like to call up my amendment which is identified by the figures "4-17-52-A."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, line 25, it is proposed to strike out \$69,500,000" and insert in lieu thereof \$19,500,000."

On page 7, line 3, it is proposed to strike out "\$55,009,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$5,009,000."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, when the Budget Bureau submitted its estimate of requested expenditures for the Bureau of Public Roads for the current year 1951-52, it asked for an appropriation of \$420,000,000. The House cut this figure to \$325,000,000, a reduction of \$95,000,000.

The Senate approved this cut, so that the Congress, last year, after deliberation, decided that \$325,000,000 would be an adequate amount.

The Bureau of Public Roads has come forward with a request for \$75,000,000 more. With other unexpended balances, which will be available, amounting to \$23,500,000 the total extra amount available for the fiscal year 1951-52 would have been \$98,500,000. This would have been \$3,500,000 more than the \$95,000,000 reduction we made last year.

The proposal now before the Senate makes a \$5,500,000 reduction below the amount requested by the Bureau of Public Roads. However, it would still permit a restoration of \$93,000,000 of the \$95,000,000 cut which we thought we were making last year, and would bring the total amounts available to the Bureau of Public Roads up to \$418,000,000. This is virtually all of the original 1951-52 budget estimate of \$420,000,000.

Mr. President, I think a number of issues are involved. One issue, of course, is the question as to whether one Congress can commit another Congress to a level of appropriations for a specific program and force a later Congress to follow policies laid down earlier. I know it will be said that the Congress, in previous measures, has authorized the expenditure of these funds, and that, therefore, the Bureau of Public Roads, in a supplemental appropriation bill, is merely asking that a previous authorization made by the Congress should be honored. I

know it will also be said that the practice has grown up in the administration of Federal aid for public roads that after Congress has made an authorization, the Bureau of Public Roads proceeds to make contracts with the several States, committing the Federal Government in advance of appropriations.

It seems to me this is a somewhat dangerous custom for us to permit to continue. It is a custom whereby Congress abdicates its annual control over expenditures—a custom which we can ill afford.

In matters of foreign appropriations we draw a very clear distinction between authorizations and appropriations, and Members of Congress are insistent that the Federal Government be not permitted to commit the Government to actual expenditures of money until after it has been appropriated. But in connection with public roads the position is taken that the authorization is sufficient, and once the authorization has been made, the Bureau of Public Roads can go ahead and make binding commitments. Then when such commitments are made, even though the Federal Government has not appropriated the money, it must make further appropriations to fulfill these commitments.

If we accept this principle, it means that we might as well cease to provide any distinction between authorizations and appropriations, so far as public roads are concerned. We might as well give up our power to appropriate and merely say that the authorization automatically carries with it the appropriation, a distinction which we are very careful to maintain in other fields of expenditure.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes; certainly I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Highway Act—and highway legislation is enacted every 2 years—is unique in that it differs from all other legislation by providing that sums of money authorized to be appropriated, if matched by States on approved projects, then become contractual obligations of the United States. That is not true of other authorizations. The Senator from Illinois himself had that distinctly in mind, as he will see when I quote from the RECORD of April 18, 1950, when the last Highway Act was under consideration. The Senator said:

So, Mr. President, we are now determining how much money is to be spent on highways for the year 1951-52 and for the year 1952-53. We are in effect appropriating the money, because the intermediate step of contract authorizations approved by Congress is swept away, and we move, in the case of public roads, directly from an authorization into an appropriation, and that appropriation, in turn, is said to be outside the control of Congress.

That is a quotation from the Senator from Illinois himself.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I think this should be read in context with other paragraphs in the statement. In the preceding paragraph, I made it quite clear that this was not my position. Twice, in pointing out this problem I said "It will be said that we cannot reduce appropriations because commit-

ments would already have been made." I was merely pointing out that this was the position which would be taken by the Committee on Appropriations and the subcommittee dealing with the particular appropriations bill. I was pointing out that we would have difficulty in reducing the appropriation because that argument would be made. Certainly I do not accept that premise.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator is mistaken. The bill authorizing appropriations for Federal aid to the States for highways for 2 years is merely an authorization bill. It has nothing to do with the appropriation. The Senator from Illinois was discussing it, and he pointed out at that time that under the terms of the bill it was equivalent to an appropriation, if the terms of the bill were met.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Under the procedures which Congress had previously adopted when I tried to reduce roads appropriations.

Mr. HAYDEN. No, under the terms of the law itself, which states that if a State complies with the act, the obligation is a contractual one on the part of the United States and must be met.

I should like to inquire of the Senator if in the preparation of the amendment he has just offered he conferred with any of the score or more former governors of States who are Members of the Senate?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No. I realize that Federal aid for public roads is very popular with former State governors, however.

Mr. HAYDEN. All of them are thoroughly familiar with the law. There must be at least a score of Senators who are former governors and who know that the law operates in this manner, and that it is necessary that it should so operate, because otherwise State legislatures, which meet biennially, would not know how much to contribute.

I believe the Senator would have learned, if he had inquired of any of the Senators who are former governors—and there are probably two dozen of them in the Senate—that that is the fact. That is the way it is understood, to my knowledge. The Government planned it that way, and the States so understand it.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. MAYBANK. The governor has to go to the legislature, through the highway department, and obtain authority for the State's part of the fund.

Mr. HAYDEN. Certainly if he knows what the authorization is, he knows the amount of money that is coming to his State, and the State legislature can then appropriate money to match the Federal contribution.

Mr. MAYBANK. And the States do that.

Mr. HAYDEN. They do. They absolutely rely upon the authorization act.

Again let me inquire of the Senator from Illinois, Did he inquire of the Governor of his own State of Illinois before he offered the amendment?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; I did not. But I have had letters from county road of-

ficials in Illinois who have stated their willingness to take reductions in the interest of economy.

Mr. HAYDEN. Did the Senator inquire of the Illinois State Highway Commission?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; I did not.

Mr. HAYDEN. They would have told the Senator that they absolutely relied and depended upon the authorization made by Congress.

The situation at this moment is that the entire amount of funds is exhausted and has been exhausted since April 15. Vouchers from States, in the amount of more than \$7,000,000, are now awaiting payment.

Mr. MAYBANK. And the States have already put up their share of the money by acts of their legislatures.

Mr. HAYDEN. The State does the work. The Congress of the United States then says, "If the State does the work according to approved standards, the United States Government will match the State funds." But the State first lets the contract. If the State does the work, the State pays the money.

Mr. MAYBANK. The highway department of Virginia, Arizona, or some other State meets with Mr. McDonald, of the Bureau of Public Roads, and learns how it is to be done. But the States put up the money.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should like to make reply to my friend, the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. President, as I feared, I have stirred up a real hornet's nest. I think it demonstrates the precise point I made in August of 1950; namely, that once the authorization for highways is passed then for all practical purposes, we lose control over subsequent appropriations for highways. I do not accept this premise. But I must certainly admit that Congress seems to operate on this basis. It is claimed that we are faced with a contractual obligation.

My purpose in offering the amendment was to separate completely the contractual argument from the substance of the amendment which I shall shortly substitute for the pending amendment. The substitute amendment will have absolutely no effect on these so-called contractual agreements.

I hope I shall be forgiven for offering my amendment after having offered the pending proposal. But we have become so habituated to raising the old contractual argument every time we propose a reduction in highway funds that I felt my amendment would be clearer to proceed in this manner.

What I shall actually propose is this: A reduction of \$50,000,000. The so-called commitments which this money is intended to fulfill can be met out of funds appropriated in the regular appropriations bill which should become law in a month or two. Thus the actual reduction would be made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952-53. A reduction equal to \$50,000,000 in the amounts to which the Bureau of Public Roads could commit us for the corre-

sponding fiscal year would be made by adding a proviso that no part of the money could be disbursed to States unless they submitted programs which were 10 percent smaller than their allocations.

Thus, by adopting my amendment, we could save \$50,000,000 without upsetting any claimed commitments. We can do this since no State has as yet submitted programs in excess of 90 percent of their allocation for 1952-53.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator will have an opportunity to do that when the regular bill comes before the Senate. He also will have an opportunity again to discuss the entire problem, when another authorization bill will soon be reported to the Senate. This is a case where money has absolutely been promised to the States. We must meet our obligations.

Mr. DOUGLAS. No. That bill will pertain not to the fiscal year 1952-53, as does my amendment. The bill mentioned by the Senator will pertain to the fiscal years 1953-54 and 1954-55. And, as I shall point out, my amendment will not affect any obligations made by the Bureau of Public Roads.

The process of making these commitments is as follows:

First, Bureau of Public Roads apportion money to States.

Second, States submit programs.

Third, Bureau of Public Roads approves program.

Fourth, award of contracts. At this point the Government is claimed to be bound by contract to pay the sums contracted for.

Fifth, States submit progress vouchers and receive payments of 90 percent of the Federal share for work in place.

Sixth, States submit final vouchers for complete settlement of Federal share.

The reduction I am recommending would affect only the first of these steps, the apportionment of the authorization.

The apportionment of roads funds for the fiscal year 1952-53 was \$481,300,000. These funds were apportioned by the Bureau of Public Roads on November 14, 1951.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the Record, a table showing the apportionment of these funds.

There being no objection, the table was ordered printed, as follows:

Sums apportioned to the States by the Bureau of Public Roads for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953

	Sums apportioned for—					Sums apportioned for—			
	Federal-aid highway system	Secondary or feeder roads	Urban highways	Total		Federal-aid highway system	Secondary or feeder roads	Urban highways	Total
Alabama.....	\$4,667,971	\$3,621,928	\$1,586,037	\$9,875,936	New Jersey.....	\$2,865,782	\$967,042	\$5,299,454	\$9,132,278
Arizona.....	3,294,585	2,243,550	470,881	6,009,016	New Mexico.....	3,618,689	2,485,056	397,303	6,501,048
Arkansas.....	3,659,614	2,931,245	677,225	7,268,084	New York.....	10,383,535	4,159,385	16,181,382	20,724,302
California.....	10,160,691	5,233,338	10,761,356	26,155,385	North Carolina.....	5,449,728	4,659,539	1,555,635	11,664,902
Colorado.....	3,988,333	2,663,608	1,006,137	7,658,076	North Dakota.....	3,225,855	2,340,775	204,704	5,771,334
Connecticut.....	1,401,852	721,875	2,344,571	4,468,298	Ohio.....	7,696,430	4,680,567	7,005,558	19,382,555
Delaware.....	1,082,813	721,875	248,278	2,052,966	Oklahoma.....	4,742,881	3,394,931	1,322,620	9,460,432
Florida.....	3,513,455	2,295,574	2,170,778	7,979,807	Oregon.....	3,798,273	2,653,463	970,723	7,422,464
Georgia.....	5,491,196	4,190,994	1,764,294	11,446,484	Pennsylvania.....	8,680,399	5,165,523	9,164,833	23,010,755
Idaho.....	2,737,218	1,924,535	232,887	4,894,740	Rhode Island.....	1,082,813	721,875	865,420	2,670,108
Illinois.....	8,528,157	4,638,620	8,466,307	21,633,084	South Carolina.....	2,985,798	2,470,183	832,764	6,288,745
Indiana.....	5,248,078	3,616,889	11,761,197	20,626,172	South Dakota.....	3,452,003	2,465,050	235,133	6,152,188
Iowa.....	5,376,541	3,931,409	1,437,217	10,745,167	Tennessee.....	4,711,574	3,680,474	1,750,001	10,142,649
Kansas.....	5,404,541	3,781,841	1,137,837	10,324,219	Texas.....	14,305,046	9,577,321	5,799,612	29,681,979
Kentucky.....	4,062,250	3,373,828	1,257,187	8,693,265	Utah.....	2,540,514	1,680,413	912,969	4,733,896
Louisiana.....	3,413,927	2,472,350	1,774,598	7,660,875	Vermont.....	1,082,813	721,875	188,498	1,993,186
Maine.....	1,864,396	1,333,474	505,856	3,703,826	Virginia.....	4,204,200	3,266,315	1,887,806	9,358,321
Maryland.....	1,935,063	1,182,205	2,054,609	5,171,877	Washington.....	3,668,653	2,449,109	1,826,656	7,942,418
Massachusetts.....	2,783,698	1,026,797	5,038,809	8,849,304	West Virginia.....	2,409,873	2,097,655	787,881	5,295,409
Michigan.....	6,877,365	4,196,989	5,634,433	16,708,787	Wisconsin.....	5,254,962	3,664,818	2,370,616	11,290,396
Minnesota.....	5,822,661	4,106,109	1,971,328	11,900,098	Wyoming.....	2,757,134	1,868,238	131,630	4,757,002
Mississippi.....	3,446,486	3,287,577	670,253	7,404,316	Hawaii.....	1,082,813	721,875	407,089	2,211,777
Missouri.....	6,369,052	4,309,461	2,981,397	13,659,910	District of Columbia.....	1,082,813	721,875	1,045,855	2,850,543
Montana.....	4,475,436	3,077,359	285,067	7,837,862	Puerto Rico.....	1,145,457	1,197,494	1,040,599	3,383,550
Nebraska.....	4,294,741	3,045,380	710,025	8,050,146					
Nevada.....	2,863,524	1,913,466	92,199	4,869,189					
New Hampshire.....	1,082,813	721,875	351,161	2,155,849					
					Total.....	216,562,500	144,375,000	120,312,500	481,250,000

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads.

Mr. DOUGLAS. However, as of April 1, 1952, according to the Bureau of Public Roads, 82 percent of these funds apportioned had not been programed. The State with the highest percentage of funds programed is Arizona, with 81 percent programed and 19 percent unprogramed. California has 79 percent programed and 21 percent unprogramed.

Thus, the amounts authorized to be spent for fiscal 1953, can be reduced by 10 percent, or nearly \$50 million, without affecting a single State program which has been submitted to the Bureau of Public Roads.

My amendment would reduce the appropriation for the current fiscal year by \$50 million. This money is for the payment of obligations already asserted to be incurred. However, these obligations can be met out of regular appropriations for fiscal 1952-53 since the amendment would also reduce the total amount which the Bureau of Public Roads could

commit the Government for the fiscal year 1952-53.

So I shall now modify my amendment. I send the modification to the desk, and I ask the Senator from Arizona to notice the added proviso.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment, as modified.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, line 25, it is proposed to strike out "\$69,500,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$19,500,000."

On page 7, line 3, it is proposed to strike out "\$55,009,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$5,009,000."

On page 7, line 4, it is proposed to strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided, That no part of the funds appropriated in this chapter shall be available for disbursement to any State which submits programs to the Bureau of Public Roads for Federal-aid highways in excess of 90 percent of the amounts ap-

portioned to that State by the Bureau of Public Roads for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I make a point of order that the proviso is legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should like to suggest that it is not legislation; it is a limitation.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair would like to examine the amendment, since a point of order has been made against it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, may I be heard on the point of order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will ask the Senate to suspend for a minute until the Chair reads the amendment.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, may I be heard on the point of order?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, if I correctly heard the modified amendment proposed by the distinguished Senator from Illinois, as now drafted, it applies not to the period of time covered by this supplemental appropriation bill but to the next annual period, which will be covered by an annual appropriation bill. Therefore, the amendment would operate to change the terms of the legislative authorization already applicable to that period of time. For that reason, I think the point of order made by the distinguished Senator from Arizona is well taken.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Dakota wish to discuss the point of order?

Mr. CASE. Yes, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the Senator.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the proviso would clearly amend existing law. Therefore it is legislation. As the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] has stated, highway acts are always authorizations for contractual relations between the United States Government and the several States. That has been so historically ever since the Hayden-Cartwright Act was first enacted, in order that State legislatures might know what revenues they would have to provide for matching purposes. Highway acts have always been contractual authorizations. In that respect they have been in the same category as acts which have appropriated funds for a certain purpose, and then added to the contractual obligations. The appropriations are merely to provide for the cash requirements under the contracts made. This amendment would amend existing law, and would certainly be legislation.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, if I may be heard on this question, the Senator from South Dakota was, I think, speaking on the substantive parts of the amendment rather than on the question as to whether or not it is legislation. Surely the Senator from South Dakota is aware of the steps by which these funds are distributed. The first step is that the Bureau of Public Roads apportions money to the States. The second step is that the States submit definite programs, indicating how the moneys apportioned are to be spent. The point I am trying to make is that as of the first of April of this year only 18 percent of the funds allocated have been covered by definite programs submitted by the States. Arizona has programed a higher percentage of its total allocation than any other State. And even Arizona still has 19 percent of its allocation unprogramed. Thus, a 10-percent reduction, as I propose, would not affect a single State program which has ever been submitted to the Bureau of Public Roads.

What I am proposing is that the Senate adopt my amendment now as a means for keeping down the programed expenditures for the coming fiscal year.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the House of Representatives has already anticipated the situation to which the Senator from Illinois refers by reducing, in the appropriation bill for the State, Justice, and Commerce Departments and the Judiciary, the estimates for payment under the highway act by \$75,000,000. The Senator from Illinois is in the wrong pew and in the wrong church. The place to raise the question of whether or not contractual obligations are proper is in connection with the authorization bill, which will soon be reported to the Senate. The place to talk about the application of the facts which he has just cited is in connection with the next annual appropriation bill. So far as this bill is concerned, it is intended merely to pay the amounts of money now owing to the States. The Senator is mistaken, and, as I say, his amendment is inappropriate.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President—

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, are we arguing the point of order or arguing the merits of the amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is trying to listen to the arguments on the point of order. He must pass upon it. He would like to hear the arguments on that question.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I submit that the amendment is not legislation, but is merely a limitation on appropriations.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, may I be heard on that question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, there is one point which should be borne in mind. Under the basic highway law, when the apportionments are made the States are not required to program the work immediately. The money remains available, under existing law, for 2 years following the time when the apportionment is made.

The effect of the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois would be to change the law and to deny to the States the right to program the work for which the money is made available for a period of 2 years after the time of the apportionment. That is why it would change existing law, and consequently it is legislation.

It has been customary to appropriate in any given year only the funds which are deemed necessary to meet the cash requirements of maturing contractual obligations. Congress is under no obligation to appropriate the full amount of the contractual obligations if the cash is not needed.

The Senator from Illinois proposes, by the proviso in his amendment, to deny to the States during a period of 2 years the right to program the use of the money apportioned, if they have not already programed it. The basic law provides that the State shall have 2 years after the apportionment is made in which such programing may be done.

It certainly cannot be argued that the Senator's amendment would not change existing law when it would reduce the

time within which the States have a right to do the programing.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should like to point out that 82 percent of all the funds which have been allotted have not been programed. The lowest percentage of allocations not programed by any individual State is 19 percent. Thus, a reduction of 10 percent would not affect a single submitted program.

Mr. CASE. The existing law gives the States a period of 2 years within which to program the work.

Mr. DOUGLAS. It is not contemplated to interfere with programs which have already been planned and submitted to the Bureau of Public Roads. We are merely cutting down on plans which have not been submitted to the Bureau of Public Roads.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair wishes to ask the Senator from Arizona a question. The amendment is a little confusing to the Chair. The item to which it relates, under the heading "Bureau of Public Roads," provides as follows:

For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways," to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1951.

Those two items make up the total of \$69,500,000, as a supplemental appropriation for the years 1950 and 1951.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Illinois seeks to limit the appropriation to States which have not submitted programs in excess of 90 percent of what has been apportioned under the law for the next fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1952.

Mr. HAYDEN. The amount of money required for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952, is contained in the Commerce Department appropriation bill, which has passed the House and is now pending in the Committee on Appropriations. If the Senator from Illinois desired to place a limitation on that money, that would be the place to put it, because it is not in this bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This amendment seems to use the apportionment for the fiscal year beginning next July as a yardstick for the amount of money appropriated in the supplemental appropriation bill. The question is, Is that such a change in existing law as would vitiate the amendment?

Mr. HAYDEN. It is a change in existing law, because existing law provides that the sums of money shall be allocated over a period of 2 years. When those sums are allocated, then Congress is bound under the law to make the appropriation. We are only appropriating money up until—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair ask the Senator a question. That situation raises a very pertinent question. Is Congress compelled to make

the appropriation? Suppose Congress should refuse to make the appropriation?

Mr. HAYDEN. Congress has stated that such amounts shall be accepted as contractual obligations of the United States. Of course, the United States can violate its contract. But the point I am making is that none of the money made available in this bill relates to any obligation incurred, except prior to July 1, 1952. The amendment relates to money yet to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning on July 1, 1952.

It is certainly not in order on this bill. It seeks to change existing law.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair believes it to be advisable, in deciding the point of order, to determine, notwithstanding the fact that the law provides for a 2-year advance allocation or apportionment, if Congress should refuse to appropriate any money at all to carry out the contractual relationship, whether an amendment striking out the entire appropriation in the bill which will come before the Senate prior to the 1st of July would be out of order on the ground that it changes existing law.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I should like to read a paragraph from the act of 1950 which I believe is pertinent to the issue, and I submit it for consideration by the Chair. I read from Public Law 769, Eighty-first Congress:

Any sums apportioned to any State under the provisions of this section shall be available for expenditure in that State for two fiscal years after the close of the fiscal year for which such sums are authorized, and any amount so apportioned remaining unexpended at the end of such period shall lapse: *Provided*, That such funds for any fiscal year shall be deemed to have been expended if a sum equal to the total of the sums apportioned to the States for such fiscal year is covered by formal agreements with the Commissioner of Public Roads for the improvement of specific projects as provided by this act.

I do not have the exact text of the amendment before me, but it is my understanding that it seeks to deny this availability for 2 years following the year of apportionment. The existing law makes that apportionment available for expenditure for 2 years following the year of apportionment.

If the amendment seeks to amend the proviso I have read and to deny the availability of those funds 2 years after the year of apportionment, it does amend existing law, and consequently is legislation.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The reason for the provision in the law is that it is absolutely necessary because the individual States hold their legislative sessions—or at least some of them do—only once every 2 years. In order that they may meet the Federal requirements so far as matching Federal funds is concerned, they must make provision for 2 years. They could not know what their legislature should provide unless there was a commitment by the Federal Government as to how much money would be

available for a certain length of time. That is the philosophy and the idea of the Federal law.

Mr. CASE. The chairman of the Committee on Public Works is certainly correct in his statement.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Dakota has the floor.

Mr. CASE. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to ask the Senator from New Mexico a question, if I may do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, does the Senator from South Dakota yield for that purpose?

Mr. CASE. I do.

Mr. FERGUSON. The question is whether or not there is now before the Senator's committee a bill which authorizes future payments?

Mr. CHAVEZ. This morning the committee was considering the next Federal road authorization bill. It contains such a provision as is now being discussed by the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does that not constitute contractual authority to go ahead?

Mr. CHAVEZ. It constitutes contract authority. The reason is that all State legislatures do not meet every year. They must make provision for several years, generally for 2 years.

Mr. FERGUSON. Then the distinguished Senator from New Mexico believes that this money is owed at the present time?

Mr. CHAVEZ. That is right.

Mr. FERGUSON. But there is no law which forces us to pay if we do not want to pay.

Mr. CHAVEZ. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. But it is owed already, according to the Senator's view?

Mr. CHAVEZ. It is owed already. It is a debt which is based upon getting the State legislatures to make provisions for appropriations which match Federal funds for 2 years.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator say that it is a debt which is owed under statutory authorization in order to have the States proceed with the road work?

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes. The only justification for it is that the State legislatures, or many of them, must appropriate money for 2 years. There is a statutory provision in the Federal road law which gives them that much time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair would like to invite the attention of Senators to the fact that the Chair is required to rule on the point of order, not on the merits of the amendment. He would appreciate it if Senators were to direct their discussion to the point of order, not to the merits of the amendment.

Mr. HOLLAND. I appreciate the admonition of the Chair, and I shall try to bear it in mind.

The distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] advised the distinguished Presiding Officer a few minutes ago that only this morning a com-

mittee dealt with the appropriation bill which provides funds for the next fiscal year for this item. Present at the meeting, in addition to the Senator from New Mexico, were the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CASE], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR], the senior Senator from Florida, and other Senators.

This is the situation of law that is involved in this point. Whereas there used to be a 1-year leeway between the apportionments made by the Commissioner of Public Roads to the States, there is now a 2-year leeway allowed. It was 3 years for a little while after the war. The bill we are working on now in committee proposes to reduce the time to 18 months, which would in part meet the point made by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS]. However, the law now existent provides that the apportionment shall be made annually by the Commissioner of Public Roads, upon a formula prescribed in the law, in the amount authorized for each particular year, apportioned between the various States, and that the States are given 2 years to commit that amount by actual contract for specified and approved projects. The appropriations do not come within the 2 years. They come within the time that is necessary to meet the Federal part of the construction costs after the construction is completed.

Mr. President, under this amendment as drawn, at least as understood by the Senator from Florida, the amendment would do exactly what has been stated by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CASE]. It would change the commitments of the Federal Government made by the existing authorization law to cover apportionments made as long as 2 years ago—some of them only a year ago—and now outstanding and recognizable as contractual obligations of the Federal Government to meet the contributions of the several States.

The amendment as drafted now applies to a supplemental appropriation bill for the balance of the year and seeks to shape the course of appropriations of this Congress for the next fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952, in the meeting of contractual obligations made during the last 2 years under the terms of existing and outstanding legal authorizations.

Mr. President, it seems to me that the amendment is clearly out of order in that it is designed to change—and affect injuriously the States who have acted in good faith—the outstanding obligations of the Federal Government as made under the authorization law now in existence.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is ready to rule. The amendment does not appear to be very clear. It is not very clear whether it would limit the amount of the item in the bill to 90 percent of the figure of \$69,500,000, or to some unknown amount which would be apportioned by the Bureau of Public Roads for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952.

The Chair is of the opinion that notwithstanding the 2-year apportionment, and notwithstanding that the law provides for it, Congress, if it should see fit

to do so, might deny appropriations entirely. It would be a breach of good faith on the part of the Congress to do so, but it does not present itself to the Chair as a parliamentary question.

As the Chair sees this amendment—rather confusing as it is—it seems to the Chair to be a limitation on the present appropriation. Therefore the Chair overrules the point of order.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS].

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, now that the amendment has been declared to be in order, I take it that it is proper for me to speak on the substantive merits of the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, let me sum up the situation: The apportionment of funds for the fiscal year 1952-53 is \$481,250,000. Those funds were apportioned by the Bureau of Public Roads in November 1951. That is the first stage in the process.

However, I wish to point out that as of April 1, 1952, a total of only 18 percent of those funds had been programed by the States and 82 percent of the funds had not been programed by the States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a table showing how much of the individual State programs had not been programed by April 1, 1952.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Unprogramed balances of Federal-aid highway funds as of Mar. 31, 1952

State	Primary	Secondary	Urban	Total	State	Primary	Secondary	Urban	Total
Alabama.....	\$2,585,239	\$4,419,638	\$3,481,417	\$10,486,295	New Jersey.....	\$1,713,835	\$1,559,383	\$2,783,046	\$8,056,265
Arizona.....	321,365	285,638	508,656	1,115,660	New Mexico.....	1,307,562	1,567,037	384,271	3,258,870
Arkansas.....	3,752,237	3,230,713	1,021,012	8,003,963	New York.....	7,012,343	5,787,570	32,472,865	45,272,778
California.....	40,000	4,543,790	866,981	5,450,771	North Carolina.....	3,155,994	3,209,429	810,672	7,176,095
Colorado.....	3,654,397	2,029,582	1,164,616	6,848,596	North Dakota.....	268,434	1,871,996	367,999	2,508,429
Connecticut.....	1,778,022	1,814,767	3,063,732	6,656,522	Ohio.....	319,131	4,698,906	9,786,047	14,804,085
Delaware.....	305,820	872,769	1,042,567	2,221,157	Oklahoma.....	474,844	2,013,107	2,252,639	4,740,641
Florida.....	3,573,260	1,862,449	3,544,388	8,985,098	Oregon.....	408,255	539,543	902,294	1,850,093
Georgia.....	6,143,356	3,720,247	2,690,063	12,553,667	Pennsylvania.....	1,485,484	556,176	11,391,333	13,432,994
Idaho.....	1,501,890	3,830,865	426,352	5,759,108	Rhode Island.....	208,740	1,149,247	76,563	1,434,550
Illinois.....	604,656	11,418,453	1,153,654	13,176,765	South Carolina.....	2,436,358	1,171,773	942,990	4,551,122
Indiana.....	1,927,553	7,667,042	4,240,524	13,835,120	South Dakota.....	348,007	828,948	704,996	1,881,962
Iowa.....	549,788	1,561,227	1,039,241	3,150,256	Tennessee.....	1,917,355	3,648,117	2,406,007	7,971,479
Kansas.....	1,465,129	6,708,370	1,359,224	9,532,724	Texas.....	5,342,623	11,738,832	4,992,393	22,073,848
Kentucky.....	2,962,980	3,588,894	1,253,326	7,805,200	Utah.....	696,255	1,683,961	1,515,245	3,895,462
Louisiana.....	84,403	120,477	2,779,132	2,984,014	Vermont.....	816,939	239,356	625,057	1,581,352
Maine.....	1,650,129	1,985,289	744,204	4,379,623	Virginia.....	1,607,573	1,091,308	5,711,290	8,410,171
Maryland.....	2,173,850	2,314,219	3,820,106	8,313,176	Washington.....	1,214,595	1,055,032	934,620	3,204,288
Massachusetts.....	2,143,034	1,048,720	5,039,931	8,231,686	West Virginia.....	3,345,166	2,491,521	1,085,195	6,921,883
Michigan.....	1,020,397	4,344,326	1,265,100	6,629,823	Wisconsin.....	103,882	3,674,432	3,631,551	7,409,366
Minnesota.....	185,452	4,495,437	2,170,565	6,851,454	Wyoming.....	270,712	1,915,487	27,326	2,213,526
Mississippi.....	1,995,715	5,565,307	712,118	7,273,141	Hawaii.....	833,119	1,018,289	940,259	2,791,667
Missouri.....	1,121,855	8,514,103	3,952,648	13,588,603	District of Columbia.....	1,621,170	1,858,800	2,915,682	6,395,653
Montana.....	4,686,467	5,205,338	545,160	10,439,966	Puerto Rico.....	2,472,692	2,112,764	1,249,031	5,834,488
Nebraska.....	4,393,457	6,657,443	1,325,702	12,376,603					
Nevada.....	4,154,006	8,103,314	95,237	7,352,558					
New Hampshire.....	1,547,554	1,172,823	216,324	2,936,702					
					Total.....	93,112,602	159,654,725	138,331,421	393,098,749

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The total amount which had not been programed by April 1, 1952, was \$393,000,000, or roughly 82 percent of the total allocated amount of \$481,000,000. The remainder of the \$500,000,000 authorization is for administration of the program.

The two individual States with the highest percentage of funds programed were Arizona and California. Arizona had programed 81 percent of its allocated funds, and 19 percent were not programed. California had programed 79 percent of its allocation, and 21 percent of the funds were not programed. Those two States were the highest in respect to the programing of those funds. In their case, 19 percent and 21 percent, respectively, of their apportioned funds had not been programed. As I have said, for the States as a whole, only 18 percent of the funds had been programed, and 82 percent had not been programed.

Mr. President, I anticipated the point the Senator from Arizona would raise; and I am seeking to reduce by approximately 10 percent, or by \$50,000,000 out of \$481,000,000, the amounts which could be authorized for the fiscal year 1953.

I think it will be found that the so-called moral obligation does not occur in respect to the apportionment of funds, but occurs, if it occurs at all, only after three following steps have been carried out. The States submit their programs; the Bureau of Public Roads approves the programs; and then, only at that point, when the contracts are

actually awarded, can there be any justification for the existence of a real obligation upon the Federal Government.

I make the point that in this case the first step has been carried out, and that a total of only 18 percent of the second step has been carried out. In the case of the two States which have moved most speedily in connection with this matter, approximately 20 percent of the second step has not been carried out. I do not know what proportion of the contracts have been awarded, but certainly it is much less than 18 percent, much less than the amounts which have been programed.

All I am trying to do is to reduce by 10 percent, or \$50,000,000, the funds which are finally to be programed for next year. This will not cause a single submitted program to be cut out, but it will save \$50,000,000 in future programs. Adoption of this amendment would certainly save \$50,000,000 because past experience has shown that all of the total amounts authorized have been ultimately programed.

I should like to emphasize that this will be our last chance to reduce expenditures for the Federal-aid road program for the fiscal year 1952-53, because it is as these funds become programed that the commitments become transformed into actual expenditures.

We shall shortly consider a new highway bill for later fiscal years. We can still be able to judge as to the total levels of the authorizations for the fiscal

years 1953-54 and 1954-55; but there will be little we can do on that bill to affect the authorizations for the fiscal year 1953.

Meanwhile new programs are coming in periodically. If we can make this reduction now, we shall make it before all the money has actually been programed. If we do not make it now, we shall never be able to make it.

In connection with the arguments raised on this matter, I would compare the Federal Government with Gulliver, the giant, who journeyed into the land of the Lilliputians, and fell asleep. When he awoke he found himself bound with tiny threads around his fingers, his feet, and his hands. Although tiny, the threads which bound him were so numerous that he could not move. In this instance Gulliver is the Federal Treasury.

In this particular case, the Federal Treasury, like Gulliver, has been bound. It is claimed that the authorization by Congress constitutes a moral obligation which the Treasury and even the Congress cannot deny.

It is somewhat amusing to note that the roads authorization was passed by the Eighty-first Congress, whereas we are now in the Eighty-second Congress, and I think it is a fairly well established principle of constitutional law that one Congress cannot bind another Congress. The eminent lawyers in this body will remember the two cases of Stone against Mississippi—a case involving the State of the eminent Senator from Missis-

issippi—and the Charles River Bridge against Warren Bridge case, involving the State of Massachusetts. In those two cases it was clearly established that one legislature cannot bind a succeeding legislature. So the argument of the learned Senator from South Dakota to the effect that the Eighty-first Congress binds the Eighty-second Congress certainly is not good law, even if contracts which had been made were affected. The Senator from South Dakota can make an argument that Congress has a moral obligation if he so desires; but there can be no legal obligation.

Even though my amendment does not affect any governmental agreement with the States, since it would affect only the unprogrammed portion of their allocation, the same argument is being made.

If we submit to the Lilliputian binding of Government, we shall commit the Government to tremendous appropriations and to a continuing deficit. This amendment is an attempt to cut some of the cords; and I am very grateful to the eminent Vice President, and the President of this body, for not ruling my amendment out of order. That ruling at least gives us a chance to reduce expenditures next year. No damage will be done, for these projects have not yet materialized. By means of the adoption of this amendment we shall merely be using the control of the purse to reduce by 10 percent, or \$50,000,000, the amounts available for next year. Mr. President, cannot we give Gulliver a break?

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I wish to go along with every action taken on this floor to reduce the budget this year. I wish to go along with every action to reduce supplemental appropriations which come before the Senate. However, in both instances I believe I have an obligation first to inquire into whether the particular reduction proposed is one which we can afford to make.

In the instant case, although I am satisfied that the ruling of the Chair was wholly correct, namely, that this amendment could not be reached by a point of order, I am equally certain, now that the amendment is before the Senate, that it should be rejected.

Mr. President, no dollar expended in the United States is more essential to the civilian economy, and doubly so to a war economy, than that spent on highway construction and maintenance in the United States.

In our Defense Act we have made provision for the construction of all facilities necessary to put the Nation on a sound preparedness basis. The only necessity we did not touch was the one which was taken care of in the National Highway Act. Let me say at this time that more tonnage of materials for processing purposes is moved by the use of highways than is moved by the use of railroads. Almost every rail movement has its inception in a movement by truck, and its conclusion in the same way. Furthermore, all less-than-carload lots which can be moved by truck, are moved in that way, because truck move-

ment is a speedier operation and requires less handling.

I realize that on many occasions we use in vain the phrase "defense establishment" and the phrase "defense necessities." However, this is a defense matter. It represents a very vital and absolutely essential part of the transportation system of the Nation; and, as such, it is the last place where we should begin to cut.

Let us not forget, Mr. President, that during World War II we endeavored to hold down highway construction. We held down maintenance, and we are still paying the bill for that short-sighted policy. During World War II we made specific provision for access roads, or roads immediately essential for defense purposes. Had we not had them, I doubt that the war would have been ended as speedily as it was.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. CORDON. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I was impressed by what the Senator from Oregon said with reference to his desire to vote in favor of reductions in order to hold down expenditures wherever possible and reasonable. I ask the Senator whether he has recently had figures presented to him with reference to the amount of money which the Federal Government is collecting through the gasoline tax, the tax on motor oil, the tax on automobile tires, and on automobiles themselves; as compared with the amount we are spending yearly on highways. Recent figures literally indicate that we collected approximately \$1,500,000,000 a year, as our committee understands, whereas we are spending approximately \$500,000,000 for highways. So there is justification and basis for the sound spending of this money.

Mr. CORDON. I agree with my distinguished colleague from Mississippi, Mr. President. I know that never in the history of highway construction, highway legislation, and appropriations of funds for highways has the Federal contribution to the arterial highway system even approximated the money taken in by the Federal Government from its gasoline tax alone. So far as I am concerned, I hope that we will not measure the appropriations by that yardstick. I think it would be a mistake if we were to do so. But, Mr. President, the money for highways provided in this bill, which amount, as I understand, the amendment would seek to reduce from \$69,000,000 to approximately \$19,000,000—is money necessary to pay bills for expenditures which will be incurred, as nearly as can be estimated, within the fiscal year 1952—not 1953.

Mr. CASE, Mr. DOUGLAS, and Mr. MOODY addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oregon yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. CORDON. I yield first to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. My question deals with the subject of excise taxes. Did I correctly understand the Senator to say

that the excise taxes on gasoline should bear a relationship to the amount used for highways?

Mr. CORDON. The Senator from Oregon said he did not agree that the amount of money to be paid for highway contributions should be measured by the excise tax on gasoline, nor did he believe that that should be a contribution for that purpose.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very glad the Senator takes that position for otherwise, it could be argued that the excise tax on liquor should be used to improve the taverns; the excise tax on cigarettes to improve cough drops; and the excise tax on cosmetics to get better and more attractive articles for the feminine consumers of cosmetics. These excise taxes are not used for specific purposes. They go into the general revenues.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I regret now that I did not take the other view, so that the Senator from Illinois could have obtained the full value of his sarcasm.

Mr. CASE, Mr. MOODY, and Mr. HOLLAND addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. CORDON. I yield now to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I desire to point out that the money which is appropriated in this bill is not for authorizations for the fiscal year ending 1952. The money provided in this bill is to take care of obligations incurred under apportionments made to the various States for 1950 and 1951. These are all prior apportionments; \$14,490,000 of the \$69,500,000 is for apportionments made for the fiscal year 1950, and the remainder, \$55,000,000, is for apportionments made for the fiscal year 1951.

The effect of the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois would be to deny payment by the Federal Government of its share on the contracts which the States made under the apportionments for 2 years already passed.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, does the Senator from Oregon still have the floor?

Mr. CORDON. The Senator from Oregon hopes he has the floor, and unless a point of order be raised, he is going to assume that he still has it.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, does the Senator from Oregon care to yield further?

Mr. CORDON. There seems to be a slight cloud on the horizon. The Senator from Oregon already realizes he is off his feet, in the event anyone desires to make the point. However, he will gamble once more, and will yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. The amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois, if the junior Senator from South Dakota may be bold enough to say so, is not in harmony with the ordinary spirit of justice and fair play displayed by the Senator from Illinois; for although these obligations were incurred by the States in good faith for the fiscal years 1950 and 1951, and they come forward now to present a bill to the Federal Government for its share,

the bill shall not be honored, but shall be reduced by 10 percent, or by whatever other amount the Senator proposes to reduce it.

Moreover, if any States should be so bold as to come forward claiming the apportionment which was promised them by Public Law 769 of the Eighty-first Congress; if any States should be so bold as to come forward asking for the amounts which were promised them by the law presently on the statute books, which they were told would be available for 2 years following the apportionment, they would be denied any of the funds appropriated by this act. I do not know what States are involved in this money for 1950 and 1951; but under the amendment the States cannot claim their money for 1950 and 1951, in the event they ask for more than 90 percent of the money promised them for 1952.

It is an unfair and discriminatory proposal. Without tables before us, we would not know what States would be denied funds to which they are entitled, but certainly some of the States would be. The States which are entitled to the \$69,000,000 provided for by this act, for 2 prior years, could not claim it, unless they were to agree to forego 10 percent of the apportionment promised them for the fiscal year 1953.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I appreciate the statement of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CORDON. I will yield to the Senator from Florida in a moment, please. I appreciate the presentation by my colleague from South Dakota. In all frankness I cannot fully agree with him. I think we must make a differentiation between apportionment under the Highway Act and authorization under the Highway Act. Ordinarily, we would deem apportionment to be a division of moneys appropriated. But, under the Highway Act, it is equivalent to an authorization for appropriation, or an apportionment of the authorization. In other words, it is as though we made a determination of the appropriation and proceeded to divide it among the States.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CORDON. Could the Senator restrain himself for a moment, until I may hear from the Senator from Florida? Following that, I shall be happy to yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I noted with interest the comparison which the Senator from Illinois made between the amount of revenue realized by the Federal Government from the gasoline gallonage tax and the amounts realized by excise taxes levied upon liquor and other products. I simply want to remind the distinguished Senator from Oregon of the fact that the Congress of the United States, itself, by the law known as the Hayden-Cartwright law, which bears the name of the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona, has placed the condition upon the States that they must not divert any of the gasoline-tax moneys which have been collected from the road users of their States, which were earmarked for road

purposes at the time of the passage of the Hayden-Cartwright Act. They may not divert a nickel of that without being penalized by the Federal Government. So it is not at all inappropriate for Senators to look at the amount of revenue received from the Federal gallonage tax and wonder why it is that the Federal Government does not apply to itself and to its own revenues the same rule that it insists upon with reference to each of the States.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, if I may, I should like to ask the Senator from Florida whether he is therefore laying down a predicate for a like proposition that the excise taxes on liquor should be used to improve the conditions of taverns and to reduce the bad effects of alcoholic beverages?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, if the Senator from Oregon will yield further the Senator from Florida has no such intention. He would leave that kind of proposal to be made by his friend from Illinois, because he regards it as somewhat on a parity, as to its reasonableness, with the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois in this particular matter.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. CORDON. May I say to my good friend that it is now 10 minutes of 6, and I know that we want to get along with this matter? I shall take only a few moments to invite attention to the fact that the hearings before the House committee clearly showed that the moneys involved in this particular item in the bill are needed at this time to make payments on expenditures which either have been made or will be made during the fiscal year 1952.

The language in the appropriation bill which identifies the legal source of the appropriation serves but one purpose, and that is to exhaust the authorization which was made for the fiscal year 1950 while it can still be exhausted. The balance of the amount appropriated has been charged against the authorization for 1952, leaving a further sum which is still untouched. The references serve no other purpose, so far as I can determine; but the money—and that is what I am on my feet to discuss—represents a legal obligation of the United States Government and it represents a legal obligation of the several States. Relying upon the statute, the States spent the money, and we are doing nothing here but recouping for them for the fiscal year 1952.

With respect to the language which the Senator has added to his amendment today, and which I now read for the benefit of my colleagues:

Provided, That no part of the funds appropriated in this chapter shall be available for disbursement to any State which submits programs to the Bureau of Public Roads for Federal-aid highways in excess of 90 percent of the amounts apportioned to that State by the Bureau of Public Roads for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952.

The only thing one can say for that language, Mr. President, is that it can be justified only if we can justify a violation of a contract. The language would say to a State which has already

made contracts with contractors who have constructed highways within the State that although the State owes the money—

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. CORDON. In a moment, please.

Although the State owes that money, we would now, by this language, say to the State, "we will repudiate our obligation to you for matters already passed unless you at this time agree to our terms with respect to your program for next year."

That is duress; that is putting a gun to the head of the States, and I am opposed to the amendment for that reason.

I now yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Do I correctly understand that my good friend from Oregon takes the position that when the Bureau of Public Roads sends to a State a report indicating the amount which might be apportioned, it then becomes a legal and binding obligation of the United States?

Mr. CORDON. The language in the Highway Act is clear. There are two obligations of the United States. The first is the apportionment made in the act itself. There is then a contractual obligation between the Government of the United States, through the Bureau of Public Roads, and the several States when the program is accepted by the Director.

Mr. DOUGLAS. If a contract has been made, I agree that at that point an argument can be advanced that there is a moral obligation. But there is not one before the programs have been submitted and approved.

What I should like to point out, if I may—

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I cannot yield further.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. CORDON. No. I regret that I cannot yield any further now, because time is flying, and when I yield there are five speeches made in my time, and it is difficult for me to make one speech.

Mr. President, we do not need to question whether there is a moral obligation when programing is made. There is a legal obligation. That has nothing to do with the question which arises later with reference to specific amounts on specific highways, namely, when the Director of the Public Roads Administration sits down with representatives of a State and agrees on a program which in essence is simply the identification of a specific program. But the major obligation is made when the parties agree, and every dollar necessary should be appropriated.

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, I should like to make a point with reference to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS]. Each year Congress authorizes an amount to be spent for public roads and some other categories, but at that time no appropriation is made. Since no money is being appropriated the authorization is perhaps treated rather more lightly than it should be treated. Some months later

it is brought out that the authorization has been made and that we have obligated ourselves, and therefore that we must not reduce the appropriation.

I think the distinction made by the Senator from Illinois is a good one. His amendment would make the reduction from the amounts for which no program has been submitted. Enacting the amendment would save \$50,000,000 without affecting even a moral obligation. I see no reason why this amendment should not be adopted if the Senate is in the mood for some real economy this afternoon.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I rise to say that I hope we can get a vote on the amendment, and then Senators who want to make insertions in the Record or make short statements will be given an opportunity to do so. I hope we can get a vote on the amendment, and then we can quit consideration of the bill for today.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the three amendments be voted on en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois has offered three amendments—

Mr. DOUGLAS. Does the Senator mean the amendment on page 7, line 4?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. They all relate to the same subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, does the Senator from Arizona wish to speak?

Mr. HAYDEN. No; I have said all I care to say.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, this is our last chance to reduce expenditures for the Federal-aid road program for the fiscal year 1952-53. We are trying to reduce the amount of the authorization for allocations which have not been programmed. The saving would be \$50,000,000 in authorizations for the year 1952-53.

A total of only 18 percent of the fund allocated for 1952-53 has been programmed. No single State has programmed more than 81 percent. If we do not adopt this amendment, the flow of new programs will go into the Bureau of Public Roads, approvals will be given, contracts will be let, and then, when the regular appropriation bill for 1952-53 comes up, it will be said that it is too late to make any reductions. This is an attempt to lock the door of the stable before the horse disappears.

Mr. President, I realize the popularity of the highway program. I realize that I am in a sense attacking on the floor a sacred cow. But we all realize that the Government faces a deficit of \$14,000,000,000 for 1952-53. That is an amount not be sneezed at. The money for this program is spent for highways, secondary roads, and urban streets. Such construction can be slowed down during a period when we face mammoth deficits. The secondary-road program is an especially good place to make reductions since these are a matter of local, not national, concern.

A 10-percent reduction in the roads program will not cause as much disaster as that proportion of inflation which the expenditure would cause. This is the last chance to save on this matter. When the regular appropriation bill for 1952-53 comes to the floor, it will be too late.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, offered by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS].

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I realize that the hour is late and that much time has been taken on this subject, but I think Senators ought to have before them the language of the law.

The existing law under which highway fund apportionments are made was passed in the Eighty-first Congress. The portion I refer to reads as follows:

The said sums respectively, for any fiscal year, shall be apportioned among the several States in the manner now provided by law and in accordance with the formulas set forth in section 4 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 approved December 20, 1944: *Provided*, That the census figures used in making said apportionments shall be those shown by the latest available Federal census.

Any sums apportioned to any State under the provisions of this section shall be available for expenditure in that State for two fiscal years after the close of the fiscal year for which such sums are authorized—

And so forth. Mr. President, every State has had such an apportionment made to it. It may be that some programs have not yet come to the Bureau of Public Roads for the next fiscal year, but I think any Member of Congress, or any former Governor of a State, or any official of the Bureau of Public Roads, who has dealt with the public-roads problem in any way, must know that the order in which the programs happen to come to the Bureau of Public Roads is the order in which they are acted upon by State highway commissions. Whether or not they have actually been approved by the Bureau of Public Roads, they are in the mill because the apportionments were made following the passage of the act 2 years ago.

The amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois is essentially unfair. The money to be appropriated in this bill, upon which he hangs this change in the apportionment, deals with apportionments for the fiscal year 1950-51. It is true that, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, it is the cash which will be needed now, as the Senator from Oregon has pointed out. Under the apportionment for 1950-51, if some State had exhausted all of its apportionment for 1950-51, it could not be penalized by the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois, but under the language of his amendment the States having money coming to them from funds which had not been appropriated for 1950-51—States having money coming from the pending bill—would be denied the right to ask for more than 90 percent of their apportionment for the new fiscal year starting July 1.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 14, after line 20, it is proposed to insert:

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Investigations: For the establishment of a revolving fund which shall be available to the Civil Service Commission without fiscal-year limitation for financing investigations, the costs of which are required or authorized by public law or any other law to be borne by appropriations or funds of other Government departments and agencies, \$6,500,000: *Provided*, That said fund shall be reimbursed from available funds of such departments and agencies for investigations made for them at rates estimated by the Commission to be adequate to recover expenses of operation, including provision for accrued annual leave and depreciation of equipment purchased by the fund: *Provided further*, That any surplus accruing to the fund in any fiscal year shall be paid into the general fund of the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts during the ensuing fiscal year: *Provided further*, That any such surplus may be applied first to restore any impairment of the capital of the fund by reason of variations between the rates charged for work or services and the amount subsequently determined by the Commission to be the cost of performing such work or services.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I understand some Senators have matters they desire to have printed in the Record. After they make their requests, I shall suggest that the Senate take a recess, leaving the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina the pending question.

ATOMIC BOMB EXPLOSION ON TELEVISION

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, there are two brief items I wish to discuss.

I have just been informed that tomorrow, between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock, eastern standard time, the combined television stations in Washington will carry from the Pacific coast the first atomic explosion to be seen via television. Various television stations in the Los Angeles area have pooled their resources in order that this event may be made available to the American people. Many civil-defense wardens, and others who were not in a position to go to the proving grounds in Nevada, or who did not have an invitation to go there, will thus have an opportunity for the first time to see an atomic explosion by television.

Mr. President, I desire now to refer to another subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from California has the floor.

AMERICAN PRISONERS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Mr. KNOWLAND. The second matter to which I wish to refer, Mr. President, is the fact that on the news ticker a short time ago there appeared an announcement that the State Department was today making public the names of 62 American missionaries and businessmen imprisoned or under house arrest in Communist China. The Department also disclosed the names of three other Americans who died in prison, or as a result of mistreatment during their imprisonment. It listed them as Dr. William Wallace, South Baptist Missionary; Philip Cline, and Gertrude Cone, Methodist Missionary. It gave no home addresses. The ticker article then refers to other matters pertaining to the same subject.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, as a part of my remarks, this press item be included in the body of the RECORD, to be followed immediately by a news item from London stating that Foreign Secretary Eden has announced that he is asking the Chinese Communist Government for full information about 55 Western citizens, including 42 Americans, reported in jail in Red China.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The State Department made public today the names of 62 American missionaries and businessmen imprisoned or under house arrest in Communist China.

The Department also disclosed the names of three other Americans who died in prison or as a result of mistreatment during their imprisonment. It listed them as Dr. William Wallace, Southern Baptist missionary; Philip Cline, and Gertrude Cone, Methodist missionary. It gave no home addresses.

The Department said another 153 American citizens still live in China and that most of them have been trying in vain to escape.

Of the 62 under arrest, the Department said 42 actually are being held in prison. The others are under house arrest.

The Chinese Communists have held these Americans incommunicado. So far as authorities here know, the Reds refuse to lodge any formal charges against them or permit them to see foreign representatives.

The 42 Americans in prison include 20 Catholic missionaries, 11 Protestant missionaries, 5 businessmen, 3 students, an attorney, and 2 others.

The 20 under house arrest include 8 Catholic missionaries, 8 Protestant missionaries, 2 university professors, and 2 wives. No home-town addresses were given.

As for the three dead reports reaching here said Wallace was found hanged in his cell where he was kept in solitary confinement. Cline died shortly after being released from prison. Miss Cone died at Hong Kong a few days after being released.

The Department announcement was a departure from its previous policy of refusing to identify Americans held in Red China. It was understood that the Department decided to publish the names because efforts to obtain release of imprisoned Americans through diplomatic channels have proved ineffective and because some of the nations which have been working in Peiping for release of the Americans felt that publication no longer would be harmful.

LONDON.—Foreign Secretary Eden announced he is asking the Chinese Communist government for full information about 55 western citizens, including 42 Americans, reported in jail in Red China.

Eden said in Commons that he has instructed the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peiping to deliver a note to the Communists today asking details on the charges against the westerners, the sentences imposed on them, if any, and their whereabouts and welfare.

Eden said the Chinese are reported to have jailed five Canadians, five Britons or citizens of British colonies, and three Australians.

In addition to the 42 Americans jailed, he said, 20 Americans are held under house arrest.

Some foreigners have died in prison, Eden said, and others have been released in such condition that they died later.

Eden said Britain, which has recognized the Chinese Reds, was in charge of the interests of the other countries and made its request with their approval.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, on December 7 I called to the attention of the American public for the first time the names of 32 Americans who were imprisoned in Communist China. It was only subsequent to the release of those names that the State Department furnished additional information that there were also 30-some Americans under house arrest. At the time I made the information available to the public, I received a letter from the then Under Secretary of State, Mr. James E. Webb, criticizing the action I had taken. His communication to me, by telegraph, was under date of December 14, 1951. Under date of December 21, 1951, I telegraphed Mr. Webb my reply.

I ask that this correspondence be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point in my remarks, together with the list of 32 Americans, whose names I then had available, so that they can be compared with the list which will be released by the State Department today.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECEMBER 14, 1951.

The Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR KNOWLAND: It was with deep regret that I learned of your release to the press of the names of the American citizens imprisoned in Communist China, Mr. Rusk sent you this list in confidence under cover of his letter of October 19. He explained to you that it was the considered judgment of the Department that the list should not be made public. In response to your telegraphed request of November 30 for further information on this subject, you were told on December 1 that such information would be sent you and it was sent on December 7. I note from the press that you decided to release the list on your own responsibility because you did not consider Mr. Rusk's reasoning valid, and that you did so before receiving the Department's letter of December 7.

The Department of State has given full publicity to the fact that Americans are imprisoned by the Chinese Communist regime. It had withheld publication of the names of individuals for three principal reasons:

(1) We could not guarantee that such a list was exact, since it depended upon pieces of information from a wide range of sources;

(2) In many cases either the persons themselves or their relatives or associates have asked that no publicity be given for fear of impairing rescue moves or for fear of serious consequences to the individuals themselves;

(3) The governments which are seeking to aid these individuals have warned that publicity might jeopardize their efforts.

As you were informed, the Department of State has attached considerable importance to the requests of these people primarily interested in the welfare of the imprisoned persons and of the friendly governments trying to help them, and the Department determined after a thorough consideration of all the facts involved that release of individual names or comment on their situation would be contrary to the welfare of the imprisoned citizens.

It need hardly be pointed out that under the President's constitutional authority for the conduct of foreign relations, it is the President and the authorized officers of the Department of State acting as his agents who have responsibility for handling this matter and for determining whether and when this information should be released.

As a United States Senator, you have in the past been given access to classified information on the understanding that it was not to be released to the public. Although the question of whether particular information should or should not be made public may be susceptible to an honest difference of opinion, the decision must be made by those responsible. I regret that in this instance you chose to disregard this fundamental principle and to take independent action.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. WEBB,
Under Secretary.

[Wire from Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND to Under Secretary James E. Webb]

DECEMBER 21, 1951.

JAMES WEBB,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.:

Your letter of December 14 was awaiting me upon my return to Oakland. As a Member of the United States Senate I believe that the Congress of the United States, which is a coequal branch of the Government, also has a responsibility in regard to American citizens who are unjustly imprisoned by Communist governments any place in the world. I shall be prepared to discuss this further with you in person when I return to Washington and also intend to discuss the issues involved on the floor of the United States Senate. It so happens that I have received a considerable number of communications from relatives of imprisoned American citizens expressing their great appreciation for the action I took in making the names known to the American people.

There was a time in our history when the Government of the United States was prepared to use more than words in protecting Americans abroad. That was prior to the time the Government of the United States embarked upon a policy of vacillation and weakness in a matter of this grave matter. President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 enunciated the doctrine of "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

What I want to know specifically is whether or not the Department of State has taken steps in the current cease fire negotiations to assure that the 33 Americans now jailed in China, the 30 or more under house-arrest, and the 300 who have been refused exit visas to get out of Red China are able to leave Red China and return to the United States?

H. R. 1000

121 1000

82^D CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 6947

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 22, 1952

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the Senate numbered

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending
June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply sup-
5 plemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June
6 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely.

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

(1) *SENATE*

10 (2) *For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Ken-*
11 *neth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska,*
12 *\$12,500.*

1 (3)OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

2 *Effective April 15, 1952, the appropriation for salaries*
 3 *of officers and employees of the Senate contained in the*
 4 *Legislative Branch Appropriation Act for the fiscal year*
 5 *1952 is made available for the compensation of one camera*
 6 *man, Joint Recording Facility, at the basic rate of \$3,600*
 7 *per anum.*

8 (4)CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

9 (5)*Folding documents: For an additional amount for fold-*
 10 *ing speeches and pamphlets at a gross rate not exceeding \$2*
 11 *per thousand, \$10,000.*

12 (6)*Senate restaurants: For an additional amount for Sen-*
 13 *ate kitchens and restaurants, \$25,000.*

14 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

15 For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John
 16 A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of
 17 Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gra-
 18 tuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any
 19 time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or
 20 at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of
 21 Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been
 22 a gift.

23 (7)*For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George*
 24 *B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Okla-*
 25 *homa, \$12,500.*

SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Office of the Doorkeeper

For an additional amount for "Office of the Doorkeeper", \$38,895.

(8) APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

For an additional amount, salaries and expenses, studies and examinations of executive agencies, \$35,000.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Huber versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Huber versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

(9) For payment to W. Kingsland Macy, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

(10) For payment to Ernest Greenwood, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

(11) For payment to Maurice S. Osser, contestant, for ex-

1 *penses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus*
 2 *Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on*
 3 *House Administration, \$2,000.*

4 **(12)***For payment to Hardie Scott, contestee, for expenses*
 5 *incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott*
 6 *as audited and recommended by the Committee on House*
 7 *Administration, \$2,000.*

8 Stationery (Revolving Fund)

9 For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving
 10 fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500,
 11 to remain available until expended.

12 Special and Select Committees

13 For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and
 14 select committees", \$75,000.

15 **(13)**ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

16 *Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Build-*
 17 *ings: For an additional amount, not to exceed \$300, to be*
 18 *derived by transfer from the appropriation "Capitol Build-*
 19 *ings".*

20 **(14)**GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

21 WORKING CAPITAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING AND
 22 BINDING

23 *The limitation under this head in the Legislative Branch*
 24 *Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for print-*

ing, binding, and distributing the Federal Register, is increased from "\$480,000" to "\$700,000".

CHAPTER II

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of witnesses", \$100,000.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF

JAPANESE ANCESTRY

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", ~~(15)\$14,800,000~~ \$9,000,000.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", ~~(16)\$2,610,000~~ \$4,000,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159,900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for the purchase of not to exceed forty passenger motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided,

1 and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct
2 facilities for detention of aliens.

3 FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

4 SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

5 For an additional amount for "Support of United States
6 prisoners", ~~(17)\$575,000~~ \$750,000.

7 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

8 CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

9 ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

10 The limitation under this head in the Department of
11 Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
12 able for personal services, is increased from "\$4,965,300"
13 to "\$5,950,000".

14 CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

15 For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport
16 Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953,
17 as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901;
18 Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County
19 Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Air-
20 port, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm
21 Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado
22 Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro,
23 Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Geor-

1 gia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia,
 2 \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,-
 3 538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368;
 4 Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal
 5 Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport,
 6 Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria,
 7 Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia,
 8 \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla,
 9 Washington, \$21,241.

10 BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

11 FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

12 For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways",
 13 to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum
 14 is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount
 15 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and
 16 \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appro-
 17 priated for the fiscal year 1951.

18 CHAPTER III

19 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

20 OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

21 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

22 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 23 \$450,000.

1 CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

2 For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses,
3 public moneys", \$25,000.

4 BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

5 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

6 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
7 \$20,000,000.

8 BUREAU OF THE MINT

9 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

10 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
11 \$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this
12 head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying
13 wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury
14 Department.

15 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

16 (Out of the postal revenues)

17 POSTAL OPERATIONS

18 For an additional amount for "Postal operations",
19 \$10,000,000.

20 TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

21 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
22 fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

1 For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails",
 2 \$100,000,000.

3 CLAIMS

4 For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

5 CHAPTER IV

6 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

7 BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

8 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

9 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 10 ~~(18)\$892,000~~ \$1,059,000; and the limitation under this
 11 head in the Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952,
 12 on the amount available for personal services, is increased
 13 from "\$4,200,000" to "~~(19)\$5,675,000~~ \$5,817,000": *Pro-*
 14 *vided*, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the
 15 Department of Labor in the joint resolution of August 16,
 16 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary
 17 employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed.

18 BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

19 EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

20 For an additional amount for "Employees' compensation
 21 fund", \$2,200,000.

1 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
2 SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
3 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND
4 SURVIVORS INSURANCE

5 The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal
6 old-age and survivors insurance trust fund for "Salaries
7 and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance",
8 by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952,
9 is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000".

10 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

11 (20)SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

12 For an additional amount for "Surplus property dis-
13 posal", \$40,000.

14 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

15 For an additional amount for "Defense community
16 facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,-
17 000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the
18 amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses,
19 defense community facilities and services", granted in the
20 Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be
21 available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of
22 the Federal Security Agency in connection with its func-
23 tions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities
24 and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized

1 by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C.
2 55a).

3 RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

4 SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD
5 (TRUST FUND)

6 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses,
7 Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to
8 be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the
9 limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board
10 Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
11 personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to
12 "\$5,259,000".

13 CHAPTER V

14 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

15 FOREST SERVICE

16 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

17 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
18 for fighting forest fires, (21)~~\$3,000,000~~ \$3,500,000.

19 SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

20 For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities
21 for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of
22 October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain
23 available until expended: *Provided, (22)That the amount*
24 *made available herein shall be the full cost of the acquisition*

1 *of land and construction of facilities: Provided further, That*
2 hereafter the authorization granted in section 3 of said Act to
3 enter into contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be
4 exercised.

5 SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$3,500,000.

9 CHAPTER VI

10 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

11 BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

12 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

13 For an additional amount for "Operation and mainte-
14 nance", \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the
15 Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the
16 amount available for personal services is increased from
17 "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,264,862".

18 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

19 MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

20 For an additional amount for "Management of lands and
21 resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within
22 the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting
23 the amounts which may be expended from appropriations
24 to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services,

1 are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost
2 of fire suppression.

3 BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

4 RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

5 For an additional amount for "Resources management",
6 \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior
7 Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts
8 which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau
9 of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to
10 the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

11 BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

12 CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

13 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
14 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supple-
15 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available
16 for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to
17 "\$42,976,462".

18 BUREAU OF MINES

19 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL

20 RESOURCES

21 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
22 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
23 personal services, is increased from "\$10,446,575" to
24 "\$11,454,000".

1 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 2 MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL
 3 FACILITIES

4 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
 5 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
 6 personal services, is increased from \$4,193,747" to
 7 "\$4,543,900".

8 OFFICE OF TERRITORIES
 9 CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

10 The limitation under this head in the Interior Depart-
 11 ment Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
 12 personal services, is increased from "\$2,493,000" to
 13 "\$2,844,700".

14 ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

15 For an additional amount for "Administration of Terri-
 16 tories", ~~(23)\$462,000~~ \$163,000; and the limitation under
 17 this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act,
 18 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is in-
 19 creased from "\$811,865" to "\$879,200".

20 CHAPTER VII
 21 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

22 (24) AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION
 23 DEDICATION OF WORLD WAR II MEMORIALS

24 *For expenses necessary for an appropriate dedication*
 25 *of World War II memorials, erected under authority of the*

1 *Act of June 26, 1946 (36 U. S. C. 123), to be available*
2 *for such purposes as the Commission may deem necessary and*
3 *proper and without regard to the provisions of other laws*
4 *or regulations relating to the expenditure of public funds*
5 *(except that this exemption shall not be construed as waiving*
6 *the requirement for the submission of accounts and vouchers*
7 *to the General Accounting Office for audit), \$30,000, to be*
8 *immediately available and to remain available until June 30,*
9 *1953: Provided, That, when in the discretion of the Amer-*
10 *ican Battle Monuments Commission it would be in the public*
11 *interest, personnel and transportation facilities of any other*
12 *Government agency may be furnished by such agency, with-*
13 *out reimbursement, to the Commission for the purposes of*
14 *this appropriation.*

15 (25) CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

16 *Investigations: For the establishment of a revolving fund*
17 *which shall be available to the Civil Service Commission*
18 *without fiscal year limitation for financing investigations, the*
19 *costs of which are required or authorized by Public Law*
20 *or any other law to be borne by appropriations or funds of*
21 *other Government departments and agencies, \$6,500,000:*
22 *Provided, That said funds shall be reimbursed from available*
23 *funds of such departments and agencies for investigations*
24 *made for them at rates estimated by the Commission to be*
25 *adequate to recover expenses of operation, including provision*

1 for accrued annual leave and depreciation of equipment pur-
 2 chased by the fund: Provided further, That any surplus ac-
 3 cruing to the fund in any fiscal year shall be paid into the
 4 general fund of the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts during
 5 the ensuing fiscal year: Provided further, That any such
 6 surplus may be applied first to restore any impairment of
 7 the capital of the fund by reason of variations between the
 8 rates charged for work or services and the amount subse-
 9 quently determined by the Commission to be the cost of per-
 10 forming such work or services.

11 **(26) COMMISSION ON RENOVATION OF THE EXECUTIVE**
 12 **MANSION**

13 For an additional amount for "Commission on Reno-
 14 vation of the Executive Mansion", \$20,000.

15 **DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION**

16 For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Com-
 17 mission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under
 18 this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available
 19 until August 31, 1952.

20 **FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION**

21 **SALARIES AND EXPENSES**

22 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 23 \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Inde-
 24 pendent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount

1 available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to
2 "\$252,000".

3 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

4 FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

5 For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City,
6 Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon
7 of a building for use as a supply and records center, including
8 related equipment, approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad
9 spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the pro-
10 visions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as
11 amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$4,400,000, to remain avail-
12 able until expended.

13 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

14 OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

15 DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

16 For an additional amount for "Defense community facili-
17 ties and services", \$9,375,000, to remain available until
18 expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appro-
19 priation shall be used for the construction of any project
20 unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

21 DEFENSE HOUSING

22 For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$12,-
23 500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*,

1 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for
 2 the construction of any project unless funds are available
 3 for the completion of such project.

4 ALASKA HOUSING

5 For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,-
 6 125,000, to remain available until expended.

7 PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

8 ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

9 For an additional amount for "Annual contributions",
 10 \$3,600,000.

11 NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

12 MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

13 For an additional amount for "Maintenance and opera-
 14 tion of properties", \$3,000.

15 (27) RENEGOTIATION BOARD

16 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

17 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 18 \$200,000.

19 SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

20 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

21 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
 22 \$2,955,000; (28) and the limitations under this head in the
 23 Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
 24 able for expenses of National Administration, Planning,

1 Training, and Records Management is increased from “\$1,
 2 856,000” to “\$1,995,500”, and on the amount available for
 3 expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and
 4 Records Servicing is increased from “\$6,454,000” to “\$7,
 5 222,500” and the limitations under this head in the Supple-
 6 mental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for
 7 expenses of National Administration, Planning, Training,
 8 and Records Management and on the amount available for
 9 expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training and
 10 Records Servicing, are hereby repealed: *Provided*, That
 11 effective as of the first day of the first pay period which
 12 began after June 30, 1951, and within ninety days from the
 13 date of enactment of this Act, the rate of compensation of
 14 any employee of a local board or appeal board may be in-
 15 creased pursuant to the authority contained in section 10 of
 16 the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended:
 17 *Provided further*, That such increases may be made retro-
 18 actively effective on the same basis as if they had been
 19 authorized by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951.

20 VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

21 COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

22 For an additional amount for “Compensation and pen-
 23 sions”, \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

1 READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

2 For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits",
3 \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

4 NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

5 For an additional amount for "National service life in-
6 surance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

7 SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

8 For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indem-
9 nities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

10 SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

11 For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund",
12 authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insur-
13 ance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000,
14 to remain available until expended.

15 VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

16 For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", author-
17 ized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance
18 Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000,
19 to remain available until expended.

20 AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED

21 VETERANS

22 To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in pro-
23 viding, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled vet-

1 erans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public
2 Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

3 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

4 MARITIME ACTIVITIES

5 OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

6 The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential
7 subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act,
8 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further,*
9 That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be avail-
10 able for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the pay-
11 ment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of
12 voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen
13 hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which
14 number shall include the number of voyages under con-
15 tracts hereafter awarded."

16 MARITIME TRAINING

17 For an additional amount for "Maritime training",
18 \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independ-
19 ent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount avail-
20 able for personal services, is increased from "\$2,236,500"
21 to "\$2,263,500".

1 CHAPTER VIII

2 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

3 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

4 CORPS OF ENGINEERS

5 Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

6 Flood control, general (emergency fund)

7 For an additional amount for "Flood control, general
 8 (emergency fund)", \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer
 9 from "Flood control, general" and to remain available until
 10 expended.

11 CHAPTER IX

12 FOREIGN AID

13 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

14 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS.

15 GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

16 After the termination of the occupation government in
 17 Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the
 18 Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department
 19 of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the
 20 funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobli-
 21 gated balances of the appropriations granted under this head
 22 for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto,
 23 as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations
 24 in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby

1 waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes
2 of such transfers.

3 CHAPTER X

4 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

5 DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

6 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

7 For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses",
8 \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
9 for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

10 SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION

11 SALARIES AND EXPENSES

12 For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for
13 the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expenses
14 of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this
15 appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles,
16 \$825,000.

17 CHAPTER XI

18 INCREASED PAY COSTS

19 For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal
20 year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public
21 Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public
22 Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay
23 increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law,
24 as follows:

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

(29) Senate:

(30) "Salaries, officers and employees", \$782,896;

(31) Contingent expenses of the Senate:

(32) "Senate policy committees", \$9,910;

(33) "Joint Committee on the Economic Report",
\$7,690;

(34) "Joint Committee on Atomic Energy", \$12,925;

(35) "Joint Committee on Printing", \$2,792;

(36) "Vice President's automobile", \$355;

(37) "Automobile for the President pro tempore",
\$355;

(38) "Automobile for majority and minority lead-
ers", \$710;

(39) "Reporting Senate proceedings", \$10,253;

(40) "Furniture", cleaning and so forth, \$290;

(41) "Inquiries and investigations", \$92,120;

(42) "Folding documents", \$2,890;

(43) "Miscellaneous items", \$15,060;

House of Representatives:

"Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;

"Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;

Contingent expenses of the House:

1 “Furniture”, \$8,850;

2 “Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-
3 tion”, \$7,475;

4 Office of the Coordinator of Information”,
5 \$5,630;

6 “Folding documents”, \$5,250;

7 “Revision of laws”, \$800;

8 “Speaker’s automobile”, \$485;

9 “Office of Legislative Counsel”, \$16,065, of which \$7,-
10 600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and
11 \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;

12 Capitol police: “Capitol Police Board”, \$1,795;

13 “Education of Senate and House pages”, \$2,940;

14 Architect of the Capitol:

15 Office of the Architect of the Capitol: “Salaries”,
16 \$8,100;

17 Capitol Buildings and Grounds:

18 “Capitol Buildings”, \$39,000;

19 “Capitol Grounds”, \$18,100;

20 “Legislative garage”, \$2,400;

21 “Senate Office Building”, \$55,400;

22 “House Office Buildings”, \$78,000;

1 "Capitol Power Plant", \$35,400;

2 Library buildings and grounds; "Structural and
3 mechanical care", \$16,700;

4 Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;

5 Library of Congress:

6 "Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;

7 Copyright office: "Salaries", \$73,000;

8 Legislative reference service: "Salaries and ex-
9 penses", \$66,300;

10 Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and ex-
11 penses", \$55,359;

12 Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,230;

13 Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,-
14 860;

15 Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of
16 Documents: "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

17 THE JUDICIARY

18 Supreme Court of the United States:

19 "Salaries", \$52,000;

20 "Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;

21 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and
22 expenses", \$7,000;

23 Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;

24 Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;

1 Other courts and services:

2 "Salaries of clerks of courts", \$398,000;

3 "Probation system", \$197,000;

4 "Salaries of criers", \$51,000;

5 "Miscellaneous salaries", \$239,900;

6 "Salaries of court reporters", \$94,400;

7 "Administrative Office of the United States Courts",

8 \$40,300;

9 "Expenses of referees", \$15,000;

10 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

11 "Executive Mansion and grounds", \$20,000;

12 Bureau of the Budget: "Salaries and expenses",

13 \$246,000;

14 Council of Economic Advisers: "Salaries and expenses",

15 \$17,800;

16 National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$30,000;

18 INDEPENDENT OFFICES

19 Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses",

20 \$1,000,000;

21 Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and ex-
22 penses", \$5,000,000;

23 "Export-Import Bank of Washington" (increase of

1 \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
2 used for administrative expenses) ;

3 Federal Civil Defense Administration: "Operations",
4 \$365,000;

5 Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and ex-
6 penses", \$488,900;

7 Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries
8 and expenses", \$203,775;

9 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys",
10 \$14,000;

11 Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
12 \$274,000;

13 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

14 Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses",
15 \$3,900;

16 Interstate Commerce Commission:

17 "General expenses", \$719,000;

18 "Railroad safety", \$60,000;

19 "Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

20 National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Sal-
21 aries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

22 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and ex-
23 penses", \$432,250;

24 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses",
25 \$20,900; and the amount made available under the head

1 "Salaries and expenses, National Railroad Adjustment
2 Board", in the National Mediation Board Appropriation
3 Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of referees is
4 decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

5 Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and
6 expenses", \$435,000;

7 Smithsonian Institution:

8 "Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution",
9 \$162,000;

10 "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art",
11 \$90,000;

12 Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

13 The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and
14 expenses", \$42,000;

15 Veterans' Administration: "Administration, medical,
16 hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

17 FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

18 Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and ex-
19 penses", \$26,600, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
20 priation "Promotion and further development of vocational
21 education", Office of Education;

22 Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and ex-
23 penses", \$343,300;

1 Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
2 \$193,800;

3 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$260,300,
4 of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the
5 appropriation "Promotion and further development of voca-
6 tional education", Office of Education;

7 Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$202,300,
8 to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion
9 and further development of vocational education", Office of
10 Education;

11 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and ex-
12 penses", \$38,000;

13 Public Health Service:

14 "Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

15 "Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

16 "Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

17 "Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

18 "Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene",
19 \$104,500;

20 "Disease and sanitation investigations and control,
21 Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

22 "Salaries and expenses, hospital construction serv-
23 ices", \$63,650;

24 "Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

25 "Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

1 "National Institutes of Health, operating expenses",
2 \$256,500;

3 "National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

4 "Mental health activities", \$42,750;

5 "National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

6 "Dental health activities", \$19,000;

7 "Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

8 Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses",
9 \$199,025;

10 Social Security Administration:

11 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit
12 Unions", \$54,150;

13 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assist-
14 ance", \$96,900;

15 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,-
16 250;

17 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commis-
18 sioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325
19 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
20 insurance trust fund;

21 Office of the Administrator:

22 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275,
23 together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred
24 from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust
25 fund;

1 “Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Opera-
2 tions”, \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700
3 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
4 insurance trust fund;

5 “Salaries, Office of the General Counsel”, \$28,500,
6 together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred
7 from the appropriation “Salaries and expenses, certifica-
8 tion and inspection services”, and not to exceed \$29,250
9 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors
10 insurance trust fund;

11 *Provided*, That the Administrator may transfer from any
12 appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Fed-
13 eral Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any
14 of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal
15 Security Agency such additional amounts as may be neces-
16 sary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201,
17 approved October 24, 1951;

18 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

19 “Operating expenses”, \$5,759,000;

20 HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

21 Office of the Administrator:

22 “Salaries and expenses”, \$207,000;

23 “Advance planning of non-Federal public works”,
24 \$63,500;

1 “Salaries and expenses, defense housing and com-
2 munity facilities and services”, \$44,700;

3 “Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
4 ties”, \$40,000;

5 “Federal National Mortgage Association” (increase
6 of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which
7 may be used for administrative expenses) ;

8 Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,-
9 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
10 used for administrative expenses in connection with loans
11 for prefabricated housing) ;

12 “Home Loan Bank Board” (increase of \$31,000 in
13 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ad-
14 ministrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limita-
15 tion upon the amount which may be used for nonadmin-
16 istrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State
17 chartered institutions) ;

18 “Federal Housing Administration” (increase of \$334,-
19 000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
20 for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the
21 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
22 administrative expenses) ;

23 “Public Housing Administration” (increase of \$833,000
24 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for

1 administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the
2 limitation upon the amount which may be used for non-
3 administrative expenses) ;

4 "Administrative expenses", \$601,000;

5 DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

6 "Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$222,000;

7 Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

8 "Economic investigations", \$170,500;

9 "Crop and livestock estimates", \$234,500;

10 Agricultural Research Administration:

11 "Office of Administrator", \$41,000;

12 "Research on agricultural problems of Alaska",
13 \$20,000;

14 "Research on strategic and critical agricultural ma-
15 terials", \$32,000;

16 Office of Experiment Stations: "Salaries and ex-
17 penses", \$23,000;

18 "Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Eco-
19 nomics", \$86,000;

20 Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

21 "Animal research", \$215,000;

22 "Animal disease control and eradication",
23 \$395,800;

24 "Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and
25 serum", \$4,200;

1 "Meat inspection", \$1,040,000;

2 "Bureau of Dairy Industry", \$98,000;

3 "Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry",
4 \$450,000;

5 Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural
6 Engineering:

7 "Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering
8 research", \$745,920;

9 "National Arboretum", \$12,080;

10 Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

11 Salaries and expenses:

12 "Insect investigations", \$265,500;

13 "Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,-
14 900;

15 "Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

16 "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and
17 plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the
18 amount of this appropriation which may be appor-
19 tioned for use only to meet emergency conditions,
20 pursuant to the provision under this head in the
21 Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act,
22 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs
23 under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law
24 201));

1 Forest Service:

2 Salaries and expenses:

3 "National forest protection and management",
4 \$1,492,000;

5 "Forest research", \$308,000;

6 "State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

7 Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing
8 services", \$740,000;

9 "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

10 Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and ex-
11 penses", \$540,000;

12 Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and ex-
13 penses", \$1,745,000;

14 "Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed
15 \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to
16 the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agri-
17 culture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet in-
18 creased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public
19 Law 201)) ;

20 "Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

21 "Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of
22 \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
23 used for administrative expenses) ;

24 "Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,-

015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
used for administrative expenses) ;

Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

"Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

"Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

"Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

"Office of Information", \$48,000;

"Library", \$46,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

"Technical and scientific services", \$10,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$2,500,000;

Bureau of the Census:

"Salaries and expenses", \$450,000;

"Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

Civil Aeronautics Administration:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000,000;

"Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$80,000;

"Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport Act" (\$150,000 of the amount made available for

1 projects in the States to be available for necessary
 2 planning, research, and administrative expenses) ;
 3 Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses",
 4 \$250,000;
 5 Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses",
 6 \$469,000;
 7 Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:
 8 "Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;
 9 "Field office service", \$92,000;
 10 "Export control", \$124,000;
 11 Maritime activities: "Salaries and expenses", \$719,300;
 12 and increase the limitations thereunder as follows:
 13 Administrative expenses, \$642,300;
 14 Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;
 15 Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;
 16 Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$750,000;
 17 National Bureau of Standards:
 18 "Operation and administration", \$40,000;
 19 "Research and testing", \$250,000;
 20 "Radio propagation and standards", \$70,000;
 21 Weather Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,470,000;
 22 "Inland Waterways Corporation" (increase of \$10,000
 23 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for
 24 administrative expenses) ;

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Department of the Army—Civil functions:

Quartermaster Corps: "Cemeterial expenses",
\$47,500;

"United States Soldiers' Home" (\$135,000, to be
paid from the Soldiers' Home permanent fund) ;

"Canal Zone Government", \$550,000;

"Postal service", \$50,000;

"Panama Canal Company" (increase of \$15,000
in the limitation upon the amount which may be used
for administrative expenses) ;

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act",
\$11,000;

"Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power
Administration". \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from
the appropriation "Construction, Southeastern Power
Administration";

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
ties", \$250,000;

Commission of Fine Arts: "Salaries and expenses",
\$1,200;

- 1 Bonneville Power Administration: "Construction",
2 \$590,000;
- 3 Bureau of Land Management: "Management of lands
4 and resources", \$335,000;
- 5 Bureau of Indian Affairs:
6 "Health, education, and welfare services", \$2,-
7 175,000;
- 8 "Resources management", \$388,000;
- 9 "General administrative expenses", \$224,900;
- 10 "Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of
11 Indians, Oklahoma", \$1,500;
- 12 "Tribal funds" (from tribal funds), \$79,000;
- 13 Bureau of Reclamation: "General administrative ex-
14 penses", \$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the
15 appropriation "Construction and rehabilitation";
- 16 Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and re-
17 search", \$649,000;
- 18 Bureau of Mines:
19 "Conservation and development of mineral re-
20 sources", \$650,000;
- 21 "Health and safety", \$285,000;
- 22 "General administrative expenses", \$84,000;
- 23 National Park Service:
24 "Management and protection", \$440,000;

1 “Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facili-
2 ties”, \$79,000;

3 “General administrative expenses”, \$83,000;

4 Fish and Wildlife Service:

5 “Management of resources”, \$275,000;

6 “Investigations of resources”, \$170,000;

7 “General administrative expenses”, \$55,000;

8 Office of Territories: “Operation and maintenance of
9 roads, Alaska”, \$40,000;

10 Administration, Department of the Interior: “Salaries
11 and expenses”, \$140,000;

12 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

13 Legal activities and general administration:

14 “Salaries and expenses, general administration”,
15 \$160,000;

16 “Salaries and expenses, general legal activities”,
17 \$400,000;

18 “Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division”,
19 \$245,000;

20 “Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and
21 marshals”, \$800,000;

22 Federal Prison System: “Salaries and expenses, Bureau
23 of Prisons”, \$1,130,000;

24 Office of Alien Property (trust fund) : “Salaries and ex-

1 penses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the
2 amount which may be used for administrative expenses) ;

3 "Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of
4 \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be
5 used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in
6 the limitation upon the amount which may be used for ex-
7 penses of vocational training of prisoners) ;

8 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

9 Office of the Secretary:

10 "Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

11 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor",
12 \$109,200;

13 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards",
14 \$43,700;

15 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Re-
16 employment Rights", \$18,000;

17 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activi-
18 ties", \$120,000;

19 Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses",
20 \$166,300;

21 Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and ex-
22 penses", \$138,700;

23 Bureau of Labor Statistics:

24 "Salaries and expenses", \$323,000;

1 "Revision of consumers' price index", \$83,600;

2 Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$16,200;

3 Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses",

4 \$521,500;

5 POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

6 (Out of the postal revenues)

7 "General administration", \$1,675,000;

8 "Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

9 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

10 "Salaries and expenses", \$4,200,000;

11 "International information and educational activities",

12 \$1,750,000;

13 "Government in occupied areas", \$700,000;

14 TREASURY DEPARTMENT

15 Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses", \$175,-

16 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Oper-

17 ating expenses, Coast Guard";

18 Bureau of Accounts:

19 "Salaries and expenses", \$65,000, to be derived

20 by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,

21 Coast Guard";

22 "Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement",

23 ~~(44)\$400,000~~ \$814,000, to be derived by transfer from

24 the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

1 Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public
2 debt", \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appro-
3 priation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

4 Bureau of Customs: "Salaries and expenses",
5 \$3,000,000;

6 Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses", \$130,-
7 000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation
8 "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

9 Secret Service Division:

10 "Salaries and expenses", \$172,000, to be derived
11 by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses,
12 Coast Guard";

13 "Salaries and expenses, White House police",
14 \$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropria-
15 tion "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

16 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

17 (Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

18 General Administration:

19 "Executive office", \$19,400;

20 "Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

21 "Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

22 "Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

23 Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service",
24 \$106,700;

1 Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

2 "Workmen's compensation, administrative ex-
3 penses", \$14,000;

4 "District government retirement and relief funds",
5 \$70,000;

6 Regulatory agencies:

7 "Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

8 "Board of Parole", \$2,400;

9 "Coroner's office", \$4,300;

10 "Department of Insurance", \$700;

11 "Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets",
12 \$11,400;

13 "License Bureau", \$6,700;

14 "Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board",
15 \$6,500;

16 "Office of Recorder of Deeds", \$10,000;

17 "Poundmaster's office", \$3,100;

18 "Office of Administrator of Rent Control", \$1,200;

19 "Zoning Commission", \$2,100;

20 Public schools:

21 "General administration", \$1,557,000;

22 "Vocational education, George-Barden program",
23 \$19,000;

- 1 “Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds
2 and equipment”, \$221,000;
3 Public Library: “Operating expenses”, \$68,000;
4 Recreation Department: “Operating expenses”, \$133,-
5 000;
6 “Metropolitan Police”, \$944,000, of which \$132,650
7 shall be payable from the highway fund;
8 “Fire Department”, \$440,000;
9 Courts: “District of Columbia courts”, \$42,100, of which
10 \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States
11 Public Health Service;
12 Health Department:
13 “General administration”, \$56,000;
14 “Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis
15 Sanatorium”, \$94,000;
16 “Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital
17 and the Tuberculosis Hospital”, \$341,000;
18 Department of Corrections: “Operating expenses”,
19 \$150,500;
20 Public welfare:
21 “General administration”, \$4,400;
22 “Agency services”, \$12,600;
23 “Operating expenses, protective institutions”,
24 \$97,000;
25 “Saint Elizabeths Hospital”, \$575,000;

Public works:

“Office of chief clerk”, \$5,700;

“Office of Municipal Architect”, \$8,800;

“Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of District Buildings”, \$79,000;

“Department of Inspections”, \$36,000;

“Operating expenses, Electrical Division”, \$14,000;

“Central garage”, \$5,900;

“Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions” (payable from highway fund), \$60,000;

“Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions” (payable from highway fund), \$13,000;

“Department of Vehicles and Traffic” (payable from highway fund), \$32,000;

“Division of Trees and Parking” (payable from highway fund), \$21,300;

“Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation”, \$331,000;

“Operating expenses, Sewer Division”, \$85,000;

“Operating expenses, Water Division” (payable from water fund), \$105,000;

Washington Aqueduct: “Operating expenses” (payable from water fund), \$20,000;

“National Guard”, \$3,500;

1 “National Capital Parks”, \$146,000:

2 “National Zoological Park”, \$29,800;

3 DIVISION OF EXPENSES

4 The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of
5 Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be
6 paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as
7 defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of
8 1952.

9 GENERAL PROVISIONS

10 Appropriations or other funds made available by this
11 or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal
12 year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, com-
13 parable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved
14 October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pur-
15 suant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be
16 made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had
17 been authorized by said law: *Provided further*, That this
18 section shall not affect the availability of funds for com-
19 pensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to
20 section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a),
21 or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of
22 pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates
23 upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar
24 authority (45): *Provided further*, That (1) the position of
25 *Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Treasury* estab-

lished by Reorganization Plan Numbered 26 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Attorney General established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 2 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Interior established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of Commerce established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 5 of 1950, and the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of Labor established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 6 of 1950, shall be filled without reference to section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress, as amended, shall be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be placed in the highest grade set forth in the general schedule of such Act without regard to section 505 (b) of such Act, as amended, and shall be in addition to the number of positions authorized to be placed in such grade under such section, and (2) in the case of any other position for which compensation is expressly established by law at a rate equal to the rate payable prior to the enactment of Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress, under the highest grade of the Classification Act of 1949, the rate of compensation shall hereafter be equal to the rate payable for such grade under said Public Law 201.

Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within

1 appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or
 2 other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limit-
 3 ing the amounts which may be expended for personal serv-
 4 ices, or for specified types of personal services, or for other
 5 purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may
 6 be transferred between appropriations or authorizations
 7 available for or involving such services, are hereby increased
 8 to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs author-
 9 ized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24,
 10 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and
 11 comparable pay increases granted by administrative action
 12 pursuant to law.

13 ~~(46)~~None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the
 14 Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or
 15 expenditure in excess of 99 per centum of the amount
 16 carried in this chapter for said Department; and none of
 17 the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other depart-
 18 ment or agency shall be available for obligation or expendi-
 19 ture in excess of 90 per centum of the amount appropriated
 20 in this chapter for such department or agency.

21 ~~(47)~~CHAPTER XII

22 CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND

23 JUDGMENTS

24 *For payment of claims for damages as settled and de-*
 25 *termined by departments and agencies in accord with law,*

1 *audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting*
 2 *Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by*
 3 *United States district courts and the United States Court of*
 4 *Claims, as set forth in Senate Document Numbered 108,*
 5 *Eighty-second Congress, \$4,357,649, together with such*
 6 *amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when*
 7 *specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements*
 8 *of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and*
 9 *such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as*
 10 *may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: Pro-*
 11 *vided, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be*
 12 *paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against*
 13 *the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or other-*
 14 *wise: Provided further, That, unless otherwise specifically*
 15 *required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest*
 16 *wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more*
 17 *than thirty days after the date of approval of this Act.*

18 CHAPTER (48)~~XII~~ XIII

19 SEC. (49)~~1201~~ 1301. No part of any appropriation con-
 20 tained in this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by
 21 any corporation included in this Act, shall be used to pay the
 22 salary or wages of any person who engages in a strike against
 23 the Government of the United States or who is a member of
 24 an organization of Government employees that asserts the
 25 right to strike against the Government of the United States, or

1 who advocates, or is a member of an organization that advo-
2 cates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States
3 by force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof
4 an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that
5 the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the pro-
6 visions of this section engaged in a strike against the Govern-
7 ment of the United States, is not a member of an organiza-
8 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
9 against the Government of the United States, or that such
10 person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organ-
11 ization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of
12 the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*,
13 That any person who engages in a strike against the Govern-
14 ment of the United States or who is member of an organiza-
15 tion of Government employees that asserts the right to strike
16 against the Government of the United States, or who advo-
17 cates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,
18 the overthrow of the Government of the United States by
19 force or violence and accepts employment the salary or
20 wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund
21 contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon
22 conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or im-
23 prisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided*
24 *further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition

1 to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of exist-
 2 ing law.

3 SEC. ~~(50)~~¹²⁰² 1302. Section 1310 of Public Law 253
 4 of the Eighty-second Congress is hereby amended as follows:

5 At the end of subsection "a" before the period, insert:
 6 ": *Provided further*, That any agency may promote any
 7 employee permanently to a position if such promotion will
 8 not increase the number of employees holding permanent
 9 positions in the grade of such position in such agency above
 10 the number in such grade in such agency prior to September
 11 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may
 12 be made to any position in a category for which the Civil
 13 Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments
 14 under the terms hereof".

15 And in the last proviso of subsection "c", after "regis-
 16 ter," insert: "or is eligible for appointment, in accordance
 17 with a regular appointment system or procedure established
 18 prior to September 1, 1950, to a higher grade position out-
 19 side the competitive Civil Service,".

20 And at the end of subsection "c", before the period,
 21 insert: "or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding
 22 that for which he had previously established eligibility as
 23 required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, not-
 24 withstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid

1 undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission,
 2 when requested by the head of the agency involved, may
 3 authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious
 4 nature”.

5 (51) *And at the end of subsection “d”, insert a new subsection:*

6 “(e) *This section shall not apply to the Field Service of*
 7 *the Post Office Department.”*

8 (52) *SEC. 1303. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise*
 9 *made available by this Act except for chapter XI or increased*
 10 *pay costs for any department or agency shall be available for*
 11 *obligation or expenditure in excess of 90 per centum of the*
 12 *amount appropriated or otherwise made available in this Act*
 13 *except for chapter XI for such department or agency for*
 14 *increased pay costs, and such appropriations and funds other-*
 15 *wise made available are hereby reduced accordingly.*

16 SEC. (53) ~~1203~~ 1304. *No part of any appropriation*
 17 *contained in this Act shall be used for publicity or propa-*
 18 *ganda purposes not heretofore authorized by the Congress.*

19 (54) *SEC. 1305. No part of any appropriation contained in*
 20 *this Act, or of any funds made available for expenditure by*
 21 *this Act, shall be used for the purpose of enforcing Executive*
 22 *Order 10340, dated April 8, 1952, directing the Secretary*
 23 *of Commerce to take possession of and operate the plants and*
 24 *facilities of certain steel companies, or any other order or*
 25 *regulation relating thereto.*

1 This Act may be cited as the “Third Supplemental Ap-
2 propriation Act, 1952”.

Passed the House of Representatives March 13, 1952.

Attest: RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk.

Passed the Senate with amendments April 22 (legislative day, April 14), 1952.

Attest: LESLIE L. BIFFLE,
Secretary.

82ND CONGRESS
2ND SESSION

H. R. 6947

AN ACT

Making supplemental appropriations for the
fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for
other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 22, 1952

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the
Senate numbered

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Issued April 23, 1952

For actions of April 22, 1952

82nd-2nd, No. 67

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

(For Department Staff Only)

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Both Houses passed \$25 million appropriation for disaster relief. Ready for President. Senate committees reported Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill and St. Lawrence waterway measure. Senate committee reported nomination of Andrews to TCA. Senate committee ordered reported road-authorization bill.

SENATE

1. **THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952.** Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 4247-52, 4254-67).

Sens. McKellar, Hayden, Russell, McCarran, O'Mahoney, Bridges, Ferguson, Cordon, and Saltonstall were appointed Senate conferees on the bill (p. 4267).

Agreed to a Johnston amendment to establish a \$6,500,000 revolving fund for Civil Service Commission investigations to be borne by funds of the departments and agencies (pp. 4247-9).

Agreed to a Hayden amendment to strike out the provision cutting the pay-cost items in Chapter 11 by 10% in the case of most departments (including USDA) and 1% in the case of the Post Office Department. Then agreed to a Ferguson amendment to cut the other pay-cost items in the bill (that is, those not in Chapter 11) by 10%. The purpose of these two actions was to provide for conference committee consideration of all of the pay-cost items. (pp. 4249-52, 4254.)

Agreed to a Bridges amendment decreasing the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by \$300,000 in view of anticipated receipts of that amount (pp. 4261-5).

Rejected, 47-29 (two-thirds vote required), a Ferguson amendment prohibiting use of any 1952 appropriations in connection with any plant seizure (pp. 4254-61).

2. **FLOOD RELIEF.** Both Houses passed without amendment H. J. Res. 427, to appropriate \$25,000,000 additional for flood relief in the Missouri Basin (pp. 4281-4, 4302, 4267-9, 4235-8, 4265-7). This measure will now be sent to the President.

3. TREASURY-POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments this bill, H. R. 6854 (S. Rept. 1464) (p. 4240).
4. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. The Foreign Relations Committee rejected, by a 6-6 vote, a motion to report favorably S. J. Res. 27, to authorize this project. It then voted, 9-4, to report the measure without recommendation. (pp. 4240, D359.) Sen. Lehman inserted a letter from the President favoring the project (p. 4244).
5. NOMINATION. The Foreign Relations Committee reported favorably the nomination of Stanley Andrews to be Technical Cooperation Administrator (p. 4241).
6. ROAD AUTHORIZATIONS. The Roads Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee voted to report favorably to the full committee, with amendments, S. 2437, to authorize appropriations for roads in the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 (p. D359).
7. CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee ordered reported with amendments S. 2968, to increase the annuities of retirees up to \$324 annually. It is understood that the revised bill provides that the increase would be temporary (through June 1954) and that a continued increase beyond that time would have to be provided by specific appropriation instead of being financed from the retirement fund. (p. D359.)
8. IMPORT CONTROLS. Sen. Wiley spoke in favor of retaining import controls on dairy products (pp. 4239-40).
9. FLOOD CONTROL. Sen. Butler, Nebr., spoke in favor of additional flood control (pp. 4252-4).
10. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Bridges inserted a list of the President's recommendations which have not been passed by Congress, including various proposals regarding a farm program (pp. 4241-2).
11. RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION. Began debate on S. 515, to amend the RFC Act in a number of particulars so as to clarify its responsibilities and improve its accounting methods and financial structure. Sen. Byrd submitted and discussed his amendment to abolish RFC and transfer its national-defense functions to other agencies. (pp. 4269-75.)

HOUSE

12. PUERTO RICO. Received the President's message transmitting to Congress for approval the Constitution of Puerto Rico; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (H. Doc. 435) (pp. 4291-2).
13. PUBLIC LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) H. R. 1631, amended, setting aside the Fort Reno (Okla.) Military Reservation in trust for the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians (p. D360).
14. ELECTRIFICATION. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) H. R. 2643, consolidating the Parker Dam power project and the Davis Dam project into the Parker-Davis project (p. D360).
15. FLOOD CONTROL. Received Lowell, Mass. city Clerk's petition requesting that cuts in New England States flood-control program be reinstated (p. 4304).

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. LOVETT ON DEFENSE

Anybody looking for a good summary of our national defense program—its shortcomings, its achievements and its continuing necessity—should make a point of getting a copy of the address that Robert A. Lovett delivered last week to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The address is at once sobering and encouraging. In it, the Secretary of Defense has been at particular pains to emphasize that there is "a grim and ominous thread running through the entire fabric of world events" and that nothing could be more wishful, foolish, or dangerous than the idea that the international situation has improved sufficiently to justify a relaxation of our rearmament effort. In his opinion, that effort—although it has made the American position infinitely stronger than before the outbreak of the Korean war—is still not good enough, and we cannot retreat from it, or whittle it down without gambling with the security and very survival of our free Nation.

As Mr. Lovett has summed it up, the nature of our task is to create "a minimum defense force which can be maintained over a period of years" to keep our country powerful enough to prevent another world war or to win it if it cannot be prevented. The task is unique in our history. Calling for a kind of middle-ground operation between an all-out effort and no effort at all, it means that we must simultaneously do such things as the following: (1) Carry on against the aggressor in Korea; (2) mobilize fresh troops to replace those who are demobilized through rotation; (3) develop an expandable mobilization base; (4) guard against upsetting our civilian economy; and (5) cope with the very real psychological temptation to be lulled by phony peace propaganda into slackening our present pace or even abandoning the whole enterprise.

Especially because it is entirely new in our American experience, this kind of effort—when there is no full-scale war—is extremely difficult to sustain. In addition, it is enormously costly in terms of dollars and cents. Yet, as Mr. Lovett has made clear, it is also absolutely imperative in these days of grave tensions, and we have got to learn to live with it for a protracted period. We have got to understand, too, that its costliness is not attributable chiefly to inflation or inefficiency or waste. Although those factors enter the picture, they are really of minor significance. Much more significant, for example, is the policy of simultaneous mobilization and demobilization of troops—a policy that is costing literally billions of dollars and that argues powerfully for the enactment of universal military training. Beyond that, the biggest expense item of all, is the unprecedented complexity of modern arms.

This complexity problem, in Mr. Lovett's words, stems from the fact that "we are in an absolute ferment in both machines and methods of war as a result of the amazing advances in the sciences." Today's weapons—planes, guns, bombs, electronic devices, and so forth—are no more like those of yesterday than a 1952 automobile is like a buggy. Moreover, some of them "are so destructive as to raise serious doubts as to what would remain of civilization as we know it were they to be used." Here is the factor that explains better than anything else why our defense program is as costly and complicated as it is and why we are compelled, as a matter of national self-preservation, to press that program forward without let-up.

Some Americans sincerely believe that all this may wreck us economically, but Mr. Lovett—like others uniquely well informed on the subject—has stated emphatically that the Nation is perfectly capable of doing the

job. Further than that, of course, it is a job that we cannot dare give up if we are to avert a third world war or be victors in it in case it comes despite our best preventive efforts.

CLIFF THOMPSON, OF KANSAS, WINNER OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL AMERICAN LEGION HIGH-SCHOOL ORATORICAL CONTEST

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to announce to the Senate today that last night Cliff Thompson, a high-school student of Kansas City, Kans., won the 1952 fifteenth annual American Legion high-school oratorical contest. As a result, he is the grand national winner of the contest. Cliff Thompson is one of the fine young men of this Nation; and, of course, we are very proud that he is from the State of Kansas. In 1951, he was president of the Boy's Nation, which was held here in Washington, D. C.

CONGRATULATIONS TO SENATOR CARLSON

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I should like to ask my colleagues in the Senate to join me in congratulating the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] on becoming a grandfather yesterday. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 427) making additional appropriations for disaster relief for the fiscal year 1952, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 427) making additional appropriations for disaster relief for the fiscal year 1952, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HAYDEN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Anderson	Cordon	Hennings
Bennett	Dirksen	Hickenlooper
Benton	Douglas	Hill
Bricker	Dworschak	Hoe
Bridges	Eastland	Holland
Butler, Md.	Eaton	Humphrey
Butler, Nebr.	Ellender	Hunt
Byrd	Ferguson	Ives
Cain	Flanders	Jenner
Capehart	Frear	Johnson, Tex.
Carlson	Fulbright	Johnston, S. C.
Case	Gillette	Kerr
Chavez	Green	Kilgore
Clements	Hayden	Knowland
Connally	Hendrickson	

Langer	Neely	Smith, N. J.
Lehman	Nixon	Sparkman
Lodge	O'Connor	Stennis
Magnuson	O'Mahoney	Taft
Malone	Pastore	Tamm
Maybank	Robertson	Tobey
McCarthy	Russell	Underwood
McClellan	Saltonstall	Wagner
McFarland	Schoeppel	Walt
Moody	Seaton	Williams
Mundt	Smathers	Young
Murray	Smith, Maine	

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONROE] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the Board of Visitors to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of a death in his family.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON].

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. O'Connor in the chair). The Senator from South Carolina is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. The amendment now before the Senate reads as follows:

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Investigations: For the establishment of a revolving fund which shall be available to the Civil Service Commission without fiscal year limitation for financing investigations, the costs of which are required or authorized by public law or any other law to be borne by appropriations or funds of other Government departments and agencies, \$6,500,000: *Provided*, That said fund shall be reimbursed from available funds of such departments and agencies for investigations made for them at rates estimated by the Commission to be adequate to recover expenses of operation, including provision for

accrued annual leave and depreciation of equipment purchased by the fund: *Provided further*, That any surplus accruing to the fund in any fiscal year shall be paid into the general fund of the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts during the ensuing fiscal year: *Provided further*, That any such surplus may be applied first to restore any impairment of the capital of the fund by reason of variations between the rates charged for work or services and the amount subsequently determined by the Commission to be the cost of performing such work or services.

There is urgent need for the Congress to approve this request of the Civil Service Commission.

Congress on March 27, passed Senate bill 2077, now Public Law 298, to provide for certain investigations by the Civil Service Commission in lieu of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The President approved it on April 5. Public Law 298 was recommended by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to relieve the FBI of the major burden of making security investigations.

Congress required by statute that the FBI make security investigations of all persons prior to their appointment in 11 agencies. These agencies include the Atomic Energy Commission, the Mutual Security Agency, and the Voice of America program. These statutory requirements necessitate that more than 100,000 security investigations be made each year. Mr. Hoover advised both the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Service Committees that the conduct of such a large volume of security investigations is preventing the FBI from concentrating its resources on the investigation of sabotage, subversive activities, criminal investigations, and loyalty investigations.

Mr. President, it was because of Mr. Hoover's request that the Federal Bureau of Investigation be relieved of the responsibility for security investigations that the Congress enacted Public Law 298, transferring them to the Civil Service Commission. When we enacted Public Law 298 we required that the Civil Service Commission assume the full workload from the Federal Bureau of Investigation not later than 180 days after the approval of the act. It is a tremendous responsibility to place on any agency to recruit, appoint, train, equip, and house a staff of over 2,500 persons, including over 1,600 investigators, and at the same time assume a workload of approximately 90,000 investigations within a period of 6 months.

The \$6,500,000 which my amendment would include in this bill for the Civil Service Commission was explained in Senate Document No. 114. It is absolutely essential that this money be included in this bill if the Civil Service Commission is to be enabled to take the work off the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 6 months' time as requested by Mr. Hoover. Not to include this money in the bill means that the security investigations of persons to be employed by the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors cannot be made. Without the investigations the agencies and contractors cannot appoint persons.

By enacting Public Law 298 we transferred the responsibility to the Civil Service Commission, but the Commission does not have the funds with which to begin the program and will not be able to hire and train the necessary investigative force unless this amendment be adopted. This appropriation made to the Commission in the form of a revolving fund will be reimbursed by the agencies for which the investigations are made, once the Commission has the recruiting and training job completed.

Mr. President, this is the only way by which this security investigations job, which we turned over to the Civil Service Commission on April 5, can be done unless we immediately enact legislation turning the work back to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Already more than 2 weeks of the 6 months allowed the Commission to take over the work have passed. Mr. President if the Congress intends that the provisions of the laws requiring security investigations be carried out and that the Civil Service Commission conduct these investigations, then we must approve this amendment.

I may say for the information of the Senate that I hold in my hand a message from the President of the United States, in which he states it is necessary that this appropriation be made at this time. The Bureau of the Budget also recommends that this appropriation be made.

For the information of Senators who are not members of the committee, I may say I appeared before the committee in behalf of this amendment, and, as the presently acting chairman of the Appropriations Committee will state, none of these amendments were rejected by that committee. I think the Senator from Arizona will acknowledge that. But a bill, similar to the House bill, was reported, with the understanding that these amendments could be considered upon the floor without any prejudice whatever.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, if the Senator from South Carolina will yield, I desire to ask him a question or two about the amendment.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. In the first place, I note from the RECORD that this law went into effect on March 26, 1952. It is therefore a very recent enactment. There could be no other way of meeting the situation except through a deficiency estimate, if anything is to be done between now and the 30th of June. I am correct about that, am I not?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. A second statement which impressed me was that, evidently, this is to be a revolving fund, under which the Civil Service Commission may operate in this new field. When it begins to operate, a charge is to be made of approximately \$200 to each agency of the Government for whom an employee is investigated, so that, from then on, the expense of carrying on the operation will be borne by the agency which seeks

to have someone employed in its service. Am I correct about that?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. The Senator is entirely correct in regard to that. It is to be a revolving fund, to be handled in somewhat the same manner that the revolving fund is handled at present by the FBI. The FBI makes the investigation and is repaid for it. When the work shall have been transferred to the Civil Service Commission, that Commission will conduct the investigations, and it will be reimbursed for so doing. But it is necessary that the Commission have this money in order that it may in advance set up its staff, provide the officers which will be needed throughout the United States, and arrange for the purchase of dictating machines, typewriters, and all other necessary supplies. Without this revolving fund, the Commission would be unable to set up the offices and make the necessary purchases, since it cannot buy without paying.

Mr. HAYDEN. Another significant fact, I infer, is that 85 percent of the investigations are to be made for the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. That is correct, according to the figures reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I did not favor this item in committee. I desire to be perfectly frank about it. As a result of investigation made by me of the subject, since it was considered by the committee, I do not now believe that it is absolutely essential that \$6,500,000 be provided for the Civil Service Commission in this bill. On the other hand, Congress has directed that certain investigative work be done by the Civil Service Commission. It has specified a period of 6 months for transfer from the FBI to the Civil Service Commission of investigative facilities and investigative actions. That means that the 6-months' period will expire next September. If we withhold the revolving fund at this time, we will cut down the 6-months' period by 2 months, making it necessary that the Civil Service Commission do the whole job of preparation in the period from the first day of July until mid-September.

I believe it is better for the Government, for its employees, and for the service generally that we do not cut the time short by 2 months. Consequently, I shall not oppose this item. I believe it could properly go into the bill.

Money to do the investigating work will be available in excess of six and one-half million dollars. It will be appropriated to the FBI and by the FBI transferred to the agencies for whom the investigations will be made, and those agencies are authorized either to advance the money for the investigations prior to their being made, on an estimate, or to pay the costs after the costs are known.

The sum of \$6,500,000 is needed, however, to purchase the necessary facilities, the furniture, the equipment, and all the things necessary in order to establish the

agency, and to furnish the first money for the investigations conducted until such time as payments come in from the agencies served. Thereafter, what may be left of the \$6,500,000 would be in the nature of a working or revolving fund. The provision for a revolving fund is in the legislation.

If any Senator wants to raise a point of order, I think a point of order might well be taken, but I shall not raise it. I shall cast a vote in favor of the revolving fund.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. CORDON. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has indicated that a part of the \$6,500,000 would be used for the purchase of equipment, such as desks, typewriters, and so forth.

Mr. CORDON. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator know why the furniture, equipment, and necessary aids to carry out this program could not be taken from the other bureaus which have been doing this work, and shift them over? Why is it always necessary that when a function is transferred the department from which it was transferred remains as big as it ever was and it apparently becomes necessary to increase by leaps and bounds the size of the department to which the function is transferred?

Mr. CORDON. Let me say to my friend from Michigan that the same question has occurred to me time after time. It occurred to me with respect to this item. My inquiry in the case brought out the fact that the work which is being transferred to the Civil Service Commission was first given to the FBI. The FBI assigned such portion of its force as was necessary to perform the task. It did not increase its force adequately. It did not add any furniture and equipment to what it already had. In other words, it cut itself short in its own field of investigation to do this work. That is the reason Mr. Hoover requested that this particular responsibility be taken from him. It was more than he could handle within his own force and with his own equipment. That is the reason given to me when I inquired into the matter.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Oregon believe that this transfer will actually save money? I know it was accomplished by an act of Congress, but I do not share the view that it was a good transfer.

Mr. CORDON. I do not know. My own judgment would be that it would have been better to have left it with the FBI.

Mr. FERGUSON. I share that view.

Mr. CORDON. But it has been transferred to the Civil Service Commission, and we are faced with the necessity either of implementing the law as it stands or of repealing or amending the law.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, could the Senator from South Carolina answer the question which I just asked the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I shall try to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. FERGUSON. I asked why the desks, typewriters, and so forth, were not transferred from the FBI to the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. The FBI is behind in its work to the extent of 200,000 investigations, and if that agency continues to make minor investigations with highly paid employees, it would cost more than it would to have the Civil Service Commission make the investigations.

Mr. FERGUSON. On page 45 of the committee's sideslip, it appears that the sum of \$14,060,080 is to be taken from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1953, indicating that they were doing a great deal of work.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. That is true.

Mr. FERGUSON. Why should they not be reducing their staff at least to the extent of saving approximately \$14,000,000; and if they reduce it that much, why do they not have typewriters, desks, and other equipment available for use?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I think the Senator will find that with all the investigations which are now going on, which are costing a great deal of money on the part of the FBI and all the other agencies that are investigating—

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator does not include the Newbold Morris investigation, does he? That seems to have closed shop without any desks, typewriters, or any other equipment.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I did not have anything to do with that case at all, and I know the Senator from Michigan did not have anything to do with it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I move to strike out, on page 47 of the bill, lines 6 to 13, inclusive, reading as follows:

None of the funds appropriated in this chapter for the Post Office Department shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 99 percent of the amount carried in this chapter for said Department; and none of the funds appropriated by this chapter for any other department or agency shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 90 percent of the amount appropriated in this chapter for such department or agency.

That is an amendment which was not agreed to by the House Appropriations Committee, but on the floor of the House it was adopted. To my mind, it would have a very deleterious effect, as I think I can illustrate without much difficulty.

We have had testimony from representatives of a number of agencies of the Government; for example, from the judicial branch. We had the following testimony from Henry P. Chandler, Director, Administrative Office, United States Courts:

Such a reduction if applied to the personnel of the courts would be injurious to the service at a time when the burden of the courts is steadily increasing and they need all possible support in order to handle their work with requisite efficiency and dispatch.

It appears from the debate on the bill in the House that it was assumed that the added part of the cost of the pay increases required by the amendment to be borne by the agencies could be absorbed in various ways without reducing the pay increases of any employees to which they are entitled under the legislation or administrative action. The only means of absorbing cost which conceivably could have application to the courts are leaving a considerable proportion of vacancies unfilled and so reducing the number of persons employed and handling the work with a smaller number of persons in consequence of the reduction of leave allowable under the recent leave law.

Because of the small number of employees in the individual offices most vacancies in positions have to be filled when they arise or the work will suffer. Also on account of the small number of persons in the separate offices of the courts, it is not feasible to reduce the number of employees in any office on account of the reduction in the periods of annual leave under the new leave law. The vacations of some employees in the different offices may be somewhat shortened, but in only rare instances will the savings in any office amount to more than a small fraction of the time of one employee. Manifestly these fractions in offices geographically separated cannot be added together to effect a reduction of the total number of employees of the different classes.

Presumably on account of this condition, namely, the small number of persons employed in the individual offices of the courts, and the consequent inability to leave vacancies unfilled without detriment to the service, the judiciary was excepted from the limitation in section 603 of the annual appropriation act for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary for the fiscal year 1952, which prohibits with certain exceptions filling more than 25 percent of vacancies. The same reason requires that the judiciary be excepted from the limitation upon the appropriations for the cost of pay increases, adopted by the House in the pending supplemental appropriation bill.

In other words, Mr. President, when this matter came up in connection with the regular appropriation bill, it was recognized that the courts could not stand such cuts, and they were not made, but this blanket amendment applies to the courts as to every other agency of Government. There are many judges who have but one clerk and one court reporter. Is it advisable to make a 10-percent cut in the personnel of a Federal court of that kind?

Another illustration is the Securities and Exchange Commission. This statement is made by Donald C. Cook, Chairman of that agency:

The reduction of \$43,500 appears to be relatively small, but since it must be absorbed in a 3-month period it has an effect 4 times as great as its apparent impact. Such a reduction, when added to that already taken would dangerously disrupt the work of the Commission.

Because of a substantial cut in the basic appropriation for the current fiscal year the Commission was required to reduce its salary obligations by approximately \$515,000.

It has been necessary to reduce the staff from 1,028 on June 30, 1951, to 898 as of today. The Commission still has to effect savings of approximately \$11,000 in salary costs during the remainder of the fiscal year in order to stay within the amount available for salaries. This savings will be made by not filling positions which become vacant. If the Commission is required to absorb an additional \$43,500 in salary costs this year, there is no alternative but to effect another reduction in staff; furlough all employees without pay until the required savings are made; or furlough a large number of individual employees for varied periods of time.

At the end of his letter, Mr. Cook says:

The disruption of the staff caused by absorbing the further reduction of \$43,500 in salary costs at this late stage of the fiscal year would have very serious effects on our ability to afford the minimum protection to investors contemplated by the statutes.

From the United States Tariff Commission we have a statement by Mr. Oscar B. Ryder, chairman. He and the members of that Commission appeared before the committee and testified. He said:

The resulting deficit of \$8,700 can be met from funds appropriated for personal services—only by one of the following alternatives—

a. Reduction in force: It is evident that with only some 3 months remaining in the fiscal year 1952, with a required lay-off notice of 30 days, and with the terminal leave payments to take into account, very little saving could be effected through a reduction in staff. The separation of 40 or 50 employees would, indeed, be required in order to save the small amount of \$8,700.

Congress has imposed upon the United States Tariff Commission certain obligations, particularly in connection with the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. If any person in the United States files a complaint that foreign imports are seriously injuring his business, the United States Tariff Commission must consider the case and determine the facts. If it is found that American interests are being jeopardized, then it is the duty of the Commission to see that the original tariff rates are restored. That service cannot be rendered with a reduced staff within a period of 1 year, as required by law.

Consider the Tax Court of the United States. This is a statement by John W. Kern, Chief Judge:

It can be seen from these cost figures that the additional 10-percent reduction proposed by the House would result in a total absorption of \$6,570 of the pay increase costs from the funds previously appropriated to the court. The funds available to the court simply will not permit absorption of that amount of the increased cost.

Judge Kern further said:

The workload of the court continues to be exceptionally heavy, and at the present time we can anticipate no savings in any of the objects of expenditures for which allotments of funds are available during the balance of the fiscal year.

The Tax Court is a busy court. It has much work to do. It is well known that the Tax Court must perform important functions. Yet it is impossible for that court to keep current with its work and stand this cut.

Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, Administrator of

the Federal Security Agency, made this statement:

I cite some figures that should have a direct bearing on any deliberations given this crippling amendment. In the first place, the total estimates for the Federal Security Agency include 12,000 employees directly used in the operation of hospital and clinical facilities. These are Freedmen's Public Health, and St. Elizabeths Hospital. Staffs at these institutions are at the minimum. Further reductions would seriously impair the ability to provide minimum services.

In the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, which is sustained by funds contributed by employers and employees, there are 14,269 employees. Payment for these salaries does not come from general funds; and this insurance agency, as such, even though in the past it has cut corners, sharpened efficiency, and given serious consideration to the economical measures, cannot function properly if the reduction contemplated in the House amendment is made effective.

There are two other units, the Federal credit unions and the food and drug certification services, which are almost completely sustained by fees collected from the consumers of the services rendered.

Yet the law will require that these reductions be made if the percentage cut becomes effective.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. HILL. As I understand, if the amendment of the Senator from Arizona prevails, then the whole matter will be considered by the conference committee. If there are agencies whose programs would be impaired by a 10-percent cut, it would then be within the power and would be the duty of the conference to restore the amounts needed.

Mr. HAYDEN. In the time intervening between the passage of this bill and the time it is considered in conference, if the House Committee on Appropriations should submit to the conference committee evidence that certain agencies of the Government could absorb a 10-percent cut, I would consider it to be my duty to favor the reduction. The point I am trying to make is that cuts should be selective; they should not be blanket or meat-ax cuts.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The Senator is correct. I am sure that even the authors of this provision did not realize how far they were going. Perhaps the amendment offered on the floor of the House had not been too carefully thought out or prepared beforehand.

As we know, oftentimes when an appropriation is prepared in one House, and the bill goes to the other House, if there is anything wrong with it, the other House may correct what is wrong and amend the bill accordingly.

What the Senator from Arizona has just said is well illustrated by the situation in the District of Columbia. As Senators know, insofar as finances of the District of Columbia are concerned, certain services such as the furnishing of water, are performed for the Federal Government. The water system of the

District of Columbia pays for itself. No money for its operation comes from the Federal Treasury or the District of Columbia Treasury.

A number of other services are paid for from the Treasury of the District of Columbia. Today more than 92 percent of all the funds that go into the District of Columbia Treasury comes out of the pockets of the people of the District of Columbia. These funds are raised by an ad valorem tax, an income tax, a sales tax, an excise tax, and other miscellaneous taxes. As the Senator from Arizona well knows what we are dealing with here, so far as the District of Columbia is concerned, is largely funds of the people of the District of Columbia.

If the House provision should prevail, we would find situations of hardship arising. For example we might consider the schools of the District of Columbia. The school system would be forced to take a cut of \$185,700 for the remainder of this school year, which is now drawing to a close. That would result in the termination of employment of some 50 temporary teachers on May 1, and at a later date some 64 teachers. That would mean that about 2,000 children in elementary schools would have to be transferred to other schools or other classrooms for the remainder of the school term.

I feel quite certain that the Senate, knowing that some 93 percent of the cost of operation of District of Columbia schools is paid for out of the pockets of the people of the District, without regard to the Federal contribution—and the theory of Federal contribution is payment in lieu of taxes—and knowing that there is no deficit whatever confronting the District of Columbia, certainly the Senate of the United States does not want now to force the discharge of teachers and the disruption of the schools of the District of Columbia.

Mr. HAYDEN. The circumstances outlined by the Senator from Alabama would not exist if the House of Representatives had not insisted that the District of Columbia be included in this cut.

Mr. HILL. That is exactly correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. If we look at the proposal in that way, by voting to reject the blanket cut and making it possible for the conferees on the part of the House to suggest to the Senate conferees certain agencies which could stand such a cut, we could be fair to all the agencies. However, I am certain that the District of Columbia is not one of such agencies.

Mr. HILL. While we are speaking of the District of Columbia schools, let me say that the Superintendent of Schools has written a letter to Members of the Senate, to the effect that if this cut is made, if the bill passes in its present form, the situation will become more critical because of the short period remaining of the fiscal year and the need for accomplishing the savings in such a limited time. Dr. Corning, the Superintendent of Schools, goes on to say:

The disruption of the entire system in the closing weeks of the school year whether by the laying off of teachers or the doubling of their duties while financially harmful to

the teachers concerned, is primarily of real damage to the children themselves.

I am sure that the Senator does not want to impose any such damage upon the children of the District of Columbia, particularly when their parents are paying for the cost of the schools. The cost of the schools does not come out of the Federal Treasury.

While we are referring to schools, I do not want to take too much time, but I think the Senate ought to have in mind the fact that this reduction would apply not only to the schools, but to health agencies. It affects not only children, but also adults. All these agencies must be inspected. Are we going to eliminate the necessary inspectors? We have a tuberculosis sanitarium at Glenn Dale. That sanitarium cannot afford to take a cut between now and the 1st of July. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have sought, wherever possible, to take care of the increases in pay. The schools have been considered along with some of the other departments. Already this year some \$1,600,000 has been absorbed; but the schools cannot stand this additional cut, unless teachers are to be laid off and service is to be crippled in hospitals and sanitariums by discharging nurses, doctors, and others who are desperately needed for the care of the sick. The same thing would apply to other departments of the government of the District of Columbia.

I very much hope that the amendment of the Senator from Arizona will prevail.

Mr. HAYDEN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. In order that this entire subject may be sent to conference, the Senator from Michigan has a proposal, which he will offer in behalf of himself and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], to make a cut of 10 percent in pay cost funds contained in the entire bill with the exception of chapter XI. Apparently there was a misapprehension in the House, and the 10-percent cut was applied only to pay increases for departments which had no requests for other appropriations. When a department had another request, in addition to the pay increase, the cut was not applied in the House.

The Senator from Michigan has an amendment to make the reduction cover the pay increases not affected by the House cut. The amendment of the Senator from Michigan would apply to all of the bill except chapter XI, which is the chapter taken care of by the House cut. I also suggest that the Senate strike out the language cutting pay increases in chapter XI.

This would mean that all the provisions of the bill relating to cuts in funds for pay increases would be before the conference and the bill could be returned to each House in proper form after the conference.

Mr. HAYDEN. May I inquire what information the Senator has upon which to base a 10-percent cut in the other titles of the bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. He has the same information which the House had. It was believed that there could be an absorption of that amount of money. This was the difficulty faced by the executive branch: Last September or October Congress enacted a pay increase, but failed to provide an appropriation to cover the pay increase.

Mr. HAYDEN. Let me make it clear to the Senator that the act directed that the pay increase should be retroactive until the beginning of the present fiscal year.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; and with respect to that feature, I agree that the executive branch should not have been required to anticipate that Congress would provide a retroactive pay increase, even though such an increase had been advocated. So with respect to the money called for by the retroactive provision, up until the time the act was passed, I do not believe we could hold the executive agencies responsible. But I contend that after Congress passed the act the administration had no right to assume that we would appropriate money to cover the entire cost of the increase. The various agencies should immediately have started to absorb the increase and reduce the force to enable it to do so.

Mr. HAYDEN. Was there any directive in the act to that effect?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; and there was no directive to the effect that the agencies were not to absorb the increase. This pay increase has only been absorbed to a small extent. The agencies have not absorbed a very great amount of it. In this bill they ask that we give them the money to cover the cost of pay increases for the next 2 months.

Mr. HAYDEN. There is testimony that in a number of instances some part of the increase has been absorbed.

Mr. FERGUSON. A small amount. It varies according to the agency.

Mr. HAYDEN. I understand that some agencies have absorbed a considerable part of it. Others have absorbed less, and still others have absorbed none.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. I would not call the absorption which has been made a small one. The total increase resulting from the passage of the act and its retroactive provision was \$698,822,889 for the year. Against that there has been an absorption of \$311,158,983. The committee on the House side added a further reduction of \$5,297,582, making a total of \$316,456,565, representing the part of the increase which was absorbed either by reason of the direction of the Bureau of the Budget or the refusal by the House committee to recommend. That leaves approximately half of the increase to be met by appropriations.

Mr. HAYDEN. Will not the Senator from Oregon be kind enough to suggest that in instances in which agencies of the Government have already made a showing of absorption of half the increase, they have done pretty well and

are entitled to credit? They say, "We have absorbed as much as we possibly can. From here on, we cannot absorb any more and continue to function as we should." That is the testimony.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan wants the subject to go to the conference, where the Senate conferees can discuss it with the House conferees. We can then determine the agencies which we believe can absorb the pay increases. For example, the Senator from Arizona has cited the Tax Court and some other agencies. If the subject is in conference, we can determine the agencies which can absorb the cost of the pay increase and those which cannot.

Mr. HAYDEN. Where are we going to get any testimony about agencies which are not in this title which would justify taking the action suggested?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator from Michigan feels that at the time of the conference we can certainly determine how much the agencies can absorb and how much they cannot absorb. The Senator from Arizona has memoranda from the various departments showing the amounts which they will be required to absorb.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is because they are included within this title.

Mr. FERGUSON. If the amendment of the Senator from Michigan were adopted, the various agencies would certainly come to the committee and state how much they could absorb. So if the Senator will take both provisions to conference, the matter can be fully adjusted. If we strike out the language which the House inserted, and insert the language which the Senator from Michigan now proposes, both provisions can be taken to conference.

Mr. HAYDEN. I hesitate to accept an offer of that kind, not knowing what it means.

Mr. FERGUSON. It would merely mean that the subject would be in conference, and we could do justice, or as near justice as the Appropriations Committee can do in connection with this item.

Mr. HAYDEN. We are discussing Chapter XI, Increased Pay Costs. Would the Senator from Michigan wish the cut to apply to the Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. FERGUSON. I say that we should eliminate what the House put in the bill so far as absorption of the pay cost is concerned in relation to the 10 percent and the 1 percent figures, so that all of it will go to conference. Then we should insert the amendment offered by me. In that way we would get both matters to conference, and we could do justice.

Mr. HAYDEN. I want to know what we would take to conference. In chapter X an appropriation is made for the Defense Production Administration and the Small Defense Plants Administration. Does the Senator from Michigan

thing that they could absorb any material amount?

Mr. FERGUSON. I want to take up the question with them and ascertain what they can do. We could consider it in conference. In that way we could do justice to all. I do not want to do injustice to any department. It is something that ought to be taken to conference. Therefore we should strike out the absorption of the 10 percent and the 1 percent in chapter XI, and put in the other provision. In that way we could take it all to conference. Then in conference everyone would be treated according to the facts.

Mr. HAYDEN. The increased pay costs in chapters of the bill other than in chapter XI are:

Defense Production Administration.....	\$200,000
Displaced Persons Commission.....	182,000
Federal Power Commission.....	301,000
National Capital Housing Authority.....	1,600
Selective Service System.....	416,000
Department of Agriculture.....	3,500,000
Department of Commerce.....	20,000
Department of the Interior.....	323,000
Department of Justice.....	2,610,000
Department of Labor.....	442,000
Treasury Department.....	19,379,000
Total.....	27,374,600

Ten percent of the total, \$2,737,460.

How much of that is for personnel?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is all for personnel. It is all pay increases. I will try to explain it in this way. The present requirement of a 10 percent absorption by certain departments and 1 percent by the Post Office Department is applied to chapter XI alone. It was put in that chapter because those agencies did not ask for any money other than for pay increases. Then we have agencies outside of that chapter that ask for pay increases as well as for other funds in the supplemental bill. Therefore they are segregated and put in chapters previous to chapter XI. When Representative Davis proposed his amendment he put it in chapter XI. It does not make any difference whether the Government agencies ask for pay increases alone or also for some other funds. What the Senator from Michigan wants to do it to strike out the House provision and insert a new section which would cover agencies outside chapter XI, and take that to conference. In that way justice could be done according to the facts.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. Gladly.

Mr. CORDON. The Senator's view is that if the Davis amendment were stricken by the Senate and no action such as the Senator has proposed were taken by the Senate, the Senate conferees might be faced with such a situation that they may have to yield to the House if the House feels strongly that the Davis amendment ought to stand, and the result would be to continue the same inequity which is now being complained of.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. CORDON. Namely, the 10 percent would be applied to the pay increases only.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. CORDON. And there would be no similar reduction where pay increases were combined with funds for some other use.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct. I think that is an injustice which we should not permit. Neither should the agencies be called upon to suffer it.

THE MISSOURI RIVER FLOOD AND THE FLOOD CONTROL PLAN

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, perhaps we can make a little progress on the pending measure if I speak on another subject while the members of the Committee on Appropriations try to get together on the proposed amendment.

Yesterday I returned from a front-row observation post of the greatest Missouri River flood ever seen by white men. The masterly direction of the saving of Omaha and Council Bluffs from peak flow inundation by Lt. Gen. Lewis A. Pick, Chief of the Army engineers, and his associates, the splendid relief corps organized by the Red Cross throughout the disaster area, the superhuman efforts of volunteers—all will be remembered throughout the six affected States as an outstanding example of the spirit of America.

At the height of the effort, as many as 15,000 men—all unpaid volunteers—were manning the 23 miles of dykes in the vicinity of Omaha and Council Bluffs. Volunteers came from as far as 100 to 150 miles away. College students came from all over Nebraska and Iowa to help. The use of many hundreds of trucks was donated by business firms free of charge. At one point I saw a hundred women helping, holding the sandbags while the men shoveled in the sand. That picture sticks in my mind as a typical example of the spirit of the people in mobilizing to meet this danger. I want to pay tribute to that spirit. It thrilled me, as I am sure it thrilled television audiences, and those who followed the daily development of the crisis through press and radio reports.

The damages wrought by the uncontrolled volumes of water bring forcibly to us the need for vigorous prosecution of the remedial works which have been planned carefully in great detail for some time. In addition to Fort Peck Dam, five others are in various stages of construction by the Corps of Engineers in the Dakotas. Of the six, four will create great storage reservoirs. Fort Peck, Garrison, Oahe, and Fort Randall Reservoirs will together provide 13,750,000 acre-feet of flood storage, about twice the volume of the present flood flow. But, had either Garrison or Oahe been in operation prior to the flood, the overflows would have caused relatively little damage. Present estimates of the damages exceed \$350,000,000. About 2,000,000 acres of farm lands were inundated. About 100,000 people were compelled to leave their homes.

This is an appropriate time to review in general terms this main-stem reservoir system, a part of the program popularly known as the Pick-Sloan plan.

Fort Peck Dam is completed. One hundred and forty million dollars is required to complete Garrison Dam and its appurtenant facilities. Eighty million dollars is required to complete the Fort Randall project. These sums aggregate less than the damages of this single flood. This system of dams cannot operate as independent units because the plan embraces a comprehensive system of reservoirs, levees, and channel improvement for flood control, hydroelectric power development, navigation, irrigation, and related beneficial uses of water. With respect to the flood-control features of the plan, primary control of the Missouri River would be afforded by the four main-stem storage reservoirs extending 1,000 miles from Fort Peck Dam to Fort Randall Dam. The two other storage dams in between Fort Peck and Fort Randall are Garrison and Oahe. Two small dams, Big Bend below Oahe and Gavins Point below Fort Randall, are also included to permit the most effective operation of the main storage projects. The total storage provided behind the six main-stem dams is in excess of 73,000,000 acre-feet, and the reservoir system will control the runoff from 263,000 square miles, the upper half of the drainage basin of the entire Missouri River. Levees planned along the banks of the Missouri River below Sioux City will control the flows discharged from the storage dams in addition to side inflows coming from the tributaries between Sioux City and the mouth. The amount of storage contemplated in the four main storage reservoirs and the breakdown between flood-control storage, conservation storage, and silt storage are shown in the following table:

Reservoir	Storage in acre-feet			Total
	Flood control	Conservation	Inactive silt	
Fort Peck.....	3,500,000	11,400,000	4,500,000	19,400,000
Garrison.....	4,250,000	13,850,000	4,900,000	23,000,000
Oahe.....	3,500,000	14,600,000	5,500,000	23,600,000
Fort Randall.....	2,500,000	2,400,000	1,400,000	6,300,000
Total.....	13,750,000	42,250,000	16,300,000	72,300,000

The silt storage shown in the table is needed to assure against the encroachment of sediment on the storage allocated to flood control and conservation. The largest silt carrier in the Missouri Basin is the Yellowstone River, which enters the Missouri River at the head of Garrison Reservoir. In that reservoir, the storage allocated to silt will take care of the Yellowstone sediment load for more than 100 years. At Oahe Reservoir, more than 100 years of silt inflow from the Cheyenne River and other tributaries, which produce the second largest contribution in the basin, can be accommodated without encroachment upon storage allocated to other purposes.

After completion, the reservoirs will be operated so that from March to June of each year, which is the flood period in the upper basin, floodwaters will be caught and stored in each reservoir in the space reserved for flood control and conservation. After the flood season is

over, the big question for Lt. Gen. Lewis A. Pick, whose engineers will operate the reservoir system, is how to return down the river the stored floodwater. He must release all water accumulated in capacities reserved for flood control before the next spring flood season; but the water that he releases must also be gainfully used for irrigation, navigation, power, etc. Most important, he must regulate the releases from Fort Randall, the lowermost reservoir, so that they will not add damagingly to the flood run-off from the 200,000-square-mile uncontrolled drainage area between that point and the mouth of the Missouri River.

I gathered much information from the men in the Corps of Engineers during this flood, as you may have noted. But let me submit a few more details, because, as I stated, there is urgency to proceed with all the units in the plan, as I shall demonstrate.

The need for the Gavins Point and Big Bend Reservoirs in the upper Missouri system is a result of a careful analysis of engineering and economic requirements. Without these reservoirs, the value of the main storage system would be considerably reduced. For example, Gavins Point Dam will not be a storage reservoir in the same sense as the four up-river reservoirs, because it will create only a 45-foot head and will have a capacity of only 525,000 acre-feet. However, it assures fully flexible operation of the Fort Randall project and is vitally needed as an integral part of that project. The reason for this is that the total volume of water released during the winter season from Fort Randall Dam must be limited in order to conserve water for future release during the following summer's navigation season and also because of the ice hazard. In order to use the available water to the best advantage, the Fort Randall power plant will be operated on peak load; that is, the power plant will pass large releases for 3 or 4 hours a day, and then will be practically shut down for the remainder of the day. These daily fluctuations will range from 2,500 cubic feet per second to 40,000 cubic feet per second; and if these abrupt changes were allowed to pass down the river, the ice cover of 2 or 3 feet which forms each year would be converted into ice to be stored within the river banks. When added to the already large volumes of flow now released by the natural break-up of ice each spring, the additional ice storage resulting from the discharge fluctuations from Fort Randall would cause serious flooding. Therefore, the Gavins Point Dam is needed to reregulate the discharges from Fort Randall so that they can be released at a uniform rate downstream under the ice cover. Gavins Point Dam is also needed to eliminate the fluctuations during the summer season. If these fluctuations were permitted, there would be serious attack on the river banks through erosion, which is accentuated by rising and falling river stages. Gavins Point Dam will permit the passage of a steady flow and will prevent abrupt changes which would cause severe erosion.

The importance of simultaneous completion of all the reservoirs of the system is emphasized by examination of the problems associated with the system of operation for flood control and by the necessity of integrated coordination of the individual reservoir and dam units. Oahe Dam was the last project of the system to get under way, and at an optimum rate of appropriation it will lag completion of Garrison and Fort Randall Dams by 4 or 5 years.

The three main-stem reservoirs and the two small dams which were added by the 1944 Flood Control Act, and which are vitally needed to prevent floods such as the present one, could all have been completed in a period of from 5 to 7 years, depending upon the rate of appropriation. If appropriations for construction had been made immediately after authorization in 1944 and if continuing appropriations had been made to permit the work to be carried on to the maximum practicable extent, the entire main-control system would now have been in operation and the present damages would have been prevented. As it stands now, if major construction appropriations are made in the next 5 or 6 years, Oahe, the last of the reservoirs, still will not be completed until 1958. This represents a gap of 14 years between authorization and completion of the main storage elements.

It is too late now to turn back the pages and have these projects in operation. Fortunately, the closure of Fort Randall this summer will provide a substantial amount of flood control, to be increased later as Garrison and, finally, Oahe are placed in operation. In view of the urgent need for these projects, as demonstrated by the present flood, it is imperative that no further delay be permitted in an orderly and efficient construction program.

The large demand for power in the agricultural areas of the Missouri Basin and the delay in the completion of the Fort Randall project, together are bringing about a condition of uncertainty in the power situation. When the Congress approves an appropriation for the commencement of a power plant as important as Fort Randall, it should go through with the program without delay. Once construction has started, the intelligent thing is to complete it as quickly as possible, so that we may begin to realize the benefits at the earliest possible date. The Bureau of Reclamation is the Federal marketing agency for all power to be produced at these Federal hydropower plants. The Bureau cannot make commitments unless there is a dependable construction schedule. I am not complaining about what has been done. The general plan for the basin was authorized in December 1944, and at that time we still had to win World War II; but detailed plans had to be prepared. Labor and materials were scarce. Then came the Korean action. Again, labor and materials had to be allotted to meet national requirements for keeping the peace. We are now in a phase which may maintain its emergency aspects for years. Meanwhile, let us get flood protection

for large critical areas, and let us supply electric power to meet all legitimate needs.

Mr. President, it is time to stop hemming and hawing about the flood-control problem in the Missouri Basin, and to push this flood-control program through to completion at the earliest possible moment. The floods and the dangers we have experienced during the past few weeks could have been prevented and should have been prevented. They can be prevented in the future if we will complete these dams—now. The people of the Missouri Basin understand and realize that fact. They know that they need not suffer another such catastrophe. They know it can be prevented, and they are not disposed to sit patiently and wait until an even greater calamity spurs us to action.

I believe the House of Representatives made a serious mistake in reducing proposed appropriations for the Missouri Basin, particularly in the sharp reduction for Oahe and in rejecting the appropriation for Gavins Point. This system of dams must be considered as a unit and built as a unit. Postponement of Gavins Point will make it impossible to operate Fort Randall effectively. Delay in completing Oahe will destroy much of the effectiveness of the entire system.

I intend to urge these considerations strongly to the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Civil Functions. I am for a balanced budget. I have opposed and shall continue to oppose Federal spending which is unnecessary or which is beyond our financial capacity, but control of destructive floods is a program which clearly should have priority over the great majority of other Federal programs, particularly those involving American assistance to foreign countries. I believe it is time to recognize that our first obligation is to our own people.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record* at this point an editorial from the *Omaha World-Herald* of April 21.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

THE VALOR AND DEVOTION

To give individual citations for gallantry in the battle against the Missouri River would be a total impossibility. The heroes have been legion, the time and strength they have given to the fight incalculable, the valor and devotion they have displayed beyond reward.

In this note of appreciation, however, a few organizations should be mentioned.

The Army engineers have been truly magnificent. Their knowledge of the river and its monstrous, treacherous ways provided the solid base from which the battle to save Omaha and Council Bluffs was waged.

The Civil Defense Organization was splendid. It sprang to its duties as if it had been trained and rehearsed for years to face just such a crisis.

The local authorities on both sides of the river—sheriff's staff, police, firemen and elected officials—handled their respective tasks most competently. The Armed Services—Army, Air Force, National Guard and Coast Guard—mobilized their forces with the utmost speed and efficiency and threw them into the battle.

In providing for displaced families, and in ministering to the workers, the Red Cross and the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America were superb.

In providing equipment for the fight and supplies for the fighters, countless firms and industries gave without stint.

But these many fine organizations provided only the skeleton of the army of defense. Their ranks were filled and made solid and given real fighting muscle by the thousands of volunteers who thronged to the levees and for long, sleepless, restless hours did the back-breaking labor which in truth saved the cities from the river.

Many of them came from other Iowa and Nebraska cities or from distant States. Others came down from their own homes, snug and dry in the hills above the angry waters, to slosh through the rain and mud in the mighty counterattack which finally saved the homes of their neighbors.

Here were people at their shining best. Here was revelation, one which those who witnessed it will never forget, of the good will and good neighborliness which lie in the human heart.

Speaking, we feel sure, for every resident of the community, this newspaper humbly and gratefully extends thanks to the thousands who without thought of glory or pay took part in the valiant battle. The sums which are pouring in to the World-Herald Flood Relief Fund for the Red Cross are, we think, more than a contribution to a good organization. They are also a testimonial to the heroism of an army of men and women who faced the roaring challenge of the Missouri's mightiest flood, and turned it back.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask for a vote on my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUNT in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona to strike from the bill lines 6 to 13, inclusive, on page 47.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I desire now to offer as a separate section, to be known as section 1303, on page 50, after line 20, the following:

None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this act, except in chapter XI, for increased pay costs for any department or agency shall be available for obligation or expenditure in excess of 90 percent of the amount appropriated or otherwise made available in this act, except for chapter XI, for such department or agency for increased pay costs, and such appropriations and funds otherwise made available are hereby reduced accordingly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will please send the amendment to the desk, to be read by the clerk.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point, as a part of my remarks, a brief statement regarding the amendments. We have already debated the subject. This brief statement is, I believe, in order, and will explain it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FERGUSON

This amendment, in effect, perfects the language of an amendment to the bill adopted on the floor of the House of Representatives. The House amendment only applies to chapter 11 of the bill, on increased pay costs. The above amendment applies to all the pay increase funds throughout the rest of the bill.

The effect of the amendment is to require a slightly greater absorption of the costs of the pay increase voted last session by Congress.

The proposed amendment in making a 10-percent reduction apply to pay costs in other portions of the bill will produce additional savings of about \$2,735,000.

The reason these pay cost increases, which I propose to treat equally with those in chapter 11, appear in other parts of the bill is pure chance. Where agencies asked for funds only for pay-cost increases, the items were put in chapter 11. But in cases where they requested, for example, additional personnel and pay costs, the items appear in other chapters of the bill. This amendment will permit all pay-cost increases to receive equal treatment.

Obviously it is unfair to make a reduction in funds in the case of an agency which made a single request but exempts an agency which made supplemental requests in addition to the pay-cost item. I urge my colleagues to concur in this amendment which only permits a rule to apply equally and saves the taxpayer some \$2,700,000.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I should merely like to say that this amendment is offered for the following purpose: We have now eliminated that part of the amendment affecting the absorption of certain pay increases. This will equalize things by allowing to be taken to conference other items in the bill contained in other sections. I believe the Senator from Arizona is satisfied to have it taken to conference.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I want to be sure that we understand each other. If there were in some other part of the bill money appropriated for construction and also for pay increases, what we would have in conference would be the pay increases.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is all.

Mr. HAYDEN. In other words, it is not proposed to make a 10-percent reduction in anything except pay.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator is correct. It applies only to pay increases.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to inquire if my understanding is correct as to what the combined amendments of the Senator from Arizona and the Senator from Michigan are intended to accomplish. The House bill, in chapter XI makes certain percentage cuts in salary payments. The House cuts do not apply to the provisions for certain salary payments in other chapters of the bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It thus made an unfair reduction. The amendment of the Senator from Michigan would remedy that by making the pay cut of 10

percent applicable throughout the bill, including chapter XI. Am I correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is true, except in regard to chapter XI, because that chapter is being eliminated. The effect would be to put all pay cuts into conference, where an effort can be made to see that justice is done.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The conferees could either say "We will have a 10-percent cut across the board," or "We will have no cut at all." Am I correct in that?

Mr. FERGUSON. Or they might say, "We will cut here, or there."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I merely wish to say that fundamentally, constitutionally, and in every other way, I am opposed to blanket cuts or so-called meat-ax cuts of any kind. However, the House of Representatives having sent to the Senate a proposal of that kind, so far as I can see, the only way of getting the question into conference and of having it disposed of is by agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan. So, though against my conscience, I accept this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON].

The amendment was agreed to.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT—SEIZURE OF THE STEEL MILLS

Mr. O'CONOR. Mr. President, there are certain principles basic to the maintenance of the American way of life and the American system of government. One of these is that no man shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. It would hardly seem necessary to emphasize the fact that if this right is ignored other equally basic rights will be jeopardized thereby.

Throughout the world today there is ample evidence of the dire results that ensue once a people is denied any basic freedom. Certainly no American citizen could prefer to have this country follow in the wake of those nations which have experienced the degradation of having lost their freedom. But such degradation, such lost freedom, will inevitably result, unless the trends and policies which lead to such losses are stopped promptly and completely.

It is not a welcomed task that I undertake today in addressing this distinguished body to protest an action of our Chief Executive. Rather, it is in accordance with a deep sense of official duty that I arise to discuss and to deplore the seizure of the steel industry by the Federal Government. Also, I do so to urge upon the Congress that action be taken without delay to correct the mistake which has been made and to guard against any future transgressions by Government on the sacred rights of its citizens.

The precedent having been set, and firmly established, in the event of congressional reluctance to act now, it

could almost be predicted with assurance that similar action affecting other rights ultimately would follow as naturally as the night follows the day.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

Our Constitution provides for a separation of powers. Each branch of our Government is vested with certain rights and duties. Congress specifically is given the power "to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States"—article I, section 8—and is invested with the authority "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution (these) powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof"—article I, section 8.

In 1947, being impressed with the fact that a threatened or actual strike affecting an entire industry might imperil the national health or safety, Congress passed the Labor-Management Relations Act. By the authority vested by the Constitution, Congress gave the President a means of handling any such strike which might occur or which might be threatened.

As all are aware, this country has for many months been faced with the threat of a Nation-wide strike in the steel industry. After months of negotiation between labor and management the collective bargaining agreements covering the workers in that most vital industry expired on December 1, 1951, without any agreement having been achieved. Since that time the imminency of a strike has been consistently over the heads of the people of this country. Throughout this period, the President did not avail of the facilities which were included in the statute designed to handle this very situation.

And then, on April 8, 1952, at the very last moment, the President announced that he was seizing the steel mills to avert a threatened strike. His Executive order effecting the seizure recited that "a work stoppage would immediately jeopardize and imperil our national defense." The President assumed the power to seize private industry "by virtue of the authority vested in (him) by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States."

The President asserted a power to seize the steel industry in the interest of "national defense," a matter which is explicitly charged to Congress by the Constitution. This assertion of power was made despite the previous enactment of a law to cover this very situation and at a time when Congress was in session discharging its constitutional functions of making "all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for the Government of this Nation.

Has the President such a power? Admittedly Congress has given him no statutory authority. But, it is claimed, he has such a power by virtue of his office as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces.

Is the President's action in ordering the seizure of the steel plants lawful? This question is principally a constitutional one. Its answer is found in the separation of governmental powers into three branches, namely, legislative—the primary role of which is making the laws; executive—the primary role of which is executing those laws; and the judicial—the primary role of which is interpreting those laws, historically known as the doctrine of separation of powers. This division of powers was designed to satisfy the need for a system of checks and balances among the three branches.

The seizure of the steel plants is the very kind of situation that the founding fathers might have foreseen as leading to the concentration of too much power in one branch of the Government.

The seizure is lawful only if that act is within the scope of his Executive power. What does the Constitution of the United States say about the Executive power? It is striking that the Constitution of the United States in article 2, section 3, states that the President "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Is the President, by the steel seizure, performing this primary role of the Executive? Obviously, the reason which the President has offered for the steel seizure has not been a law enacted by Congress. Rather, he has given as his reason the opinion that to stand by and not seize them will place the country in jeopardy.

CONGRESS HAS LEGISLATED

However, the question of labor-management disputes is a question upon which the Congress of the United States has already enacted laws. Rather than taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, the President in this instance has ignored the laws and instead, has provided a method of his own making for settling a labor-management dispute. In so doing he has failed to perform his primary role of executing the laws.

It has been contended that there can be read into the Constitution some vague, nebulous "inherent power" in the executive other than the powers enumerated therein. Such a view undermines the fundamental tenet of our Constitution, namely, that it sets up a government of delegated powers, a government of limited powers. All other authority is reserved to the people. The view that the executive has powers other than those enumerated in the Constitution is by its very nature directly opposed to the constitutional theory of limited powers. That view places no limit on the authority of the executive. It would result in unbridled control. Such a doctrine must inevitably result in a government by man rather than by laws.

Furthermore, even the advocates of such a questionable doctrine as that of inherent power would never contend that such an authority could take precedence over the Chief Executive's primary constitutional role of executing the laws.

It might be admitted for the sake of argument that, as commander in chief, the President has power to requisition private property under very limited cir-

cumstances. But these circumstances do not exist in this instance. A long line of decisions of our Supreme Court enunciates again and again the proposition that a military commander may seize public property only where there is immediate and impending danger such as will not admit of delay and where our Congress of civil authorities cannot act—*Mitchell v. Harmony* (13 How. 115 (U. S. 1851)), *Prize cases* (2 Black 635 (U. S. 1863)), and *Ex parte Milligan* (4 Wall. 2 (U. S. 1866)).

It must be kept uppermost in mind that seizure is but a phase of martial rule.

In reviewing the pertinent cases, one is brought inexorably to the conclusion that, in a period of hostilities or grave imminent danger, the executive branch of Government is authorized to take possession of private property for public purposes under authority of two conditions, namely, (a) if the military situation or threatened danger was not anticipated by Congress as result of which no statutory procedure had been provided to take care of the extraordinary situation; and (b) the emergency had presented itself so suddenly that it would have been impossible for congressional action to be taken.

If the President has any power to seize private property as Commander in Chief, he has that power only when the action of Congress cannot be invited.—*Ex parte Milligan*, supra. At the time of the steel seizure Congress was in session, ready and available to take action if it was determined that the laws already enacted were not adequate to cover the situation. Can it be said that this could somehow imbue the President with a power which is vested in Congress alone by the Constitution? The clear judicial answer is contained in an opinion of one of our most learned jurists, Judge August N. Hand. In denying the power of the President to prevent cable landings on our shores in the absence of congressional legislation—*United States v. Western Union Telegraph Co.* (272 F. 311, affirmed in 272 F. 893 (D. C. 2 1921); reversed on stipulation without prejudice in 260 U. S. 754)—Judge Hand said:

I cannot regard a failure by Congress to exercise its undoubted powers as proof that some other branch of the Government has the right to do what Congress might readily have authorized.

DOES INHERENT POWER EXIST?

If the President had no power to seize the steel plants as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, did he have any inherent power to take this action? I submit that even the idea of such a power is foreign to our Constitution and to our very ideals. President Taft in his book *Our Chief Magistrate and His Power* ably dispelled the notion that any such residue of power lay in the office of President. He there said—pages 141-142, 1916:

The President can exercise no power which cannot fairly and reasonably be traced to some specific grant of power, or justly implied and included within such grant of power and necessary to its exercise. Such specific grants must be either in the Fed-

eral Constitution or in an act of Congress passed in pursuance thereof. There is no undefined residuum of power which he can exercise because it seems to him to be in the public interest.

RIGHTS OF PROPERTY AND LIBERTY

Our courts have jealously guarded the individual rights of property and liberty from the unauthorized acts of the executive branch. In 1861, Chief Justice Taney ordered the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus for a man seized by a major general of the Army who claimed that President Lincoln had authorized him to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Chief Justice Taney said—*Ex parte Merryman* (17 Fed. Cas. 144 No. 9487 (1861)):

It is the second article of the Constitution that provides for the organization of the Executive Department, enumerates the powers conferred on it, and prescribes its duties. And if the high power over the liberty of the citizen now claimed, was intended to be conferred upon the President, it would undoubtedly be found in plain words in this article; but there is not a word in it that can furnish the slightest ground to justify the exercise of the power. * * *

Nor can any argument be drawn from the nature of sovereignty, or the necessity of government, for self-defense in times of tumult and danger. The Government of the United States is one of delegated and limited powers; it derives its existence and authority altogether from the constitution, and neither of its branches, executive, legislative or judicial, can exercise any of the powers of government beyond those specified and granted.

The steel companies have sought resort to the courts to enjoin the unauthorized act of the President. But through the Department of Justice the President has contended that the judiciary has no right to challenge the legality of his action. If such be the law we are on the brink of a tyranny such as this Nation has never seen. But I contend earnestly that such is not the law. When the President and his agents act without authority and invade the rights of others, they are, as any other persons, amenable to judicial sanction. In 1882 in the case of the *United States v. Lee* (106 U. S. 196 (1882)) our Supreme Court announced a rule which stands as a cornerstone of the protection of life, liberty, and property. The son of Gen. Robert E. Lee had instituted action for the return of the Lee estate at Arlington, Va., taken possession of by the military during the Civil War. The defense was set up that immunity flowed from the authority of the executive branch of the Government even though it was contended that the Executive had exceeded his authority. In deciding that the seizure was unlawful and that, therefore, no such immunity existed, the Court said:

No man in this country is so high that he is above the law. No officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity. All of the officers of the Government, from the highest to the lowest, are creatures of the law and are bound to obey it.

RECENT EXPRESSION OF CONGRESS

Can it be seriously contended that the Congress had intended to give the President extraordinary power of seizure? To the contrary, the most recent expres-

sion of the Congress indicates very clearly the determination not to vest the President with such powers. On the very day of the President's seizure of the steel mills, the Senate Judiciary Committee wrote into the pending War Powers Extension Act the following language:

Nothing contained herein shall be construed to authorize seizure by the Government, under authority of any act herein extended, of any privately owned plants or facilities which are not public utilities.

This unequivocal declaration was not a routine action but was appended to the measure and was unanimously passed by both Houses. The President of the United States was presented with this measure containing the language cited and by affixing his signature he approved the enactment.

When the President of the United States, his Secretary of Commerce, or any other governmental officer assumes to appropriate private property by virtue alone of his office and without authority of Congress, he is in error and his act is not the act of the Government. In *Hoe v. United States* (218 U. S. 222 (1910)) the Supreme Court denied the power of Government officers to seize private property without authority from Congress. The Court said:

The constitutional prohibition against taking private property for public use without just compensation is directed against the Government, and not against individual or public officers proceeding without the authority of legislative enactment. The taking of private property by an officer of the United States for public use, without being authorized, expressly or by necessary implication, to do so by some act of Congress, is not the act of the Government.

THE BEST INTERESTS OF LABOR

Involved in the matter of seizure of the steel plants are two vast groups of American citizens, one composed of the thousands of workers in the plants; the other of the thousands of Americans whose savings are invested to greater or less degree in shares of the various steel companies.

Not less important than the rights of even these two especially interested groups are the interests of the great mass of American citizens whose national security, whose employment, whose everyday lives and conveniences are inseparably connected with the proper functioning of the steel industry.

As one who believes very definitely that the basis of American prosperity is in the prosperity of its working people, I submit respectfully that the interests of these employees are served by private rather than public ownership or operation of any industry. The mirage of immediate added benefits, which the steel-plant employees may receive after Government seizure, is a tempting bait for public support of Government action to back the seizure. Not all labor leaders are convinced that the lot of their membership will be improved under Government, however, just as some labor leaders and workers in the field of public power have been disillusioned by their experience under Government operation and direction.

Millions of people in eastern Europe and in Asia have found out, to their sorrow, that roseate promises of those who would extend their power are not borne out in fact. These peoples were promised the millenium when Communist policies could be applied throughout their lands. Instead, they found themselves deprived even of the minimum rights and benefits which they had enjoyed; they learned that justice and benevolence are not matters of promises but of performance.

In recent decades untold advances of immeasurable benefit to American workers have been made. Their standards have been elevated, their earnings increased, their lot in life improved to a point undreamed of a quarter of a century ago. These gains must not be placed in jeopardy. No real friend of the laboring man will permit a development which might react injuriously against the great mass of workers of this country.

But if approval is given to Presidential arbitrary action, as taken recently in the steel seizure, then in the future a President, desiring to curb the rights of labor, would find precedent for drastic measures severely restricting the rights of workers. Then, to the great regret of the labor element, it would be found that the very thesis improvised today for their benefit could be turned to their defeat tomorrow.

THE PRESIDENT IS NOT INFALLIBLE

The assertion that the President or his officers are above the law is tantamount to asserting that the doctrine that the King can do no wrong applies to our Government. This proposition has been advanced once before and the Supreme Court vehemently denounced it, saying—*Langford v. United States* (101 U. S. 341 (1880)):

It is not easy to see how the first proposition (that the king can do no wrong) can have any place in our system of government. We have no king to whom it can be applied. The President in the exercise of the Executive functions, bears a nearer resemblance to the limited monarch of the English Government than any other branch of our Government, and is the only individual to whom it could possibly have any relation. It cannot apply to him, because the Constitution admits he may do wrong.

It is clear beyond any doubt whatever that the President had no power to seize the steel industry. Congress alone had the power to act under the then existing circumstances.

OURS IS GOVERNMENT OF LAW

Reverting to the question as to whether "inherent" power is vested in the Presidency, it must be understood that, just as the constitutions of the several States authorize only limited powers to the chief executives of the States, the Constitutional Convention most certainly intended to restrict the President of the United States in the exercise of his functions and did not intend to give him widespread authority which would imply power to deal with unforeseen situations.

If this were not so the President of the United States could well assume dictatorial power. There would be no curb

upon his actions. The President could arrogate to himself the authority vested exclusively in the legislative branch and through successive steps could usurp the functions of the judiciary. Carried to its logical conclusion, our Federal system would then degenerate from a government of law to a government of man.

If, as the courts have ruled, the authority for the seizure of private property is vested in the Congress, it cannot be contended that equal power is vested both in the executive and the legislative branch of Government.

This question was decided definitely only a few years ago by the Supreme Court in the case of *United States v. Bethlehem Steel Corporation* (315 U. S. 289 (1942)). The Court declared unequivocally that it is the Congress which possesses this power.

If this new theory that both branches of the Government possess similar authority in a given area is to prevail, then tomorrow or in the tomorrows to come the Chief Executive could claim the right to participate actively and decisively in those areas which traditionally and by constitutional mandate are reserved to the Congress. Such functions would include the power to tax, to regulate commerce between and among the States, to raise an Army.

The question here is not whether the President of the United States did the practical thing or whether the end result might provide justification. The single and simple issue is whether his action is authorized either by provision of the Federal Constitution or by terms of statutory enactment.

The answer is clear and inescapable. No such authority or power exists in the Presidential office. Therefore, he exceeded his powers. His action is illegal. Private property has been seized and appropriated without due process of law.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION

In the 69-page brief of the Government, filed recently in the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. injunction suit on behalf of Secretary of Commerce, Charles Sawyer, a number of precedents are cited. However, it is to be noted that no such action was taken under conditions similar to those existing when the President acted in the steel dispute. In the instant case the President had the opportunity to have designated a board of inquiry to review the facts in the controversy even though no recommendations were made. Through such action a strike would have been averted for at least 80 days. In this period mediators would undertake to adjust the differences and the employees would be given the chance to express their final convictions. By secret ballot they would be able to approve or disapprove of the industry's final proposal. This authorized procedure, however, was not invoked by the President.

The President did bring about a hearing of the disputed questions by the Wage Stabilization Board, which made recommendations for a settlement. When these were found to be unacceptable, there remained the power of the President to prevent a stoppage of es-

sential work by seeking an injunction and requiring additional negotiations with the assistance of official mediators. Furthermore, the President could have called upon Congress either to take action for compulsory arbitration or to provide for the operation of the industry on a temporary basis with appropriate safeguards for the protection of the rights of all parties to the controversy.

If the President of the United States can disregard the regularly enacted statutes, designed to cope with a given situation, and can declare an emergency after his refusal to invoke the law, then there is no limitation upon his action. Following such precedent, a tyrannical regime could supplant a well-ordered system under which checks and balances are provided by three coordinate branches of the Federal Government.

Such a Federal system, proclaimed to consist of three equally powerful segments, was designed to prevent concentration of power in any one branch of the Government. To concede that all power can be concentrated in one man is to describe an autocratic and un-American dictatorship as a distinct possibility in the United States.

It is incumbent upon Congress to take some action in this most unfortunate state of affairs. We have reached a point from which we cannot retreat. For by retreating, we will have left the legislative branch of our Government on the battlefield behind us.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'CONOR. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I wish to compliment my distinguished and able senior colleague for his fine exposition of a very vital problem before the American people today. I wish to associate myself wholeheartedly with the sentiments he has expressed.

Mr. O'CONOR. I thank the Senator.

SEIZURE OF THE STEEL PLANTS

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, it seems to me that involved in the matter of seizure are much more than the question of constitutionality, much more than the question of increased compensation and benefits for the steel workers, much more than an increase in the price of steel itself. For the sake of argument, I am willing to concede that this kind of action by the Government is constitutional and that the increase in wages and benefits demanded by the unions is justified and proper.

However, I do not concede that, the constitutional aspects of the situation being whatever they may be, the Government has the moral right to determine profits for any private enterprise by any other process than through the medium of general taxation—specifically, the excess-profits tax. I do not concede that, the constitutional aspects of the situation being whatever they may be, the Government has the moral right—without the consent of both labor and management—to grasp and perform the function of collective bargaining, thereby acting as dictator over la-

bor and management alike and abandoning its traditional and fundamental role in this very sensitive field of human relations.

The traditional role of Government in dealing with human relations in a free society is that of establishing and enforcing rules of conduct by which the parties in dispute may have the opportunity voluntarily, and therefore more happily, to reach agreement. Applying this principle to labor-management relations, we can well be guided by the following rule long ago adopted by the New York State Legislature. I quote it because it is so pertinent at this time:

The chief function of government, in dealing with worker-employer relationships, should be to promote good will, to encourage cooperation and, where resort is made to intervention, to be impartial and just, demanding obedience to all law by both parties concerned.

In the final analysis, only good will and not laws can assure peaceful and stable labor-management relations.

I have felt always that mutual confidence and respect must be the basis for sound and satisfactory labor-management relations. My philosophy is best summed up in a declaration by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, which I quote:

The most satisfactory and happiest human relationships are the product not of legal compulsion, but rather of voluntary determination among human beings to cooperate with one another. Though we may legislate to the end of time, there will never be industrial peace and harmony without good faith, integrity, a high degree of responsibility and a real desire to cooperate on the part of all parties concerned. Without this spirit of good will, all of the social, economic, and labor laws of man will prove eventually to be in vain.

Continual dependence on Government to make the decisions in the solution of problems, which can be handled better through the use of the voluntary processes and without the intervention of Government, can result only in placing further restrictions on personal freedom. Such procedure, moreover, can only place new limits on freedom of action and association.

Evidence of the growing tendency to abdicate to Government in matters pertaining to labor-management relations became very apparent during World War II when both labor and management continually were seeking decisions by the War Labor Board to settle misunderstandings or differences. Most of those questions should have been resolved voluntarily or through the utilization of governmental agencies, whose purpose was to help in settling disputes by way of voluntary processes and procedures. Conference, conciliation, persuasion, mediation—these efficacious media for reaching peaceful agreements were largely ignored and neglected. In the name of speed—regardless of basic motive—the iron hand of Government was sought and obtained.

So now, in the present defense emergency, there is a demand that Government invade the field of labor-management relations by stepping into dis-

putes, taking sides, making decisions, and throwing collective bargaining into the ashcan. There seem to be some, in fact, who are determined that labor and management shall take one more step along the fateful path leading to a destination of despotism, from which return may be impossible.

Let us remember that that kind of government which can deny to management the right of collective bargaining, can deny the same right also to labor. Let us remember that that kind of government which can destroy the profit motive and force business into bankruptcy also can force labor into a condition of virtual slavery.

Over the long pull labor stands to lose more than does management if the Government's action with respect to the steel industry is to stand as a precedent and seizure is to become permanent Government policy to be exercised promiscuously and according to the whims and prejudices of any Chief Executive who may happen to hold office. Herein is a definite threat to the freedom of American labor.

Therefore, I favor the Ferguson-Bridges-Knowland-Capehart amendment, which I understand is soon to be called up, an amendment which would place a needed check on an irresponsible or power-mad Chief Executive. Though differing in its procedural provisions from the terms of a "national emergency" amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act, which I offered in 1949, its purpose is nevertheless very similar to that of my amendment. It would provide protection for the rights and interests of labor, management, and the public, insofar as it is possible to do so at any given time and with respect to any particular situation. To attempt to do more would be not only superfluous, but perhaps unwise; to do less would leave freedom in America in jeopardy.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. IVES. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator referred to an amendment which he offered to the Taft-Hartley Act. That amendment was adopted by the Senate, if I remember correctly.

Mr. IVES. No; that amendment was defeated.

Mr. HAYDEN. But some such provision was adopted; was it not?

Mr. IVES. There was adopted an amendment which made a change in the national-emergency procedures, an amendment which provided for the use of the injunction, seizure, or both. As the Senator will recall, after that amendment was adopted and after other amendments were adopted the Senate passed the bill, but the bill got no further. It went to the House and rested there.

Mr. HAYDEN. What I am trying to bring out is this: I was well satisfied with the Senator's amendment. If I correctly remember, I voted for it. If the amendment to be offered by the four Senators to whom reference has been made is to be considered, there must be a suspension of the rule in order that

the legislation contained in it may be included in the pending bill.

Mr. IVES. I understand.

Mr. HAYDEN. If the door is opened in that respect, it seems to me that it would be entirely possible for the Senator from New York to offer his amendment.

Mr. IVES. Let me interpose an observation at that point. I am perfectly satisfied with the Ferguson-Knowland-Bridges-Capehart amendment. It would accomplish approximately what the amendment which I offered in 1949 would have accomplished.

Mr. HAYDEN. The difference, if I remember correctly, is that the amendment of the Senator from New York was in the affirmative. The present amendment is in the negative.

Mr. IVES. The Senator is correct; but I would just as soon have it in the negative, when it comes to seizure, if seizure is to be the only vehicle. In the amendment which was finally adopted by the Senate—which was not mine—there was an option as to the use of seizure, injunction or both. Presumably some Chief Executives would choose seizure every time. Others might choose injunction in preference.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I call up my amendment designated "4-18-52-A." The amendment is offered for myself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART].

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the amendment is legislation on an appropriation bill, and that the rule would have to be suspended before it could be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 50, after line 23, it is proposed to insert a new section, as follows:

Sec. —. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or any funds made available for expenditure by this act, or any funds heretofore or hereafter made available by appropriation or otherwise for expenditure during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, shall be used for the purpose of acquiring, seizing, or operating any plant, facility, or other property, unless the acquisition, seizure, or operation of such plant, facility, or other property is authorized by act of Congress.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President—

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, did the Chair rule on the point of order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not understand the statement made by the Senator from Arizona. Will he please repeat it?

Mr. HAYDEN. The amendment does not relate to the pending measure alone, but relates to other acts of Congress. It cannot be included in this bill except by

a suspension of the rule. I therefore make the point of order that it is legislation on an appropriation bill, and that the rule must be suspended in order that it may be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Parliamentarian advises the Chair that the point of order is well taken. Therefore the Chair sustains the point of order of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I now call up the motion to suspend the rule, which has heretofore been filed by the Senator from Michigan, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion will be stated.

The motion was read by the legislative clerk, as follows:

Pursuant to the provisions of rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that I shall hereafter (for myself, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. KNOWLAND, and Mr. CAPEHART) move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI, for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, the following amendment, viz:

"Sec. —. No part of any appropriation contained in this act, or any funds made available for expenditure by this act, or any funds heretofore or hereafter made available by appropriation or otherwise for expenditure during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, shall be used for the purpose of acquiring, seizing, or operating any plant, facility, or other property, unless the acquisition, seizure, or operation of such plant, facility, or other property is authorized by act of Congress."

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan, without losing his right to the floor, yield to me so that I may make the point of no quorum, in order that a greater number of Senators may be present in the Chamber? This is a very important matter to the country and to the constitutional form of government.

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I make the point of no quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Anderson	Green	McFarland
Bennett	Hayden	Moody
Benton	Hendrickson	Mundt
Bricker	Hennings	Murray
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Neely
Butler, Md.	Hill	Nixon
Butler, Nebr.	Hoey	O'Connor
Byrd	Holland	O'Mahoney
Cain	Humphrey	Pastore
Capehart	Hunt	Robertson
Carlson	Ives	Saltonstall
Case	Jenner	Schoeppel
Chavez	Johnson, Tex.	Seaton
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Smathers
Connally	Kem	Smith, Maine
Cordon	Kerr	Smith, N. J.
Douglas	Kilgore	Sparkman
Dworshak	Knowland	Stennis
Eastland	Langer	Taft
Eaton	Lehman	Thye
Ellender	Lodge	Underwood
Ferguson	Magnuson	Wiley
Flanders	Malone	Williams
Frear	Maybank	Young
Fulbright	McCarthy	
Gillette	McClellan	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the motion to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI, submitted by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] on behalf of himself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART].

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, on the question of agreeing to this motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the question now before the Senate is on suspending paragraph 4 of rule XVI in order that we may consider an amendment proposing general legislation to the pending appropriation bill.

On yesterday the Senate adopted an amendment restricting the use of the funds carried in this supplemental appropriation bill.

The purpose of those of us who sponsor the pending motion and the amendment to which it relates is to go one step further. It was possible to take the short step provided by the amendment adopted yesterday only because, under the Senate rules, it is possible by way of amendment to place a limitation on the use of the funds carried in a particular appropriation bill. However, now we wish to take the next step, namely, to place a similar limitation on the use of all funds appropriated prior to June 30, 1952. The adoption to the pending appropriation bill of an amendment proposing general legislation is required in order to accomplish that purpose, and, in order that such an amendment may be considered, it is necessary to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Of course, as Senators know, the affirmative votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting are required in order to suspend the rule. After the rule is suspended, as we hope will be done, the amendment covered by the motion can be adopted by majority vote.

Mr. President, I am sorry that so few Senators were present in the Chamber to hear the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. Ives] when he spoke regarding this amendment and when he said that he would vote in favor of its adoption. The Senator from New York has been in the forefront in the handling of proposed legislation in the field of labor. So it was that, years ago, when I introduced a bill calling for the establishment of a labor court to pass on contracts negotiated between employers and employees, so that judges trained in labor law, not judges without training in that field, would pass on such questions, I conferred with the Senator from New York because I realized the importance of such matters in the State of New York.

The Senator from New York has pointed out in the Senate the grave question now confronting us, namely, the question of the abolition of collective bargaining by means of seizure. Today we face that issue just as much as we face the issue and the problem of the alleged inherent powers of the President of the United States to seize an industry

or an industrial plant. These problems are most important, and under the circumstances we must deal with them.

Mr. President, at this time I shall not engage in lengthy debate. I merely wish to point out that we cannot escape the important constitutional question of the alleged inherent right of the President to abolish, by way of seizing industrial plants, the collective-bargaining rights of labor unions. Under such a doctrine, the individual rights of labor and of labor unions and their right of contract with industry would be abolished; for if the rights of one party to such a contract are destroyed, the rights of the other party to the contract are similarly destroyed.

In the Taft-Hartley Act and in the previous act on the same subject, Congress made provision for collective bargaining.

Mr. President, I cannot agree with those who oppose the amendment which is the subject of the pending motion, those who oppose the exercise by Congress of its constitutional right to control the purse strings, those who say that Congress should pass a law authorizing seizure. Those who take that position that Congress should pass a law providing for seizure by the President of the United States would attach no strings to such a law, thus saying to the President, by means of an act of Congress, "Go ahead and seize any plants you may desire to seize; and if you do, control of the seized property will not be subject to court action but will be in your hands alone."

Mr. President, we now have on the statute books the Taft-Hartley Act which provides for the handling of emergency situations of this sort. It is important to note that section 206 of that act is entitled "National Emergencies," thus indicating that it applies to emergencies which are national in character.

I read now from section 206:

SEC. 206. Whenever in the opinion of the President of the United States, a threatened or actual strike or lock-out affecting an entire industry or a substantial part thereof engaged in trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or with foreign nations, or engaged in the production of goods for commerce, will, if permitted to occur or to continue, imperil the national health or safety, he may appoint a board of inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in the dispute and to make a written report to him within such time as he shall prescribe.

Mr. President, that section of the Taft-Hartley Act sets forth the identical set of facts as those referred to yesterday by the President in his letter to the Vice President, in which he stated that a national emergency now exists. Although the Taft-Hartley Act, provided for the handling of such an emergency, nevertheless, the President has not used that act of Congress, and yesterday he asked Congress to pass another law on that subject. Why should Congress pass another law on that subject, when a law covering such an emergency already is on the statute books and can be used by the President of the United States.

The President of the United States could use that law today. Therefore,

why should not Congress say, "We will exercise our constitutional right to say that the President has no power to seize the steel plants; and unless such seizure is authorized by act of Congress, the President shall not use for the purpose of such seizure any of the funds appropriated by Congress."

Yesterday I quoted Alexander Hamilton. All of us realize that one of the foundation stones of our Republic is that the representatives of the people, elected to the Congress, have control of the purse strings. In pursuance of that power Congress has the right to raise revenues, to tax the people therefor, and to appropriate and use the tax moneys of the citizens of the United States.

All the amendment does is to provide that the President of the United States shall not use the taxpayers' dollars to perform an illegal and unconstitutional act. It is the solemn duty, the solemn obligation of the Congress of the United States to make such provision. We should not shirk our responsibility. We should vote to suspend the rule in order that the Senate may then vote upon this amendment and may thus control the purse strings; that is, the expenditure of the people's tax dollars.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, we carried on a prolonged debate yesterday, and it is not my intention to take more than 5 minutes of the Senate's time today on this question. I wish to point out that in the parliamentary situation which now confronts the Senate of the United States the only way by which this amendment can be voted on is for the Senate to adopt the motion to suspend the rule. That requires a two-thirds vote.

The Senate clearly indicated yesterday by the very substantial margin of 44 to 31 that it was opposed to this usurpation of power on the part of the President of the United States and that Senators were advising the President and the executive branch of the Government that seizures should not be undertaken without specific authority of laws passed by the Congress of the United States.

I think both the Senate and the Nation should know that the Senate Appropriations Committee is now sitting, and that during the consideration by that committee of one of the great appropriation bills an amendment is to be offered similar in character to the one now pending, except that it will apply to the funds of a particular department for the fiscal year beginning July 1. I am very hopeful that the Appropriations Committee and later the Senate of the United States, as indicated by the votes of Senators yesterday, will approve such an amendment. That will take care of that particular department of the Government, or of those departments of the Government, for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

It is only fair to indicate to the Senate and to the Nation that it is the purpose of members of the Appropriations Committee, and of those who have sponsored and supported the amendment which was adopted by the Senate yesterday, to offer a similar amendment to each of the appropriation bills as it

comes from the Appropriations Committee for the fiscal year beginning July 1. That can be done by simple majority vote.

The only reason a two-thirds vote is required is that the pending amendment is aimed at the seizure of the steel industry by the President of the United States by preventing funds heretofore appropriated being used to effectuate that action; and since the appropriations bills for the current fiscal year were passed last year, the amendment, in effect, is legislation on an appropriation bill, and therefore requires a suspension of the rule.

Mr. President, I desire particularly to appeal to Senators on the other side of the aisle, both those who are present at this time and those who will be present to vote. Yesterday we demonstrated, I believe, that the sentiment of this body was overwhelmingly in favor of this amendment. But the only way by which we can possibly get the two-thirds vote necessary to suspend the rule will be by having the Senators on the other side who recognize the dangerous character of the precedent which the President of the United States has established join us in this battle and help furnish the requisite number of votes.

On this side of the aisle there were but two Senators who voted against the amendment yesterday. Obviously, on this side of the aisle we cannot get sufficient votes necessary in order to suspend the rule, under the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Senate. So I appeal to Senators on the other side of the aisle who have been deeply concerned with the constitutional processes of government, who, in their hearts—and I believe this applies to an overwhelming number of them—are opposed to socialization of the economic life of the Nation, and who recognize that, if this precedent is allowed to become established, not only will the steel industry but every other industry in the Nation be in danger, to vote for the motion to suspend the rule. I appeal also to those who are the friends of organized labor.

I wish that all of them had been present to listen to the able speech of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. Ives], who pointed out the very dangerous precedent which would be established, and demonstrated that if it is possible to interfere with the collective bargaining in contract negotiations on one side of a labor-management controversy, then either this administration or some other administration can interfere on the other side.

This action of the President has opened up a Pandora's box. No man knows what the ultimate result may be. Some in this Chamber have said, "Well, we are opposed to this seizure of power. We believe that the President had no precedent for it, no authority either in the Constitution or in law. We would be glad to join the enactment of some type of legislation which would meet the issue."

But let us be practical. As Grover Cleveland once said, "A condition, not a theory, confronts us." The Senate of the United States can act only on one

piece of legislation at a time. This bill was before the Senate when the President usurped the power to seize a part of the great industrial complex of America. This was the first time the Congress had a chance to speak on the issue. The other body happened to be in Easter recess. This body of the Congress of the United States was the only one in session. Therefore, we had to use this bill as a vehicle to challenge an exercise of authority reached out for by the President of the United States, and which we believe he reached out for unjustly, illegally, and unconstitutionally.

I say to Members of the Senate that this is the only way at this particular time by which the situation can be met; and it is only by Senators on the other side of the aisle who believe in the preservation of the American way of life joining with us that we can apply this restriction to the appropriations already passed by the Congress of the United States.

I hope we may have overwhelming approval of the motion to suspend the rule. But in the event we are not able to bring about a suspension of the rule today, I do not believe that will change the situation one iota, because as to each and every bill, as I have previously pointed out, we shall offer an amendment effective at least for the fiscal year beginning July 1, and then we shall be able, I believe, to place such a restriction on all future appropriations.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. We should point out, should we not, that this particular amendment would apply up to and including June 30 of this year, and the future appropriations begin on July 1?

Mr. KNOWLAND. The Senator is correct. There is no conflict between the two programs. This is, I believe, an essential part of the program and one which is highly desirable.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MAGNUSON in the chair). The question is on the motion of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] to suspend the rule, specifically, paragraph 4 of rule XIV of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Anderson	Eaton	Johnson, Tex.
Bennett	Ellender	Johnston, S. C.
Benton	Ferguson	Kern
Bricker	Flanders	Kerr
Bridges	Frear	Kilgore
Butler, Md.	Fulbright	Knowland
Butler, Nebr.	Gillette	Langer
Byrd	Green	Lehman
Cain	Hayden	Lodge
Capehart	Hendrickson	Magnuson
Carlson	Hennings	Malone
Case	Hickenlooper	Maybank
Chavez	Hill	McCarthy
Clements	Hoyer	McClellan
Connally	Holland	McFarland
Cordon	Humphrey	Moody
Douglas	Hunt	Mundt
Dworschak	Ives	Murray
Eastland	Jenner	Neely

Nixon	Seaton	Thye
O'Connor	Smathers	Underwood
O'Mahoney	Smith, Maine	Wiley
Pastore	Smith, N. J.	Williams
Robertson	Sparkman	Young
Saltonstall	Stennis	
Schoeppel	Taft	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], for himself, the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI, for the purpose of offering an amendment to the pending bill. Senators in favor of suspending the rule will vote "yea." Those opposed will vote "nay." The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the Board of Visitors of the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of a death in his family.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are paired on this vote with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana and the Senator from North Carolina would each vote "yea," and the Senator from Georgia would vote "nay."

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is paired on this vote with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay," and the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Colorado would each vote "yea."

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] is paired on this vote with the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "nay," and the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Idaho would each vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Utah [Mr.

WATKINS], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is detained on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay" and the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from Vermont would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] are paired with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Idaho would each vote "yea" and the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Colorado would each vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] would each vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 47, nays 29, as follows:

YEAS—47

Bennett	Flanders	Nixon
Bricker	Hendrickson	O'Connor
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Butler, Md.	Hoey	Saltonstall
Butler, Nebr.	Holland	Schoeppel
Byrd	Ives	Seaton
Cain	Jenner	Smathers
Capehart	Kem	Smith, Maine
Carlson	Knowland	Smith, N. J.
Case	Langer	Stennis
Cordon	Lodge	Taft
Dworshak	Malone	Thye
Eastland	Maybank	Wiley
Eaton	McCarthy	Williams
Ellender	McClellan	Young
Ferguson	Mundt	

NAYS—29

Anderson	Hayden	Magnuson
Benton	Hennings	McFarland
Chavez	Hill	Moody
Clements	Fumphrey	Murray
Connally	Eunt	Neely
Douglas	Johnson, Tex.	O'Mahoney
Frear	Johnston, S. C.	Pastore
Fulbright	Kerr	Sparkman
Gillette	Kilgore	Underwood
Green	Lehman	

NOT VOTING—20

Alken	Long	Morse
Brewster	Martin	Russell
Dirksen	McCarran	Smith, N. C.
Duff	McKellar	Tobey
George	McMahon	Watkins
Johnson, Colo.	Millikin	Welker
Kefauver	Monroney	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Two-thirds of the Senators present not having voted in the affirmative, the motion of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] on behalf of himself and other Senators is rejected.

The bill is open to further amendment. Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I ask to have stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 13, line 19, it is proposed to strike out "\$463,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$163,000."

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, first I wish to say that, with relation to the vote that has just been taken on the motion to suspend the rule, made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] on behalf of himself, the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], and myself, although it lacked the necessary two-thirds majority, it did demonstrate that an overwhelming majority of the Senate favored it.

In consonance with that the Committee on Appropriations has included in the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill the same amendment which was adopted yesterday to the third supplemental appropriations bill. So the Senate is consistent in following through on other proposed legislation as it comes before it. Of course, the amendment is not subject to a point of order, as it is a limitation, as it was held to be on the bill yesterday.

The particular amendment which I have offered deals with the administration of territories. It involves control of the former Japanese Islands, which are now governed by former Senator Thomas of Utah. The Department was granted \$463,000 by the House. It asked for more, but the House gave it \$463,000. The Senate committee left the figure at \$463,000. However, testimony has been submitted to the effect that some \$300,000 will be recovered from salvage operations and the sale of scrap iron. Therefore I think it would be logical to apply to the current operation the \$300,000 to be realized from the sale of scrap iron or salvage.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Can the Senator tell us when it is expected that the \$300,000 will be realized?

Mr. BRIDGES. I read from the memorandum of the Appropriations Committee:

Since the submission of the supplemental estimate to the House committee, we have been advised that it is anticipated that additional revenues in the amount of \$300,000 will be made available to the trust territory during the current fiscal year through non-recurring receipts from the sale of scrap metals.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. So it appears that \$300,000 will be available during the next 2 months. This bill will hardly be out of conference before the first of the month. Therefore, the Department will have the money during this period, and it is not necessary to have the \$300,000 included in the appropriation.

Mr. HAYDEN. But, Mr. President, there is a further sentence:

On the basis of this information, the original estimate to the House of \$1,483,000 has been reduced to \$1,183,000.

In other words, \$300,000 has already been taken from the appropriation. The Senator from New Hampshire would take it out a second time.

Mr. BRIDGES. I was answering the question of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER]. My point is that if \$300,000 will be available in the next 2 months, we could very logically reduce the figure of \$463,000 by the amount of \$300,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. My own judgment was that \$463,000 was not sufficient to carry on the necessary activities in the islands, considering the vast expanse of the Pacific. At the rate we are now going, the administration of the islands is costing less money than the Navy Department spent when it was in control of them. I believe that the House cut the appropriation to the bone. Now to take off another \$300,000 would cripple the activities, so that the administration of Territories could not function.

If I correctly understand the situation, there would have to be widespread discharges of personnel. They would be sent home. Then, when the first of July came, if the work were to proceed, those personnel would have to be rehired and shipped back. I think we would lose more money in that process than could possibly be saved by the pending amendment.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Hampshire yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. What is the size of the personnel force?

Mr. BRIDGES. While the Senator from Arizona is looking up the answer to that question, let me say to the Senator from North Dakota that the figure which we allowed covers everything in connection with personnel and transportation. There is sufficient for that purpose.

Mr. HAYDEN. The figures are on page 40 of the memorandum of the Appropriations Committee. The summary of personnel shows that there are 281 persons engaged in that work. The Navy had 461 persons engaged in the same activities.

Mr. BRIDGES. I point out to the distinguished Senator from Arizona that the Navy also had a certain defense function to perform.

Mr. HAYDEN. The figures have been very carefully segregated. There can be no question that the actual expense to the American taxpayer is less under this arrangement than it was under the Navy.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Arizona no doubt recalls that I have previously stated that from all I hear—and I have not been there since the trust has taken over—the administration of the trust islands in the Pacific is on a very luxurious basis. I recall that last year there was an item of \$314,600 requested for furniture. That would purchase a great deal of furniture.

Mr. HAYDEN. That was all disallowed.

Mr. BRIDGES. We disallowed it, but it shows that agencies of the Government sometimes request more than they can justify.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Hampshire yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. What does the administration do in that area?

Mr. BRIDGES. The reports which I have received from those who have returned from the area are to the effect that the administrator or commissioner, former Senator Thomas of Utah, had never visited the islands until a House or a Senate committee went there, and he went with them. I do not know exactly what they do.

Mr. HAYDEN. First, there is the preservation of law and order; there is the matter of public safety; and also the question of public health. There is the matter of schools. The native population were conquered by the Japanese and ruled by the Japanese until we took over under a mandate from the United Nations. The idea was that it was much better to have the administration of the islands under civilian control than under military control, and that in that way civilian administration would cost less money.

Under those circumstances certain public works must be carried on. We must build schoolhouses if we are to take care of the education of the people of the area; and we must have the money with which to do it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I have been on a number of islands in the South Pacific which are subject to the so-called trusteeship. While this is not the universal statement of the people there—especially those who want to keep their jobs permanently—yet many of those who have had experience state that aside from the medical help which we are contributing, probably the sum total of our efforts is resulting in increasing the dissatisfaction of those people with their lot. We are attempting to change the standards to which they are accustomed. Aside from the medical help which we are affording in the treatment of yaws and other diseases which are rampant in that area, we have completely confused their economy. We have rendered them unable to support themselves on any basis consistent with the resources of the area. I think we are more and more adopting the idea of importing canned meats and things like that, when the people have been used to coconuts.

Mr. HAYDEN. Did those who offered criticism have any specific recommendations?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Yes; very definitely. They said that so long as we had assumed the responsibility, medical attention was very important. When I was there a very excellent job was being done, I believe, in training native nurses and native medical practitioners. They could not be considered fully qualified physicians as we understand the term, but they were amply able to cope with the current ailments which were prevalent in that area, and they contributed much to the health of the population. However, it was said that aside from medical help, we had introduced canned goods and portable electric lights, and other innovations.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Navy introduced them when it was operating the islands.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. It was all a part of the entire operation, whether it was done by the Navy or some other agency.

Mr. HAYDEN. I assume that the Navy introduced canned goods.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Perhaps it did. That is entirely collateral to what I am trying to say. Nevertheless, those elements were introduced. We are attempting to enlarge and expand an economy which there is no local ability whatsoever to support. We are constantly sending there, at public expense, goods and materials which those people have not been using, and which their economy cannot support.

Nearly all these islands are small. They barely stick their noses up out of the sea. We have all seen cartoons showing a tiny island with a single palm tree, and occupied by a stranded sailor. There are many such islands. They do not have an agricultural economy, with very few exceptions, such as Truk and Ponape and one or two others. They may have a very limited agricultural economy, but otherwise these people—and I am perfectly sympathetic with them—do not have the basic agricultural or industrial populations which permit them to maintain the kind of economy we are constantly forcing upon them every year. That is one of the questions which should be considered.

Mr. BRIDGES. I wish to make a comment in answer to the Senator from Iowa. The Senator from Iowa asked what the administration did. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] asked a very interesting question of High Commissioner Thomas. The discussion related to the various things which were being made by the natives, and I should like to quote this part of the testimony in full:

Senator O'MAHONEY. Does this add an expense to the operation?

Commissioner THOMAS. So far it has not added an expense to the operation because we have taken it out of educational funds. We get teachers for nothing; we get students for nothing, as it were, who are learning. The same with the chicken project; we have tried to place that on an experimental basis. We have tried to teach chickens how to eat a pest for us. The first experiment failed; the second and third failed, but the fourth succeeded.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. They have been spraying the islands with DDT. So that on the one hand they are trying to teach the chickens to eat pests, and on the other hand they are killing off the pests with DDT.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Hampshire yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. I should like to know whether the Senator is certain that any receipts which may be received by the administration of the territories for the trust area from the sale of scrap will be available for expenditure in the area without specific appropriation.

Mr. BRIDGES. I quote from their own justification:

Since the submission of the supplemental estimate to the House committee we have

been advised it is anticipated that additional revenues in the amount of \$300,000 will be made available to the trust territory during the current fiscal year through nonrecurring receipts from the sale of scrap metal.

That would seem to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. CORDON. It indicates that they think it would be available. However, there is a general principle of law that there can be no expenditure of Federal money except by virtue of an appropriation. Unless there is authority for the collection of that money in the name of the Federal Government and for its expenditure without the appropriating process I cannot go along with the Senator. If it is available, I can go along with him.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wonder whether it should not be considered that this material belongs to the people of the islands. It is income from the islands, and, therefore can be used for that purpose.

Mr. CORDON. Does the Senator from Michigan know that to be the truth?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am reading the language.

Mr. CORDON. The language is:

It is anticipated that additional revenue in the amount of \$300,000 will be made available to the trust territory during the current fiscal year through nonrecurring receipts from the sale of scrap metal. On the basis of this information the original estimate has been reduced.

That certainly indicates to me that the officials of the trust territory will have title to and control of the right to expend \$300,000. I should like to see reference to a law which guarantees that that situation will prevail. If it does, I am sympathetic with what the Senator seeks to do.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I shall be very glad to accept the indulgence of the Senator from New Hampshire at this point.

Mr. BRIDGES. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming, or he may have the floor.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is not necessary. Referring to the inquiry which has been raised about the revenue from scrap, the Navy originally administered these islands after the Japanese were expelled. The Japanese had sent approximately 100,000 of their nationals into the mandated islands of the Pacific. They had actually taken over the islands as points of settlement for their excess population.

Our forces during the war drove the Japanese out. We destroyed the fortifications, and a very large quantity of scrap came about from the operations of the Navy during the war. The Navy, which was the administrator of the islands, made a contract with a private firm to gather the scrap. Under this contract the understanding was that the proceeds would be available to the local community in the same form as local revenue, because it was scrap which was found on the islands themselves.

That was an understanding which was reached between the Navy and the contractor who gathered the scrap and with the people of the islands. The fact of the matter is that the United States, for reasons of national security, in the first place, and in order to carry out its obligations under the United Nations treaty—I believe it is Article VI which provides for trust areas to be administered by certain of the great powers—assumed the obligation of administering these islands. That administration was carried on by the Navy. Congress approved the assumption of the responsibility by the passage of a specific act. As a matter of fact, the act was enacted during the Eightieth Congress.

Thereafter an Executive order was issued transferring the administration of the islands from the Navy to the Department of the Interior, for the specific purpose of substituting civilian for military control. That was in harmony with the principles of the United Nations agreement and in harmony with the objectives we were undertaking in the islands, namely, that we should not occupy them as a military power but should occupy them as a civilian power under an obligation to help improve the economy of the islands.

The present civilian authorities are operating the islands at a much lower cost than was expended during the naval administration. The naval appropriation devoted to these purposes in fiscal year 1951 amounted to \$7,135,783. The estimated requirements for 1952, after the deduction of local revenues—and local revenues were deducted by the Navy too—is \$5,203,251, which is a substantial reduction below the cost of administration of these areas by the Navy. The House committee reduced the request which was made on behalf of the territorial administration to the figure in the bill, which is \$463,000. The Office of Territories sought the restoration of \$720,000, but that was not allowed by the Appropriations Committee. So the figure before the Senate is the one which was approved by the House of Representatives.

In the regular Interior Department appropriation bill the House made no allowance at all for this matter because the House felt there should be additional legislative authority to support the operation.

Under the responsibility which we have, the Senator from Oregon and I introduced, a week or so ago, first, by request, a bill which had been prepared by the State Department, and, secondly, a short joint resolution, for the purpose of providing basic authorization for a limited expenditure for this purpose. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held a hearing on that measure one day last week. We were not satisfied with the bill as introduced, and we are now in the process of altering it so as to make clear and specific a limited authority which does not represent any expansion of any kind by the Department of the Interior.

I can say to the Senate that the testimony before our committee, in response to questions asked by the Senator from

Oregon and myself was altogether unanimous that no additional services of any kind were being performed for the natives on the islands.

The Japanese have been driven out; the old economy there is gone; and now we are endeavoring to provide for civilian operation. The cost of civilian operation is much less than the cost of operation under the Navy.

Those, in brief, are the simple facts.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Manifestly, as I said a moment ago, there are certain services which I believe we are morally and otherwise required to provide. One is in respect to health; I believe we have an obligation to aid in the betterment of the health of those people. Certainly I believe we are obligated to aid them in a reasonable and proper advancement of their local education, as well as to give such aid as we can give them to develop their own power to expand or even to create their own economy in keeping with the reasonable economic possibilities of those territories.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I believe the Senator from Iowa is quite correct.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Beyond that point, I have had the impression that we have had there a number of zealous persons who have unrealistically attempted to institute programs which are very costly and which utterly fail to recognize, or which in fact deny recognition to, the genuine economic possibilities of those islands, and attempt to go away beyond them and to create future and continuing obligations which are merely drains on the public tax revenues. I believe we should eliminate such programs, and should go only to the reasonable point of giving stimulus and aid to those people within their own economic possibilities, not only their human possibilities, but also their material, economic possibilities, in view of their location.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I think the Senator from Iowa is quite correct.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. That is all I am concerned with in this case.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. We should not have there an administration which seeks to experiment with the development of the natives of those islands.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. That is true.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. We should not have there what is commonly called a "do-gooder" administration.

I assure the Senator from Iowa and all other Senators who are listening to what I am saying that the attitude of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is precisely that. When I point out, first, that the cost of the civilian administration is approximately \$2,000,000 less than the cost of Navy administration, when I point out that the request which was made by the Bureau of the Budget was denied by the House, and that the partial restoration of the requested amount was also denied by the committee, and that the legislative committee is presently at work endeavoring

to draft basic legislation which will operate within the limits which the Senator from Iowa has just described, I believe the Senator from Iowa and other Senators can be assured that agreement by the Senate with the amount approved by the House will not be the cause of unnecessary or wasteful expenditures in the islands.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I thank the Senator from Wyoming for his explanation and for the clear understanding which he expresses of the problems, as I see them, in those territories.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I am sure the members of the committee agree substantially with what the Senator from Iowa has said.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I made inquiry of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] in reference to the question of whether, from a legal standpoint, receipts from the sale of scrap material in the Trust Territory would be available to the officials of the Trust Territory for expenditure. I was referred to the statements of the Department which assumed such availability. I have since been in touch with the Office of Territories of the Interior Department; and I am advised by its officials that, according to their understanding, this money will be available to them for expenditure, and that it is in fact considered as local revenues.

Frankly, that is a new legal set-up, to me. However, if the money is there and is available, then I am agreeable to the amendment which will reduce the \$463,000 appropriation to \$163,000, which would allow the amount appropriated or made available by the House, inasmuch as \$163,000 will thus be appropriated and \$300,000 will become available from the receipts from the sale of scrap.

In taking this position, Mr. President, I recall the situation last year when this entire question was threshed out. At that time the Senator from Wyoming had a very important and leading part in attempting to get what I thought was rationality and reason into an approach to a new problem. I still believe it was a good job; and I do not think we should desert it at this stage.

By its act, the House has voted to provide an additional \$300,000 for transportation for the remainder of this year, and has voted to appropriate \$163,000 to take care completely of the increased amounts to be paid to those in the employ of the Trust Territory group. That means that by means of this supplemental appropriation bill we shall have taken care of what would appear to be the only two emergencies which have arisen.

I still prefer to stand on the action taken last year in holding down to the barest minimum the administrative costs until we know what we are doing.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, with the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. CORDON. I shall yield in a moment.

Mr. President, I hope the joint resolution to which the Senator from Wyoming has referred can be reported from the committee and can become law, so that we shall have a basis for consideration of the appropriation for the year 1953—

something which is somewhat questionable at this time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CORDON. I will yield in a moment.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I should merely like to ask one question. As I understand the Senator from Oregon, if we appropriate the amount which is requested, which is now in the bill, and for which the Senator from Wyoming is arguing so ably, and if the \$300,000 is made available from scrap, we in effect shall have appropriated \$300,000 more than the House appropriated. Is not that correct?

Mr. CORDON. That is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Therefore, if we reduce the amount by \$300,000, the effect will be to do exactly what the Senator from Wyoming hopes we will do. Is that correct?

Mr. CORDON. I do not know what may be the hope of the Senator from Wyoming, but we would be doing what the House thought it was doing.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. That is what I am trying to say.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I desire to recall to the mind of the Senator from Oregon the testimony to the effect that some of the buildings in the islands are in sad need of repair, and that maintenance of some of the public works is of great importance, too. The objectives for which the Division of Territories requested \$1,120,000 included not only general administration and legal and public safety, public health and education, but also public-works maintenance and public-works repairs. That totaled \$1,120,000. When the House cut that down to \$463,000, it left scarcely sufficient to serve the responsibilities of general administration, public-works repairs, and public-works maintenance. I am convinced that if the additional reduction of \$300,000 is made effective, we shall be depriving the natives of these islands of the type of government and the consideration to which we have obligated ourselves under the United Nations Charter.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Certainly.

Mr. CORDON. On page 39 of the side slips, the Senator will notice that of the \$1,120,000 requested, \$610,000 is for general administration.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is correct.

Mr. CORDON. That is the very thing to which we turned our attention last year and tried to hold down. The budget was offered last year with an explanation which would have been laughable, had it not been tragic, in the opinion of the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator will realize that that is out, now; the House did not allow it.

Mr. CORDON. The point is that the \$610,000 is a part of the \$1,120,000, and when that figure is taken away, it leaves \$510,000. We then have:

Legal and public safety-----	\$42,000
Internal affairs (commerce, agriculture, land title)-----	78,000
Public health-----	50,000
Education-----	49,000
Public-works maintenance-----	91,000

When we look at those figures and realize that there is nothing asked here which would absorb the \$300,000, we can then understand, or at least I can, that the necessary maintenance can come out of the money which we are appropriating, or which is being made available from the sale of scrap for the next 2 months.

Again—and I hope the Senator will give careful thought to this point—the amount in the bill represents additional funds for 2 months only; and certainly there can be little of major consequence done in that period of time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Let me call the attention of the Senator to certain other figures on page 39.

Mr. CORDON. Yes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I do not intend to labor this matter, but it can be seen from the recapitulation in the middle of the page that the total actual and estimated obligations amounted to \$6,103,251. There was then a deduction of \$900,000 on account of local revenues, including the nonrecurring item of \$300,000 from the sale of scrap. That left a total of \$5,203,251, which was requested to be appropriated in the estimates of 1952. If we deduct the \$610,000 for administration, to which the Senator has just referred, from the \$1,120,000 which was requested for the supplemental bill, we shall have left \$510,000 to cover public-works repairs, public-works maintenance, education, public health, internal affairs, legal and public safety. The amount allowed by the House is \$463,000, or less than that. I certainly say that, reviewing these figures, it seems to me we have trimmed this item to the bone and that it should not be trimmed any further.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I should merely like to say I am glad this question is being debated on the floor of the Senate, because if there is anything we should consider carefully it is the government of these islands. I think that probably what, as much as anything else, brought into disrepute the British colonial system—that is, the government of other peoples—was the extravagance of the government in the erection of mansions and various marble buildings in areas where frequently the natives did not have enough to eat. I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the difficulty, an unfortunate aspect, so far as the American taxpayer is concerned, and, as the Senator from Oregon said, it would have been laughable, had it not been so serious, lies in what the administration of these islands desired to do last year. It asked for \$314,600 for furniture. I wonder how much furniture the entire native population has throughout the islands.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I may point out that the Senator is discussing a situation which existed a year ago, and which we, in the committee, unanimously corrected.

Mr. FERGUSON. But did we correct it?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Yes; certainly we did.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is that what is said on page 1070? At Saipan, the furniture for the Office of High Commissioner, alone, was estimated to cost \$25,000.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CORDON. I should like to suggest that I agree with the Senator from Wyoming to this extent, that we sought to make a correction last year. But I submit that if, having done that last year, we now come in the last 2 months of the fiscal year to hand back the money, we shall not have corrected the situation but we'll have compounded the mistake.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what I am saying.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. But does not the Senator from Oregon agree with me that we are not handing back that money at all? The Senator from Michigan is speaking about an estimate for the Office of High Commissioner at Saipan. The Navy established the principal office at Honolulu, and because we denied the appropriation in the regular bill last year, the High Commissioner has been compelled to stay in Honolulu, because there were no funds with which to provide facilities for him in the Trust Territory, there were no quarters into which he could go.

Mr. FERGUSON. But during the whole year the High Commissioner made only one trip to the island, and then he went with a committee from the House. The Senator from Michigan met in Hawaii some of the members of the committee who were returning from that trip and he learned some of the things that existed. The land was taken from the natives of the island in 1945. It has not been returned to them. They are without their land and are without the capacity to make their own living. On Guam there is a large coconut grove. It was decided to cut down the grove to make a beach for the Navy in Guam. The question was, Where would the natives get their food? One of the Representatives said to the Senator from Michigan that he was going to return and protest against such a thing.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Does not that bear out what I said a moment ago, that the Senator is talking about conditions which existed a year ago?

Mr. FERGUSON. No. The coconut grove is about to be cut down. The request was also made for automotive equipment for the High Commissioner and his staff on Saipan, amounting to \$22,700.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator from Michigan does not contend that that item is in this budget, does he?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; but the whole budget for the current year amounts to approximately \$4,000,000, and the agency wanted an increase of \$1,183,000 for the last quarter. That would double the amount of money they are going to use in the last quarter. How do they justify that? I am glad the Senator's committee is going to look into the question.

As I said before, Mr. President, Great Britain brought the wrath of the natives

down upon her by the extravagance and the luxury displayed at the various places she governed. In this case, instead of learning by past experience, we were asked to put \$25,000 worth of furniture in the High Commissioner's office; we were asked for \$22,000 for automobiles for the High Commissioner and a few members of his staff at Saipan. Airplanes are used to go from one island to another. Ships have to be purchased. We have not given back to the natives their land, and we are feeding them canned goods instead of allowing them to earn their own living in the way they have earned it for centuries.

The Navy was extravagant. Everyone knows how extravagant the Navy was. The Navy spent \$7,135,783 in 1 year. If we granted the full appropriation requested for the last quarter, we would be appropriating at the rate of \$8,250,000 a year.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the record shows that since the end of the war we have expended \$5,500,000,000 in the South Pacific. That is exclusive of the heavy costs in Japan. What the Senator from Michigan is now putting his finger on is exactly that which is added making up the expenditures over the years since the conclusion of World War II. I believe the Senator from Michigan is justified in making a vigorous fight against increasing the appropriations for expenditures in Saipan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I thank the Senator from Minnesota.

I wonder whether we in the Senate know how difficult it is for the people back home to pay their taxes. The people at home are heavily taxed while certain other people are living in luxury. I say luxury because the agency requested furniture costing approximately \$300,000. The officials have been living in luxury in Hawaii, governing at a distance, sending agents out all over the Pacific. The time has come when the people at home have a right to expect economy in management. I think we would be too liberal if we gave them \$163,000 plus another \$300,000. I should vote against giving them any amount, because they should live on what we gave them last year.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I think the argument which the Senator from Michigan has made is, of course, a very eloquent and a very persuasive one, but it is based wholly upon conditions that never existed. He says we are spending \$23,000 for furniture in Saipan. There is not a dollar appropriated in this bill for furniture in Saipan. My fear is, Mr. President, that to make a further cut in the appropriation will not penalize the former Senator from Utah, Mr. Thomas, now the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, but it will penalize the unfortunate inhabitants of the Trust Territory in the Pacific for the economy and living of whom we have accepted responsibility. I feel it would be a great mistake to make a further cut when the appropriation is already

cut \$2,000,000 below what it cost the Navy to operate the islands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES].

Mr. BRIDGES and other Senators requested the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the call of the roll be rescinded, and that further proceedings in connection with the order be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES].

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I suggest that, if there are no further amendments, the bill be read a third time.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, I regret to have to offer an amendment to the bill at this time. As Senators know, since the bill was reported by the committee, unprecedented floods have occurred in the Northwest. In my own State of Montana, several irrigation systems, built by the Bureau of Reclamation years ago, have been completely disrupted and practically annihilated. The devastation extends all along the Milk River in Montana and into North Dakota. So I desire to offer an amendment, to be included at the proper place in the bill, providing for an additional amount for reconstruction and rehabilitation, Bureau of Reclamation, \$750,000, to be nonreimbursable.

Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to enable people living under these projects, both in Montana and in North Dakota, to proceed to clean out their ditches, to rehabilitate their lands, and to reconstruct the canals and the entire irrigation systems. There have been various estimates of the cost of doing the work which will be necessary, ranging from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. I have placed \$750,000 in my amendment as the amount necessary to do this work. I believe it is imperative that the Senate include such an amount in this bill.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ECTON. Yes; I am glad to yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The House today passed and sent to the Senate a measure to provide \$25,000,000 for flood-disaster relief and the Senate Appropriations Committee has just acted upon it. All of us realize that a tremendous disaster has occurred, and the prompt action by the Senate Committee on Appropriations was in order to meet the emergency. Would not that measure cover

what the Senator from Montana has in mind?

Mr. ECTON. As I understand, it would not.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield, so that I may ask a question of the minority leader?

Mr. ECTON. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Would the \$25,000,000 cover not only the flood area in the Middle West, but also, for instance, the area affected by the floods and high waters that are now occurring in Michigan?

Mr. BRIDGES. It would cover all floods.

Mr. FERGUSON. So it would cover the flood situation in Michigan as well as other flood conditions?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ECTON. As I understand, the bill to provide \$25,000,000 is a flood-relief measure, and it would not be possible to use or make available any of that money to the Bureau of Reclamation in order to help reconstruct irrigation projects which the Bureau built. That is why I am offering my amendment to the pending bill.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator from Montana. Is it absolutely essential that the money be made available within the next 60 days?

Mr. ECTON. It certainly is.

Mr. HAYDEN. Why?

Mr. ECTON. For the simple reason that the spring season has arrived, and all the canals and irrigation ditches are filled with mud. It is necessary that they be reconstructed or rehabilitated, otherwise irrigation will not be possible during the entire season. The emergency must be taken care of immediately.

I hope my colleagues will understand that that is the only reason why I am offering the amendment. I have been in long-distance telephonic communication this afternoon with people in the devastated region, and have been told it is absolutely imperative that assistance be provided immediately.

If it is possible to make any funds available from the \$25,000,000 appropriation, I believe there is nothing to hinder the Senate from placing an item of \$750,000 in the pending bill, because it will have to go to conference anyway. Both bills will have to go to conference.

I have talked this afternoon with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER]. I am sorry he is not able to be present now. However, the same situation I have described prevails in North Dakota, and my amendment would take care of reclamation projects there.

Mr. HAYDEN. There are similar situations in Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas, indeed, they may arise in the entire Missouri Basin. There are many irrigation projects in those States. There are instances of municipal facilities being destroyed. Where there is no authority of law, I hesitate to assent to an appropriation of this kind. I could not dispute with the Senator about the need for funds, but the

Senate ought to have more facts on which to base its actions.

Mr. ECTON. I may say to the Senator that I am very sorry that I have not been able to collect all the facts and present them, because the matter came up rather suddenly. As I understand, the Bureau of Reclamation has made a complete survey of the conditions, and if we do not include an appropriation in this bill, there will be another supplemental bill brought before the Senate almost immediately to do the very thing I am now asking to have done.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is what I was about to suggest. I am quite certain that there will be other supplemental bills before the Senate very soon. If we could have testimony on which to base our actions, I think we would be justified in providing for the conditions the Senator mentions. I desire to be helpful to him.

Mr. ECTON. I most respectfully suggest to the distinguished Senator from Arizona that the Senate could include the item of \$750,000 in the pending bill, since the bill has not yet been passed. The bill will have to go to conference, and I will guarantee that all the information the Senator suggests is desired will be made available.

There is nothing yet before the Senate to provide for assistance in the circumstances I have discussed, and nothing was included by the House, for the simple reason that all the floods have taken place since the bill was reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Mr. HAYDEN. I still feel that, without more evidence, the Senate would not be justified in accepting an amendment to the bill that is clearly not authorized by law. I am confident that very shortly there will be additional supplemental bills before the Senate. There are many such measures, and such a provision could be included in one of them.

Mr. President, under the circumstances, I am compelled to make a point of order that the amendment of the Senator from Montana is not authorized by law.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, I may say that I have looked into the \$25,000,000 relief joint resolution which was reported to the Senate by the Committee on Appropriations this afternoon. As I understand, that measure is to provide for flood relief in towns and cities and also to take care of damage to roads, highways, and bridges.

My amendment is confined primarily to the Bureau of Reclamation. If it is agreed to, the Bureau will have funds to spend. It is confined primarily to irrigation projects built by the Bureau of Reclamation, which will have to be reconstructed and rehabilitated or the investment made by the Government will not be adequately protected. There will be no irrigation under these projects this summer unless rehabilitation is commenced immediately. There will be no crops along the 600 miles of canals and irrigation systems to produce food and pay taxes to the Federal Government, to say nothing of the assessments due the Federal Government by the people who live on those projects.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ECTON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. In connection with the joint resolution appropriating \$25,000,000, which will be brought before the Senate next, I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Montana to Public Law 875 of the Eighty-first Congress, in which a \$25,000,000 appropriation is listed. In that public law one of the purposes set forth is "to alleviate suffering and damage resulting from major disasters, to repair essential public facilities in major disasters, and to foster the development of such State and local organizations and plans to cope with major disasters as may be necessary."

Mr. ECTON. Does not that apply primarily to highways, bridges, and railroads?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should say that if an irrigation canal or channel were built by a public body, and were an essential part of an irrigation system, it would come within the act.

I also invite the attention of the Senator to section 6, which has just been called to my attention by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER]. Section 6 reads, in part, as follows:

SEC. 6. If facilities owned by the United States are damaged or destroyed in any major disaster and the Federal agency having jurisdiction thereof lacks the authority or an appropriation to repair, reconstruct, or restore such facilities, such Federal agency is hereby authorized to repair, reconstruct, or restore such facilities to the extent necessary to place them in a reasonably usable condition and to use therefor any available funds not otherwise immediately required.

Those are two of the purposes of the act. What the joint resolution does is to increase the appropriation from \$5,000,000 to \$25,000,000, in order to cover the purposes of the act, which are to cope with major disasters.

While I do not undertake to say that I am an expert, or that I know exactly under what category an irrigation canal would come, I respectfully say to the Senator from Montana that I think it would be covered by the provision of the law to which I have referred, particularly if it were an irrigation canal constructed by the Federal Government.

Mr. ECTON. I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Massachusetts and the interpretation which he has placed upon the language of the act. I want to be sure that we get the amount of money necessary to rehabilitate these projects. It is imperative that the work be commenced now. Inasmuch as we have a supplemental appropriation bill before us, it seems to me that that is the logical place to attach this amendment.

There will soon come before us a joint resolution providing an appropriation of \$25,000,000, plus a \$6,000,000 carry-over from last year, from the \$25,000,000 which we appropriated last year for flood relief. My amendment involves less than \$1,000,000. If the purposes of my amendment are covered by the other measure to which reference has been

made, there is no reason, as I view it, why we cannot include my amendment in the pending bill, and deduct the amount of the appropriation from the other measure, which is to follow. Let us recognize the situation and get the work started, so that the people in my section of the country will know that their irrigation systems will be repaired as soon as possible, and that water for irrigation will be available to them.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Montana has my sympathy. However, under the circumstances, I feel that I am compelled to make the point of order that his amendment is not authorized by law.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his point of order for a moment?

Mr. HAYDEN. Certainly.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Will the Senator from Montana yield to me?

Mr. ECTON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Let me say to the Senator from Montana that I am entirely in sympathy with his interest. My own State of Iowa is caught on both borders by record floods. The Missouri River has devastated great areas of fertile agricultural land, and many drainage ditches have been destroyed. In our State we do not irrigate. We drain the water off the land. However, our problems are similar to those which the Senator from Montana has described in his section of the country. Our drainage ditches are full. The ditches which are supposed to carry water off the land are full of mud. Sluice gates have been washed out, and contours have been changed. Fifteen or 20 miles north of Council Bluffs and Omaha the river was 19 miles wide. The most fertile farm lands in the world are inundated. Thousands of farm homes have been destroyed, together with large quantities of machinery, equipment, and other property.

I hope Senators realize the vast extent of the damage which we have just suffered on the Missouri River side of our State. In the Missouri River Valley region between 115,000 and 118,000 people have been displaced from their homes, and about 2,100,000 acres of fertile lands have been inundated. So my State has also suffered a disaster.

We are now facing a record flood on the Mississippi River side of our State, which is another burden we shall have to bear. So I am very much interested in the problem which the Senator from Montana describes, from the standpoint of repairing physical facilities.

I have been interested in the \$25,000,000 appropriation measure just passed by the House this afternoon. I was in touch with the situation within 10 minutes after it was passed. I have before me now a committee copy. I have attempted to check Public Law 875, of 1950. I will say to the Senator from Montana that I believe that the \$25,000,000 which will go into the fund created by Public Law 875 of 1950 will be available, as far as it will go, for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of public

works, which, in my judgment, would include drainage ditches and some of the levees which protect farm land, as well as irrigation ditches in the Senator's home State of Montana.

I am also sympathetic with the desire of the Senator from Montana to be absolutely sure that the money will be available for the purpose for which it is desired. I can only say that at this moment I am satisfied, from the examination I have been able to make yesterday and today, that the \$25,000,000 appropriation will apply to the purposes which he has in mind.

There is one difference between the Senator's proposal and mine. If the proposal of the Senator from Montana is adopted, it will apply to the rehabilitation of irrigation ditches, so that irrigation systems may operate. However, it probably would not apply to the matter of cleaning out drainage ditches in Iowa. I shall not oppose the Senator's amendment. A point of order has been raised which may settle the question. I want him to know that I shall not oppose his amendment, but I also want him to know that his amendment would cover only irrigation ditches, whereas in Iowa drainage ditches are operated to carry water off the land.

Mr. ECTON. I appreciate that drainage ditches are probably just as important to the Senator from Iowa and the people of his State as irrigation ditches are to the people of my State. However, the situation which has developed in Montana during the past week, after the tremendous floods hit us, is appalling. We must make arrangements immediately, and we must know definitely what we can count on.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I assure the Senator that I shall be glad to assist him in any way I can to see that the joint resolution, which I hold in my hand, is made applicable to the situation which he describes as soon as it is passed by the Senate. Logically, it should be so applicable. It provides for an appropriation of \$25,000,000. An irrigation district is just as much a public work as is a levee, a sewerage system in a city, or anything else of that nature. I think the money ought to be applied to the purpose which the Senator has in mind. However, I cannot in good conscience agree that the amendment should go into the pending bill, and I make the point of order that it is not authorized by law, and ask that the Chair rule upon it.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, as Senators know, I have always had great affection and admiration for the distinguished Senator from Arizona. In view of his explanation and his intention of raising the point of order, there is nothing I can do. Therefore, I most respectfully and gladly ask and accept the co-operation of the distinguished Senator from Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. I have tried to be helpful to the Senator from Montana in the past, and I assure him that I shall not fail him in any way.

Mr. ECTON. I appreciate the co-operation of the distinguished Senator from Arizona in helping to earmark a

certain portion of the \$25,000,000 appropriation to do the very thing which I have been asking to have done. It is very essential and important. With that explanation, Mr. President, I withdraw my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from Montana [Mr. ECTON] withdraws his amendment.

Without objection, the point of order raised by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] is withdrawn.

The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H. R. 6947) was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, request a conference thereon with the House, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MCKELLAR, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. McCARRAN, Mr. O'MAHONEY, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. CORDON, and Mr. SALTONSTALL conferees on the part of the Senate.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DISASTER RELIEF

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, from the Committee on Appropriations, I report favorably, without amendment, the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 427) making additional appropriations for disaster relief for the fiscal year 1952, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, will the Senator from Arizona yield for a question?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to say that I am in favor of the joint resolution, but I desire to ask the Senator from Arizona what his understanding is of the elimination in the joint resolution of reference to Public Law 875?

Mr. HAYDEN. All the joint resolution would accomplish would be to increase the amount of money heretofore appropriated from \$5,000,000 to \$25,000,000.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. That is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. When we passed the original act we removed the limitation. We are repeating the same performance today.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield further?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield further.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to invite the Senator's attention to the fact that the joint resolution refers to disaster relief, whereas Public Law 875, the act passed in 1950, under which the original appropriation was made, deals with

a major disaster. I assume that for the purpose of the Record all the provisions of Public Law 875 will be carried out even though the technical title of the joint resolution is not the same as that of the act passed in 1950.

Mr. HAYDEN. I do not doubt that at all.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It is important that that point be clear in the Record.

Mr. HAYDEN. That would be my construction of it, certainly.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. There can be no doubt about it, because the initial appropriation under the act in question tied the appropriation to the act by reference to the act itself.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. CORDON. The second appropriation was an appropriation of additional money. There the limitation on the amount was suspended, as it is in this instance. The joint resolution would provide an additional amount, and all of it ties back into the initial appropriation, which refers to the act.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator from Oregon. I should like to ask one more question of the Senator from Arizona, and I should like to invite the attention of the Senator from Oregon to the question. The joint resolution which the Senator from Arizona has reported calls for an appropriation of \$25,000,000. Public Law 875 also calls for an amount to be appropriated. I assume that it does not mean that all the money must necessarily be expended. It is an additional appropriation, as I understand.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is all it is. If there is no occasion to spend the money, certainly it should not be spent.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. It is not intended by the language of the House report to limit the provisions of the act, as I understand. The House report refers to the present heavy floods on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and their tributaries. If there should be any other districts which would be covered by the act, they also would be covered by this joint resolution, and no limitation is intended by the language of the report. Is that correct?

Mr. HAYDEN. The report states:

The purpose of this joint resolution is to make funds available for disaster relief in the areas stricken by the heavy floods on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and their tributaries.

In my judgment, the resolution would apply to disasters anywhere.

Mr. CORDON. My judgment would be that when money is made available pursuant to a law which is applicable Nation-wide, funds are applicable Nation-wide, even though the instance which requires an additional appropriation happens to arise in a particular section of the country.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is why I asked my question.

Mr. HAYDEN. The House said that by reason of what has happened in the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys this action is being taken. However, it is being taken under a general statute. We are amending a general law, and the disaster relief therefore is applicable anywhere.

Mr. FERGUSON. Anywhere?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is why I asked my question. I wanted this discussion to be part of the legislative history.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The point raised by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] is very important. It is very important that the legislative history be made absolutely clear. It should show that we are not being bound by the House committee report, which may infer that it is changing the meaning of the statute.

I do not think that the House committee report or the Members of the Senate committee can change a statute. Nevertheless, there may be an inference raised that, instead of applying generally to flood disasters in the Nation, the \$25,000,000 appropriated in the joint resolution is being earmarked for this one disaster along the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers alone.

I believe that the Senate is mindful of the fact that what has brought this measure to Congress is the immediate flood. However, we know that surely as night follows day there will be other floods, perhaps in Michigan, California, or elsewhere. The legislative history should state clearly that we are not limiting the use of the funds to the specific flood which now confronts us.

Mr. HAYDEN. I take it that the statement in the House report is purely descriptive and merely refers to the recent happening, but is not intended—and the Senate certainly does not intend it—that it should in any way modify the basic statute.

Mr. CORDON. The statement of the Senator from Arizona is exactly in accord with all the appropriate rules and statutory construction and interpretation. In this case the appropriation by reference goes back to the general disaster act. That identifies its purposes. That describes what a disaster is and where it might be. The fact that a report thereafter calls attention to a disaster in a specific area or to a specific disaster, and the fact that even the request from the President indicated that he was induced to make it because of a specific disaster, can in no way vary the terms of the statute. The court could only turn to that type of evidence if there were any ambiguity in the statute itself, and there can be none in this instance.

Mr. FERGUSON. I appreciate that the court's interpretation would be along that line. However, there are also administrative interpretations. Sometimes when an administrator wants to take something out of a report on which to hang his hat, he does it. When we try to force him to do it by report he

goes to the act. I wanted the legislative history to be clear in this case.

Mr. HAYDEN. There was not sufficient time in which to write a formal Senate committee report. However, I believe that the remarks on the floor this afternoon will substitute for it.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] has stated the situation very clearly, and it has also been clearly stated by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. Certainly I made mention of it in the committee, and my understanding of it was that it applied to the basic law, as has been explained.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. ECTON. I should like to know if the distinguished Senator from Arizona can explain to me how I can be sure that any of the \$25,000,000 in the joint resolution will be allotted to the Bureau of Reclamation.

Mr. HAYDEN. I think the Senator from Montana can rely on the statement and on the history as recited by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON]. They have looked into the basic law, and it was their interpretation, as it is mine, that an irrigation system is a public facility within the meaning of the statute, and that the funds appropriated by this measure may properly be used for that purpose. That is my judgment.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield further?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. ECTON. I discussed the subject with some Members of the House this afternoon, after the joint resolution was passed by that body, and it was indicated to me that unless funds are specifically earmarked for the purposes desired in Montana the chances are that they will not be available.

Mr. HAYDEN. I shall endeavor, so far as I can, to persuade any administrative officer who has this matter in charge to view it in the light of the opinion which has been expressed in the Senate, and to follow that opinion.

Mr. ECTON. I should like to ask the Senator from Arizona whether he has any objection to earmarking for these items in Montana \$750,000 of the funds appropriated by the joint resolution.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. I am afraid that any attempt to apportion disaster funds to specific projects, in specific amounts, will, and ought to, meet with difficulty. The very purpose was to provide funds which the President might expend, in his discretion, where the funds were needed the most.

With all due deference to the Senator from Montana and the necessities existing in Montana—and I have every sympathy for them—it is conceivable that somewhere in the devastated areas there may exist needs even greater than those

to which the Senator from Montana has referred. If so, they must receive prior attention.

Certainly when the survey is made Montana, along with the other States, will receive its reasonable share of the funds and reasonable attention. I feel that I can show that all our experience in the field of disaster relief would bring us to that conclusion. We had that experience last year in relation to the lower Mississippi; and we had it a few years before that in relation to my own section of the country—specifically, the Columbia Basin, where three States were affected. We have also had that experience elsewhere. Universally we have seen the finest spirit in the world applied. There has been nothing political or nothing venal about it. Relief has been afforded as relief, where it has been needed.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield further to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. ECTON. Based on the observation made just now by the able Senator from Oregon, I should like to know who, in the final analysis, will determine where these funds are to be expended.

Mr. HAYDEN. Technically the President of the United States will make the determination. Actually the President must be advised in regard to the matter. With respect to flood-control matters the President will be advised by the Corps of Engineers. With respect to damage to irrigation works, the President will be advised by the Bureau of Reclamation. In certain other instances the President will be advised by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. ECTON. I have already been advised by the Bureau of Reclamation that at least \$305,000 will be required to reconstruct and rehabilitate the Montana projects, and that at least \$145,000 will be required for the project in North Dakota. Together, those items make up the \$750,000 I requested in my amendment to the third supplemental appropriation bill.

Mr. HAYDEN. I understand that perfectly. On the other hand, with \$25,000,000 available and with the necessities the Senator has pointed out, I think he had better follow the same route that everyone else follows in these matters, and should wait to see what happens. If the Senator from Montana has no success in that regard, other deficiency appropriation bills will come before the Senate very soon for action.

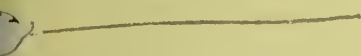
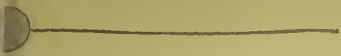
Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Does not the Senator from Arizona also feel that in the event we were to earmark the funds only for the projects in two States, by indirection that action might tend to foreclose proper treatment of precisely the same problem which would be created in Iowa or in Minnesota or in some other State, and would work to the disadvantage of all the other States?

Mr. HAYDEN. Precisely.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Whereas if the Senator from Montana will leave the



Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued April 30, 1952
For actions of April 29, 1952.
82nd-2nd, No. 72

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill. Senate passed Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill. House sent 3rd supplemental appropriation bill to conference.

SENATE

1. TREASURY-POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 6854 (pp. 4614-7). Agreed to a modified Ferguson amendment to exempt certain bureaus from the 10% cuts on various items (p. 4615). Agreed to a Dirksen amendment limiting actual expenditures of the Treasury Department to a total of \$644,384,591 during the fiscal year, by a 46-16 vote (pp. 4615-7). Senate conferees were appointed on the bill (p. 4617).
2. LABOR-FEDERAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 7151 (pp. 4617-26). Agreed to a Ferguson amendment to decrease personnel services by 10% below the budget (p. 4621). Agreed to a Byrd amendment decreasing certain information and related activities by 25% below the budget (pp. 4624-5). Senate conferees were appointed on the bill (p. 4626).
3. RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION. Sen. Fulbright spoke in favor of S. 515, to make various amendments to the RFC Act (pp. 4628-30).
4. ADJOURNED until Thurs., May 1 (p. 4634).

HOUSE

5. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Reps. Cannon, Rooney, Fogarty, Taber, and Wigglesworth were appointed conferees on this bill, H. R. 6947 (p. 4635). Senate conferees were appointed Apr. 22.
6. PURCHASING. The Armed Services Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) H. R. 7405, to provide for an effective supply-management organization within the Department of Defense by establishing a single supply cataloging system, the standardization of supplies, and the more efficient use of supply

testing, inspection, and acceptance of facilities and services (p. D389).

7. RECLAMATION. The Rules Committee granted an open rule providing for 1 hour's debate on H. R. 5368, authorizing construction and maintenance of certain facilities to provide water for irrigation and domestic use from the Santa Margarita River, Calif. (p. D391).

8. ADJOURNED in respect to the memory of Rep. Murray of Wis. General debate on the agricultural appropriation bill is to begin today, Apr. 30.

BILL INTRODUCED

9. PERSONNEL. H. R. 7641, by Rep. Miller, Calif., to provide benefits for certain Federal employees of Japanese ancestry who lost rights with respect to grade, time in grade, and rate of pay because of the Japanese relocation program during World War II; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee (p. 4643).

MEASURE APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

10. FLOOD-RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS. H. J. Res. 427, appropriating \$25,000,000 additional for disaster relief for the fiscal year 1952. Approved Apr. 24 (Public Law 326, 82nd Cong.).

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

11. MINERALS. Sen. Young inserted a Business Week article illustrating the potentialities of North Dakota's 600 billion tons of lignite coal deposits in producing cheap electric power for building of future industry in that State (pp. A2693-4).

12. CIVIL DEFENSE. Rep. Price inserted Federal Civil Defense Administrator Caldwell's recent statement made at a press briefing in Las Vegas, Nev., wherein he outlined four principal requirements for the development of a strong civil defense program (pp. A2698-9).

13. NATURAL RESOURCES. Rep. Hope inserted his statement made at the seventeenth North American Wildlife Conference, Miami, Fla., criticizing the lack of an integrated natural resources conservation program. He said division of responsibility among Federal agencies for soil conservation, watershed protection, reforestation, irrigation, drainage, navigation, and flood control caused unnecessary duplication, overlapping, rivalry, inefficiency, and waste (pp. A2705-7).

14. FLOOD CONTROL. Speech in the House by Rep. George claiming the recurrence of disastrous floods every year in the Verdigris and Neosho River Valleys (Kans.) "is due to the fact that Congress has not provided money to construct dams proposed by the Army engineers" (p. A2708).

HOUSE (continued)

15. PUBLIC LANDS. Concurred in the Senate amendments to H. R. 3540, to establish more appropriate boundaries for Badlands National Monument (S. Dak.) by providing for exchange of lands located within the monument by Interior Department for equivalent USDA Badlands Fall River soil conservation project lands situated outside monument boundaries. The measure provides for transfer of jurisdiction of lands eliminated from the monument to this Department and administration thereof under title 3 of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. This bill will now be sent to the President. (Apr. 28. p. 4555.)

House of Representatives

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1952

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou God of all majesty and mercy, with gratitude and gladness we are again turning unto Thee in the sacred attitude of prayer, for Thou art acquainted with our many needs.

Thou alone canst answer the difficult questions which haunt our minds and satisfy the wistful longings which stir our hearts.

We rejoice that Thou art always willing to share with us Thy divine wisdom and to show us the way out of the darkness and confusion and frustrations in which we so often find ourselves.

Give us the glad assurance that the day of prediction is dawning when every need shall be supplied and peace and freedom will be the blessings of men everywhere.

We thank Thee for the life and character of Thy servant whom Thou hast called to dwell with Thee in eternal blessedness. Wilt Thou grant unto the members of his bereaved family the consolation of Thy grace.

In Christ's name we offer our prayers. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. CANNON, ROONEY, FOGARTY, TABER, and WIGGLESWORTH.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. STANLEY, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 3540. An act to provide for boundary adjustments of the Badlands National Monument, in the State of South Dakota, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 5698. An act to amend the act of September 25, 1950, so as to provide that the

liability of the town of Mills, Wyo., to furnish sewerage service under such act shall not extend to future construction by the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. CANNON and to include a letter from the Comptroller General.

Mr. WALTER and to include a letter from the department commander of the Michigan Veterans of Foreign Wars and a resolution adopted by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mr. PRIEST and to include an article written by Gen. Carl Spaatz with reference to our air policy.

Mr. YORTY and to include an article notwithstanding that it exceeds two pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$252.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN.

Mr. GOLDEN and to include an address by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EAKER] delivered at Valley Forge, Pa., recently.

Mr. HOPE in two instances and to include extraneous matter in one.

Mr. ARMSTRONG and to include a brief article in regard to the opening of the Japanese Embassy yesterday.

Mr. WOOD of Idaho and to include two articles.

Mr. REES of Kansas.

Mr. GEORGE and to include an editorial in regard to flood control.

Mr. HOEVEN and to include a newspaper article.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts (at the request of Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts) and to include excerpts.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SHEPPARD (at the request of Mr. PRIEST), for 30 days, on account of official business.

Mr. BARING, for an indefinite period, on account of official business.

Mr. PATTEN, for 10 days, on account of official business.

HOOR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on tomorrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. MCGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday, April 28, 1952. On page 4546, the third column, line 7, the words "do not" have been left out of my statement. It should read: "but I do not object to letting the rules of the House govern which committee it goes to."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(Mr. JOHNSON asked and was given permission to extend in the RECORD at the proper point a eulogy on the passing of the Honorable REID MURRAY.)

THE LATE HONORABLE REID F. MURRAY

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad duty this morning to announce the passing of our good friend and colleague, REID MURRAY, of Wisconsin. The rather sudden passing of Mr. MURRAY, who has been ill for quite a while, came at a time when we had every reason to believe that he was well on the road to recovery. As a matter of fact, he himself had every confidence in his recovery and was about to make an announcement that he would be a candidate for reelection in his district.

Now he has passed on to his great reward. It seems rather strange that he should follow within just a few months the passing of his very good friend, Frank Keefe, both of whom came to the Congress at the same time and while here were very close friends. My first contact with our departed colleague came at 2 o'clock in the morning on the day that I had been elected to serve out a special term in this body. He was the first one to call me long distance to congratulate me.

Since my contact with him in this body, I have come to respect him for his very great ability in the field that he loved so well, that of agriculture. I dare say that no man in this body was as well equipped to serve his country and his State in that field than was REID MURRAY. He veritably lived in terms of agriculture, in terms of the good that he could do for the farmers of this country. Agricultural America will miss him because he was an ardent advocate of every problem that confronted the agricultural interests of this country.

We all know of his great service in this body, so I will not dwell on it. I know that his passing leaves a void in his district and in the State that he has served so long and so well. The loss to his family, of course, is immeasurable. We know that when such an event occurs within our respective families, that we just cannot estimate that loss. My sympathy goes out to Mrs. Murray and the children. Mrs. Smith joins me in this expression of our sincere condolences.

Mr. Speaker, REID MURRAY's patriotism and loyalty to his country are not excelled in this great House; his intense interest in the welfare of rural America is known to every Member here. His passing is a distinct loss to all his Wisconsin colleagues. He will be missed in his district. Wisconsin loses a great public servant, one who served his constituents with ability and distinction. His passing is a personal loss to me. May he now be at peace in the arms of his Maker.

Mr. Speaker, I am asked to announce that our colleague is at the Lee Funeral Home, and his body may be seen Wednesday at 10 o'clock in the morning. There is some uncertainty as to the time of burial because of a son who is presently in the armed services in the Philippines.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the minority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, death has claimed one of our ablest and best-known colleagues. REID MURRAY was a lovable and strong personality. His ready wit, his grasp of congressional problems, and his rugged loyalty to his friends won for him a host of admirers.

He has been missed for some months from the floor. At times it appeared a hopeless battle he was waging, but only a few weeks ago he made rapid recovery, and there were strong hopes he could resume the work he loved. A relapse came and with it death.

REID MURRAY was a student of agriculture. For years the problem of the farmer was his problem, and he worked with zeal and energy to improve the life of the farmer. No one in the House had a better knowledge of agriculture needs, and he used that knowledge with all his heart for the benefit of the farmers and particularly the Wisconsin dairymen.

It was my privilege to know REID MURRAY from the day he first came to Congress and to enjoy his warm comradeship. I have lost a loyal friend, the State of Wisconsin a splendid legislator, and the Nation a devoted public servant.

To his good wife and family I extend my deepest sympathy in this dark hour of bereavement.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am very, very sorry to hear of the death of our dear friend and late colleague, REID MURRAY; a man, as my distinguished friend from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] well said, of strong character, of a lovable disposition, a man who repre-

sented with ability and courage the people of his district and who was always a strong advocate of the cause of agriculture. I can see him now, on the many occasions when agricultural legislation was pending in this body, and under consideration by this body, whether authorization legislation or appropriations relating to agriculture, making his telling and convincing speeches in the well of the House in support of agriculture, and particularly in support of the dairy interests, which interests have such a powerful economic influence and are of great value to the State of Wisconsin.

We all missed him during his long period of illness.

The best evidence of his indomitable will power is the determination with which he fought his illness over a long period of time and made what we thought was a miraculous come-back in health. Like my colleagues, I was looking forward to his return to the House and his active participation here again as a Member. The sudden relapse that took place resulting in his death stuns all of us.

We shall miss REID MURRAY, a valuable Member of the House, a kind gentleman. To the Wisconsin delegation and the people of his district I extend my sympathy, as well as to the people of the State of Wisconsin. To the loved ones that REID MURRAY left behind him I extend my profound sympathy.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the death of REID F. MURRAY, all of us today lost a friend, the State of Wisconsin lost one of the most conscientious Representatives ever to serve in Congress from the Badger State. The cause of agriculture in America has lost one of its greatest advocates. His passing came as a shock to all of us, for we felt that he finally was winning his long battle to regain his health, and we were looking forward to his return to active participation and leadership in legislative deliberations.

REID MURRAY was a big man—physically, mentally, and spiritually. And perhaps because he was big, he was deeply interested in the little man. The cause of the small farmer, the marginal farmer, was his cause. His chief concern was the man who through circumstances beyond his control needed help and guidance. Coming from a district that is predominately agricultural and with his background of experience and training in agriculture, he was Wisconsin's spokesman on farm questions, and the man to whom all Wisconsin Congressmen and a great many of his colleagues from other States looked for advice and leadership on agricultural matters.

That he was beloved in his district and recognized for his ability at home was well demonstrated in 1950. Since his health prevented him from making his usual active campaign, REID MURRAY's friends rallied to his support and rolled up a 34,000 margin of victory for him in the last election.

Even in illness these past 2 years, REID MURRAY had not been inactive. From his home or his hospital bed, he continued to keep in touch with his office and with his constituents. It was typical of the way he had served his people from the first. Because of his background as a farmer, as a professor of animal husbandry in the University of Wisconsin's extension division, and as an agricultural agent he was a natural choice for membership on the House Agriculture Committee when he first came here after his initial election in 1938.

From the first, he was an active, aggressive member of that committee. For most of that time, he was a member of the minority, but his was a major influence in legislation beneficial to American farmers. In committee argument or on the House floor, he debated principles and not personalities. He always came to debate well buttressed with carefully compiled statistics. He was a virtual walking encyclopedia of agricultural facts. When he spoke, his words carried authority, and he never was wanting for ideas. After the issue was decided, his arguments had left no bitterness.

REID F. MURRAY was a true representative of his district. Within the last few weeks I had occasion to be in his district; I know full well of the esteem in which he was held at home, and the hopes that his friends had for his ultimate recovery. The members of his family are entitled to our deepest sympathy in their loss. He will be greatly missed by all of us who knew him as a colleague and as a friend.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all Members of the House extend their sympathy today to the family of our colleague, REID MURRAY, who has just passed away. There is probably very little consolation that can be offered to a family in bereavement at a time like this, but it may be of some little consequence for them to know at least that they are joined in their grief by many people in this country. The people of the State of Wisconsin are especially in grief today over this loss.

As has been stated, REID was a most friendly individual, a conscientious individual. Second only to his concern over the welfare of his family was his concern over the welfare of agriculture, particularly the welfare of the Wisconsin dairy farmer. They have lost in REID's passing a great friend whom it will be difficult to replace either in the State of Wisconsin or in the Nation's Capital.

I got to know REID MURRAY very well. When I first came to Congress we had adjoining offices. From that experience I learned to lean upon REID MURRAY for advice and counsel, and he was always free in giving that advice and counsel no matter how busy he might be on other matters.

Mr. Speaker, I have lost a real and valued friend by the passing of REID MURRAY. I shall long remember his

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

JUNE 3, 1952.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. CANNON, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 6947]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 20, 24, 51, and 54.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, and 53, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In line 7 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "\$700,000" and insert in lieu thereof \$650,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert \$12,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert \$988,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert \$5,746,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert \$3,250,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 27:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 27, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert \$100,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment insert the following: *and the limitations under this head in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for expenses of National Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,856,000" to "\$2,042,000", and on the amount available for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,350,000";* and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert \$750,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 52:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 52, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

SEC. 1303. Amounts made available for pay increases in this Act by appropriation, increase in administrative expense limitation, transfer and otherwise are hereby reduced in the sums hereinafter set forth, and

such sums (except corporate funds, trust funds, and funds under the title "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases") shall be carried to the surplus fund and covered into the Treasury immediately upon the approval of this Act, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000;

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$40,000;

Defense Production Administration: "Salaries and expenses", (transfer) (\$130,000);

Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,500,000;

"Export-Import Bank of Washington" (administrative expenses) (\$7,000);

Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$20,000;

Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys", \$1,400;

General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$500,000;

Interstate Commerce Commission:

"General expenses", \$24,000;

"Railroad safety", \$6,000;

"Locomotive inspection", \$4,500;

National Capital Housing Authority: "Maintenance and operation of properties", \$160;

National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$22,000;

National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$900;

Railroad Retirement Board: "Salaries and expenses" (trust fund) (\$35,000);

Selective Service System: "Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

Smithsonian Institution: "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art", \$4,000;

The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,000;

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$17,300;

Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$4,420;

Howard University: "Salaries and expenses" (transfer) (\$21,610);

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,000;

Social Security Administration:

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance" (trust fund) (\$173,000);

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assistance", \$3,900;

"Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$5,250;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner", \$250;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner" (transfer) (\$325);

Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$6,275;

"Salaries, Office of the Administrator" (transfer) (\$2,400);

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations", \$975;

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations" (transfer) (\$700);

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Office of the Administrator:

- "Salaries and expenses", \$20,700;
- "Advance planning of non-Federal public works", \$6,350;
- "Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services", \$4,470;
- "Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$4,000;
- "Federal National Mortgage Association" (administrative expense limitation) (\$24,400);
- "Loans for prefabricated housing" (administrative expense limitation) (\$1,800);

Home Loan Bank Board:

- "Administrative expense limitation", (\$6,000);
- "Nonadministrative expense limitation", (\$9,500);

Federal Housing Administration:

- "Administrative expense limitation", (\$33,400);
- "Nonadministrative expense limitation", (\$117,500);

Public Housing Administration:

- "Administrative expenses", \$60,100;
- "Administrative expenses limitation", (\$83,300);
- "Nonadministrative expenses limitation", (\$103,100);

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- "Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$10,000;
- Bureau of Agricultural Economics: "Economic investigations", \$10,500;
- Agricultural Research Administration:
 - "Research on Agricultural problems of Alaska", \$2,000;
 - "Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials", \$3,200;
- Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:
 - "Animal disease control and eradication", \$15,800;
 - "Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum", \$200;
- Bureau of Dairy Industry: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000;
- "Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry", \$25,000;
- Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering:
 - "Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering research", \$30,920;
- Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine: "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases" (language) (\$4,200);
- Forest Service: "State and private forestry cooperation", \$3,000;
- Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing Services", \$74,000;
- "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$1,200;
- Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$5,000;
- Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$174,500;
- "Commodity Credit Corporation" (language) (\$108,000);
- Farm Credit Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,100;
- "Office of the Secretary", \$10,000;
- "Office of the Solicitor", \$17,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

*Office of the Secretary:**"Technical and scientific services", \$1,000;**"Salaries and expenses, Defense production activities", \$400,000;**Civil Aeronautics Administration:**"Technical development and evaluation", \$7,000;**"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$8,000;**Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$15,000;**Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: "Export Control", \$12,400;**Maritime activities: "Maritime training", \$2,000;**Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$25,000;**"Inland Waterways Corporation" (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,000);*

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

*Department of the Army—Civil functions:**"Canal Zone Government", \$55,000;**"Postal service", \$5,000;**"Panama Canal Company" (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,500);*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

*Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$15,000;**Bonneville Power Administration:**"Operation and Maintenance", \$16,000;**"Construction", \$59,000;**Bureau of Land Management: "Management of lands and resources", \$15,000;**Bureau of Indian Affairs: "Health, education, and welfare services", \$75,000;**Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and research", \$64,900;**Bureau of Mines: "Conservation and development of mineral resources", \$65,000;**Fish and Wildlife Service:**"Management of resources", \$10,000;**"Investigations of resources", \$5,000;**Office of Territories: "Administration of Territories", \$16,300;**Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries and expenses", \$4,000;*

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Legal Activities and General Administration:**"Salaries and expenses, general legal activities", \$40,000;**"Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division", \$24,500;**Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons", \$113,000;*

*DEPARTMENT OF LABOR**Office of the Secretary:**"Salaries and expenses", \$1,500;**"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor", \$2,200;**"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards", \$700;**"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights", \$300;**"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$3,000;**Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,500;**Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,700;**Bureau of Employment Security: "Salaries and expenses", \$9,000;**Bureau of Labor Statistics:**"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000;**"Revision of consumers' price index", \$1,600;**Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$200;**Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses", \$11,500;**POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT**(Out of the postal revenues)**"General Administration", \$16,750;**"Postal operations", \$2,414,790;**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**"Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;**"International information and educational activities", \$175,000;**"Government in occupied areas", \$70,000;*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public debt" (transfer) (\$75,000);

Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses" (transfer) (\$13,000);

Secret Service Division: "Salaries and expenses, White House Police" (transfer) (\$5,000).

And the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 2, 3, 5, 7, 22, 25, 45, and 47.

CLARENCE CANNON,
JOHN T. ROONEY (except
as to so-called Whitten
amendment No. 51.
Field service of Post
Office Department
should be wholly ex-
empted from provi-
sions of section 1310 of
Public Law 253,
Eighty-second Con-
gress),

JOHN E. FOGARTY,
JOHN TABER (except as
to amendments Nos.
16 and 54),

BEN F. JENSEN (except
as to amendments
Nos. 16 and 54),

Managers on the Part of the House.

KENNETH MCKELLAR,
CARL HAYDEN,
PAT MCCARRAN,
JOHN O'MAHONEY,
STYLES BRIDGES (except
as to amendment
No. 54),

HOMER FERGUSON (ex-
cept as to amendment
No. 54),

GUY CORDON,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
(except as to amend-
ment No. 54),

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Amendment No. 1: Inserts title, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 2: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 3: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 4: Inserts title, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 5: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 6: Appropriates \$25,000 for Senate restaurants, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 7: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 8: Appropriates \$35,000 for Appropriations Committee of the House, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12: Appropriate \$8,000 for expenses of contested election cases of the House, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 13: Transfers \$300 to the appropriation "Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Buildings", as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 14: Increases to \$650,000 the limitation for printing the Federal Register instead of to \$700,000, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER II

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Amendment No. 15: Appropriates \$12,500,000 for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", instead of \$14,800,000, as proposed by the House and \$9,000,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 16: Appropriates \$4,000,000 for "Salaries and expenses", Immigration and Naturalization Service, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$2,610,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 17: Appropriates \$750,000 for "Support of United States prisoners", as proposed by the Senate instead of \$575,000, as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Amendment No. 18: Appropriates \$988,000 for "Salaries and expenses", Bureau of Employment Security instead of \$892,000, as proposed by the House and \$1,059,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 19: Increases the personal service limitation for the Bureau of Employment Security to \$5,746,000 instead of \$5,675,000, as proposed by the House and \$5,817,000 as proposed by the Senate.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates \$40,000 for Surplus Property Disposal, as proposed by the House, instead of nothing, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER V

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates \$3,250,000 for "Salaries and expenses" for fighting forest fires, instead of \$3,000,000, as proposed by the House and \$3,500,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 22: Reported in disagreement.

CHAPTER VI

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Amendment No. 23: Appropriates \$163,000 for "Administration of Territories", as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$463,000, as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Amendment No. 24: Strikes out the proposal of the Senate to appropriate \$30,000 for the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Amendment No. 25: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates \$20,000 for the Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 27: Appropriates \$100,000 for the Renegotiation Board, instead of \$200,000, as proposed by the Senate and nothing, as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 28: Increases the limitations on use of Selective Service System's appropriations instead of outright repeal as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER XI

INCREASED PAY COSTS

Amendments Nos. 29 to 43, inclusive: Appropriate \$938,246 for various Senate purposes as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 44: Transfers \$750,000 to "Salaries and expenses, Division of Disbursement (Treasury Department)" instead of \$400,000, as proposed by the House, and \$814,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 45: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 46: Strikes out House language reducing funds in Chapter XI, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER XII

Amendment No. 47: Reported in disagreement.

CHAPTER XIII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Amendments Nos. 48, 49, and 50: Change chapter and section numbers, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 51: Strikes out the proposal of the Senate to exempt the field service of the Post Office Department from the provisions of Public Law 253, Eighty-second Congress.

It is the understanding of the conferees that the existing language of the Whitten amendment provides authority for the Civil Service Commission to authorize permanent appointments in the Post Office Department up to the number of permanent employees on the rolls as of September 1, 1950. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has advised by letter, dated May 2, 1952, that "further statutory authority is not required" and that the Commission is proceeding with arrangements to permit permanent appointments.

Amendment No. 52: Reduces certain specific appropriations carried in the bill instead of applying a straight percentage reduction as set forth in the Senate proposal.

Amendment No. 53: Changes a section number.

Amendment No. 54: Strikes out Senate language prohibiting use of funds in connection with Executive Order 10340. The Senate recedes from this amendment in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the cases of *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company et al., petitioner, No. 744 v. Charles Sawyer* and *Charles Sawyer, petitioner, No. 745 v. Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company et al.*, and the order of the President which has completed the return of the steel plants to their owners.

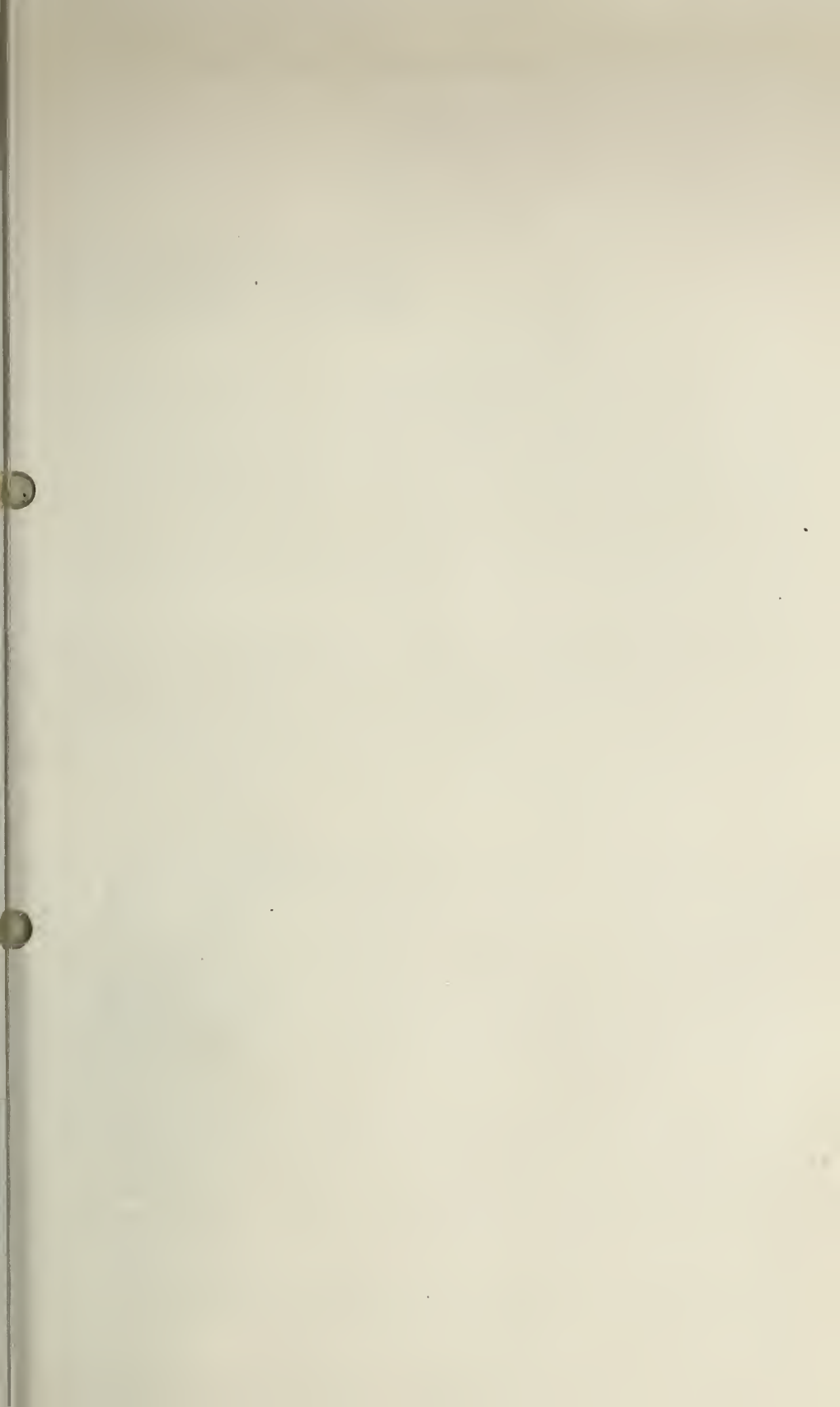
CLARENCE CANNON,
JOHN J. ROONEY (except
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Field service of Post
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should be wholly ex-
empted from provi-
sions of section 1310 of
Public Law 253,
Eighty-second Con-
gress),

JOHN E. FOGARTY,

JOHN TABER (except as
to amendments Nos.
16 and 54),

BEN F. JENSEN (except
as to amendments
Nos. 16 and 54),

Managers on the Part of the House.



Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued June 4, 1952
For actions of June 3, 1952
32nd-2nd, No. 95

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed road authorizations bill. Senate passed independent offices appropriation bill. House received conference report on third supplemental appropriation bill. Conferees agreed on foreign-aid bill. House debated cotton parity standards bill. Sen. Young urged import control on grains.

SENATE

1. ROAD AUTHORIZATIONS. Passed with amendments H. R. 7340, authorizing appropriations for road construction in 1954 and 1955 (pp. 6505-21, 6527-31, 6536-43). Agreed, 54-14, to a Douglas amendment decreasing the highway authorizations by a total of \$100,000,000, after earlier rejecting a Douglas amendment to make a greater cut (pp. 6527-9). Agreed to a Cain amendment to require advisory public hearings before construction of timber access roads (p. 6529). Sens. Chavez, Holland, Kerr, Cain, and Case were appointed as Senate conferees. No changes were made in the amounts for forest highways or forest roads and trails.
2. INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 7072 (pp. 6543-4, 6547-86). Sens. Raybank, O'Mahoney, McKellar, Hill, McMahon, Saltonstall, Bridges, and Ferguson were appointed Senate conferees. Sen. Johnston inserted his statement commending the Senate committed for striking out the Thomas leave rider, and criticizing the rider (pp. 6565-6).
3. IMPORT CONTROL. Sen. Young recommended import controls on oats, barley, rye, and feed wheat in addition to the commodities already covered by Sec. 104 of the Defense Production Act (pp. 6531-6).
4. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Wiley inserted various statements favoring this proposed project (pp. 6522-3).
5. RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION. As reported (see Digest 93), S. 515 increases from \$40,000,000 to \$100,000,000 the amount of disaster-relief loans which RFC may make, and also contains various provisions regarding the internal management of RFC.

6. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Received the conference report on this bill, H. R. 6947 (pp. 6597-9).

Actions by conferees:

- Fixed the item for fighting forest fires at \$3,250,000 instead of \$3,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$3,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.
- Made various reductions in specific appropriation items for pay costs, including several for this Department, instead of applying a straight percentage cut as previously proposed.

Items reported in disagreement:

- Provision that the \$700,000 for smoke jumper facilities "shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of facilities."
- Provision for pay increases of \$800 for officials whose salaries are specified in the Executive Pay Act at \$14,000.
- Various amounts for claims for damages, audited claims, and judgments.
- Revolving fund of \$6,500,000 for Civil Service Commission investigations, to be reimbursed by the departments and agencies.

Other items in the bill which were not subject to conference action:

- Modification of the Whitten personnel rider. Regarding this item the House conferees included the following comments in their statement: "It is the understanding of the conferees that the existing language of the Whitten amendment provides authority for the Civil Service Commission to authorize permanent appointments in the Post Office Department up to the number of permanent employees on the rolls as of September 1, 1950."
- Prohibition against use of appropriations in this bill for "publicity or propaganda purposes not heretofore authorized by the Congress."
- Federal-aid highways, \$69,500,000 additional.
- Supply and records center, Kansas City, \$4,400,000.

- 7. FOREIGN AID. Conferees on H. R. 7005, to extend the Mutual Security Program for fiscal year 1953, agreed to file (but did not actually file) a conference report authorizing an appropriation of \$6,447,730,750, as contrasted with \$6,765,861,500 as approved by the Senate, and \$6,219,600,000 as approved by the House (p. D535).
- 8. COTTON PARITY. Began debate on H. R. 5713, providing Low Middling seven-eighths cotton as the standard grade for determining parity and price support for the 1952 cotton crop (pp. 6596-7).
- 9. IMMIGRATION. The Judiciary Committee concluded hearings on H. R. 7376, authorizing the issuance of 300,000 special nonquota immigration visas to certain refugees (p. D534).

BILL INTRODUCED

- 10. RECLAMATION. S. 3271, by Sen. O'Mahoney (for himself, Sen. Hunt, and Sen. Case), to provide that certain costs and expenses incurred in connection with repayment contracts with the Deaver, Wildwood, and Belle Fourche irrigation districts shall be nonreimbursable; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (p. 6524).

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 11. TRANSPORTATION. Speech in the House by Rep. Rankin favoring recent action of the Interstate Commerce Commission confirming by unanimous vote its recent order to eliminate, effective May 30, 1952, the one-way freight rate which has been in

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his point of order to permit me to present a conference report?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I withhold the point of order.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 2017)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6947) "making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 20, 24, 51 and 54.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, and 53, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In line 7 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "\$700,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$650,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$12,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$988,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$5,746,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$3,250,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 27: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 27, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "\$100,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment insert the following: "and the limitations under this head in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for expenses of National Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Management is increased

from '\$1,856,000' to '\$2,042,000', and on the amount available for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Servicing is increased from '\$6,454,000' to '\$7,350,000'; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 52: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 52, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"Sec. 1303. Amounts made available for pay increases in this Act by appropriation, increase in administrative expense limitation, transfer and otherwise are hereby reduced in the sums hereinafter set forth, and such sums (except corporate funds, trust funds, and funds under the title 'Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases') shall be carried to the surplus fund and covered into the Treasury immediately upon the approval of this Act, as follows:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

"National Security Resources Board: 'Salaries and expenses', \$3,000;

"INDEPENDENT OFFICES

"Civil Service Commission: 'Salaries and expenses', \$40,000;

"Defense Production Administration: 'Salaries and expenses', (transfer) (\$130,000);

"Economic Stabilization Agency: 'Salaries and expenses', \$2,500,000;

"Export-Import Bank of Washington' (administrative expenses) (\$7,000);

"Federal Communications Commission: 'Salaries and expenses', \$20,000;

"Federal Power Commission: 'Flood-control surveys', \$1,400;

"General Accounting Office: 'Salaries', \$500,000;

"Interstate Commerce Commission: 'General expenses', \$24,000;

"Railroad safety, \$6,000;

"Locomotive inspection', \$4,500;

"National Capital Housing Authority: 'Maintenance and operation of properties', \$160;

"National Labor Relations Board: 'Salaries and expenses', \$22,000;

"National Mediation Board: 'Salaries and expenses', \$900;

"Railroad Retirement Board: 'Salaries and expenses', (trust fund) (\$35,000);

"Selective Service System: 'Salaries and expenses', \$100,000;

"Smithsonian Institution: 'Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art', \$4,000;

"The Tax Court of the United States: 'Salaries and expenses', \$1,000;

"FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

"Food and Drug Administration: 'Salaries and expenses', \$17,300;

"Howard University: 'Salaries and expenses', \$4,420;

"Howard University: 'Salaries and expenses', (transfer) (\$21,610);

"Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: 'Salaries and expenses', \$2,000;

"Social Security Administration: 'Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance', (trust fund) (\$173,000);

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assistance', \$3,900;

"Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau', \$5,250;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner', \$250;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner' (transfer) (\$325);

"Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries, Office of the Administrator', \$6,275;

"Salaries, Office of the Administrator' (transfer) (\$2,400);

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations', \$975;

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations' (transfer) (\$700);

"HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

"Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries and expenses', \$20,700;

"Advance planning of non-Federal public works', \$6,350;

"Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services', \$4,470;

"Salaries and expenses, defense-production activities', \$4,000;

"Federal National Mortgage Association' (administrative expense limitation) (\$24,400);

"Loans for prefabricated housing' (administrative expense limitation) (\$1,800);

"Home Loan Bank Board:

"Administrative expense limitation' (\$6,000);

"Nonadministrative expense limitation' (\$9,500);

"Federal Housing Administration:

"Administrative expense limitation' (\$33,400);

"Nonadministrative expense limitation' (\$117,500);

"Public Housing Administration:

"Administrative expenses', \$60,100;

"Administrative expenses limitation' (\$83,300);

"Nonadministrative expenses limitation' (\$103,100);

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"Research and Marketing Act of 1946', \$10,000;

"Bureau of Agricultural Economics: 'Economic investigations', \$10,500;

"Agricultural Research Administration: 'Research on Agricultural problems of Alaska', \$2,000;

"Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials', \$3,200;

"Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

"Animal disease control and eradication', \$15,800;

"Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum', \$200;

"Bureau of Dairy Industry: 'Salaries and expenses', \$3,000;

"Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry', \$25,000;

"Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering: 'Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering research', \$30,920;

"Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine: 'Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases', (language) (\$4,200);

"Forest Service: 'State and private forestry cooperation', \$3,000;

"Production and Marketing Administration: 'Marketing Services', \$74,000;

"Commodity Exchange Authority', \$1,200;

"Rural Electrification Administration: 'Salaries and expenses', \$5,000;

"Farmers Home Administration: 'Salaries and expenses', \$174,500;

"Commodity Credit Corporation', (language) (\$108,000);

"Farm Credit Administration:

"Salaries and expenses', \$3,100;

"Office of the Secretary', \$10,000;

"Office of the Solicitor', \$17,000;

"DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

"Office of the Secretary:

"Technical and scientific services', \$1,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Defense production activities', \$400,000;

"Civil Aeronautics Administration:

"Technical development and evaluation", \$7,000;

"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$8,000;

"Civil Aeronautics Board: 'Salaries and expenses', \$15,000;

"Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: 'Export Control', \$12,400;

"Maritime activities: 'Maritime training', \$2,000;

"Patent Office 'Salaries and expenses', \$25,000;

"Inland Waterways Corporation" (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,000);

"DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

"Department of the Army—Civil Functions:

"Canal Zone Government", \$55,000;

"Postal service", \$5,000;

"Panama Canal Company" (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,500);

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

"Office of the Secretary: 'Salaries and expenses, defense production activities', \$15,000;

"Bonneville Power Administration:

"Operation and Maintenance", \$16,000;

"Construction", \$59,000;

"Bureau of Land Management: 'Management of lands and resources', \$15,000;

"Bureau of Indian Affairs: 'Health, education, and welfare services', \$75,000;

"Geological Survey: 'Surveys, investigations, and research', \$64,900;

"Bureau of Mines: 'Conservation and development of mineral resources', \$65,000;

"Fish and Wildlife Service:

"Management of resources", \$10,000;

"Investigations of resources", \$5,000;

"Office of Territories: 'Administration of Territories', \$16,300;

"Administration, Department of the Interior: 'Salaries and expenses', \$4,000;

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

"Legal Activities and General Administration:

"Salaries and expenses, general legal activities", \$40,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division", \$24,500;

"Federal Prison System: 'Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons', \$113,000;

"DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

"Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$1,500;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor", \$2,200;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards", \$700;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights", \$300;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$3,000;

"Bureau of Apprenticeship: 'Salaries and expenses', \$3,500;

"Bureau of Employees' Compensation: 'Salaries and expenses', \$2,700;

"Bureau of Employment Security: 'Salaries and expenses', \$9,000;

"Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000;

"Revision of consumers' price index", \$1,600;

"Women's Bureau: 'Salaries and expenses', \$200;

"Wage and Hour Division: 'Salaries and expenses', \$11,500;

"POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (OUT OF THE POSTAL REVENUES)

"General Administration", \$16,750;

"Postal operations", \$2,414,790;

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;

"International information and educational activities", \$175,000;

"Government in occupied areas", \$70,000;

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT

"Bureau of the Public Debt: 'Administering the public debt', (transfer) (\$75,000);

"Bureau of Narcotics: 'Salaries and expenses', (transfer) (\$13,000);

"Secret Service Division: 'Salaries and expenses, White House Police', (transfer) (\$5,000)."

And the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 2, 3, 5, 7, 22, 25, 45 and 47.

CLARENCE CANNON,

JOHN J. ROONEY (except as to so-called Whitten amendment No. 51.

Field Service of Post Office Department should be wholly exempted from provisions of sec. 1310 of Public Law 253, 82d Cong.),

JOHN E. FOGARTY,

JOHN TABER (excepting as to amendments 16 and 54),

BEN F. JENSEN (excepting as to amendments 16 and 54),

Managers on the Part of the House.

KENNETH MCKELLAR,

CARL HAYDEN,

PAT MCCARRAN,

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,

STYLES BRIDGES (excepting 54),

HOMER FERGUSON (except as to amendment No. 54),

GUY CORDON,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

(excepting 54),

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

CHAPTER I

Legislative branch

Amendment No. 1: Inserts title, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 2: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 3: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 4: Inserts title, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 5: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 6: Appropriates \$25,000 for Senate restaurants, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 7: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 8: Appropriates \$35,000 for Appropriations Committee of the House, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12: Appropriate \$8,000 for expenses of contested election cases of the House, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 13: Transfers \$300 to the appropriation "Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Buildings", as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 14: Increases to \$650,000 the limitation for printing the Federal Register instead of to \$700,000, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER II

Department of Justice

Amendment No. 15: Appropriates \$12,500,000 for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", instead of \$14,800,000, as proposed by the House and \$9,000,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 16: Appropriates \$4,000,000 for "Salaries and expenses", Immigration and Naturalization Service, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$2,610,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 17: Appropriates \$750,000 for "Support of United States prisoners", as proposed by the Senate instead of \$575,000, as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER IV

Department of Labor

Amendment No. 18: Appropriates \$988,000 for "Salaries and expenses", Bureau of Employment Security instead of \$892,000, as proposed by the House and \$1,059,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 19: Increases the personal service limitation for the Bureau of Employment Security to \$5,746,000 instead of \$5,675,000, as proposed by the House and \$5,817,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Federal Security Agency

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates \$40,000 for Surplus Property Disposal, as proposed by the House, instead of nothing, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER V

Department of Agriculture

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates \$3,250,000 for "Salaries and expenses" for fighting forest fires, instead of \$3,000,000, as proposed by the House and \$3,500,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 22: Reported in disagreement.

CHAPTER VI

Department of the Interior

Amendment No. 23: Appropriates \$163,000 for "Administration of Territories", as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$463,000, as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER VII

Independent Offices

Amendment No. 24: Strikes out the proposal of the Senate to appropriate \$30,000 for the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Amendment No. 25: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates \$20,000 for the Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 27: Appropriates \$100,000 for the Renegotiation Board, instead of \$200,000, as proposed by the Senate and nothing, as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 28: Increases the limitations on use of Selective Service System's appropriations instead of outright repeal as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER XI

Increased pay costs

Amendments Nos. 29-43 inclusive: Appropriate \$938,246 for various Senate purposes as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 44: Transfers \$750,000 to "Salaries and expenses, Division of Disbursement (Treasury Department)" instead of \$400,000, as proposed by the House, and \$814,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 45: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 46: Strikes out House language reducing funds in Chapter XI, as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER XII

Amendment No. 47: Reported in disagreement.

CHAPTER XIII

General provisions

Amendments Nos. 48, 49, and 50: Change chapter and section numbers, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 51: Strikes out the proposal of the Senate to exempt the Field Service of the Post Office Department from the provisions of Public Law 253, 82d Congress.

It is the understanding of the conferees that the existing language of the Whitten amendment provides authority for the Civil Service Commission to authorize permanent appointments in the Post Office Department up to the number of permanent employees on the rolls as of September 1, 1950. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has advised by letter, dated May 2, 1952, that "further statutory authority is not required" and that the Commission is proceeding with arrangements to permit permanent appointments.

Amendment No. 52: Reduces certain specific appropriations carried in the bill instead of applying a straight percentage reduction as set forth in the Senate proposal.

Amendment No. 53: Changes a section number.

Amendment No. 54: Strikes out Senate language prohibiting use of funds in connection with Executive Order 10340. The Senate recedes from this amendment in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the cases of *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, et al., petitioner, No. 744 v. Charles Sawyer and Charles Sawyer, petitioner, No. 745 v. Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, et al.*, and the order of the President which has completed the return of the steel plants to their owners.

CLARENCE CANNON,

JOHN J. ROONEY (except as to so-called Whitten amendment No. 51. Field Service of Post Office Department should be wholly exempted from provisions of Sec. 1310 of Public Law 253, 82d Cong.),

JOHN E. FOGARTY,

JOHN TABER (except as to amendment 16 and except as to amendment 54),

BEN F. JENSEN (except as to amendment 16 and except as to amendment 54),

Managers on the Part of the House.

MUTUAL SECURITY ACT AMENDMENT

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill (H. R. 7005) to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1951, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

CONSENT TO INSERT STATEMENT

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to insert in the RECORD of today at the point where the bill H. R. 1490 was considered on the Private Calendar, remarks with reference to the purpose of the bill and to include a resolution of the Polish-American Citizenship Committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I insist on my point of order.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 36 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, June 4, 1952, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CANNON: Committee of conference. H. R. 6947. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 2017). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS:

H. R. 8073. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp to commemorate the establishment of the Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WOOD of Georgia:

H. R. 8074. A bill to amend the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, in order to protect the national health and safety against the consequences of certain labor-management disputes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ABBITT:

H. J. Res. 472. Joint resolution to assist the Polycultural Institution of America in expanding further its program and activities for the purpose of promoting universal understanding, justice, and permanent peace, to assist such institution in providing for its permanent plant and equipment in the Nation's Capital, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WOOD of Georgia:

H. J. Res. 473. Joint resolution to advise the President of the United States concerning the will of Congress respecting the labor dispute in the basic steel manufacturing industry; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CANNON:

H. R. 8075. A bill for the relief of Hannele Mayerl Fulbright; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H. R. 8076. A bill for the relief of Kazimierz Budzynski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 8077. A bill for the relief of Evelyn Topol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WITHROW:

H. R. 8078. A bill for the relief of Ichiro Iida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1, of rule XXII,

750. Mrs. ST. GEORGE presented a petition in opposition to the advertisement of alcoholic beverages on the highways, in the press, and on the radio and television, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued June 5, 1952
For actions of June 4, 1952
32nd-2nd, No. 96

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated defense production bill agreeing to exempt fresh fruits and vegetables from price control. Senate committee reported bill to extend dual parity on basic commodities for 2 years. Senate committee ordered reported bill to adjust extension-work authorizations in view of new census. House deferred consideration of conference report on 3rd supplemental appropriation bill until Thurs. House conferees appointed on road authorizations bill. President approved flood-rehabilitation appropriation measure.

SENATE

1. DEFENSE PRODUCTION. Continued debate on S. 2594, to amend and extend the Defense Production Act (pp. 6603-32).

Amendments agreed to included the following:

By Sen. Holland, providing that no price ceiling shall be established or maintained on fresh fruits or vegetables (pp. 6672-4).

By Sen. Fulbright, providing for judicial review of Labor Department decisions under the Public Contracts Act (pp. 6638-41).

By Sen. Ferguson, to prevent use of this legislation to implement decisions of the International Materials Conference, by a 43-40 vote (pp. 6645-59).

Amendments rejected included the following:

By Sen. Canehart, to suspend price-wage controls unless the consumer index rises 3 points, by a 23-57 vote (pp. 6659-62).

By Sen. Dirksen, to suspend price controls on agricultural and fish products not in short supply, by a 33-44 vote (pp. 6662-4).

By Sen. Mundt, to provide for import controls on oats, rye, barley, and wheat, by a 36-46 vote (pp. 6664-9).

By Sen. Dirksen, prohibiting price control on agricultural products, by a 29-49 vote (pp. 6674-7).

By Sen. Aiken, authorizing some flexibility in administration of the import-control provision, by a 38-38 vote (pp. 6677-9).

2. PARITY FORMULA. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported with amendment S. 2115, to continue the existing parity formula for basic commodities until Jan. 1, 1956 (S. Rept. 1674)(p. 6603).

3. EXTENSION WORK. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 6773, to adjust extension-work authorizations, with

an amendment which, the "Daily Digest" states, "would freeze extension funds in the fiscal year 1953 in the same manner as they were allocated in fiscal 1952" (p. D538).

4. PURCHASING. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendments S. 2487, to permit judicial review of decisions of Government contracting officers involving questions of fact arising under Government contracts in cases other than those in which fraud is alleged (H. Rept. 1670) (pp. 6602-3).
5. IMMIGRATION. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendment S. Res. 326, to investigate problems connected with emigration of refugees from Western European nations (S. Rept. 1671) (p. 6603).
6. AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. Sen. Anderson submitted an amendment which he intends to propose to this bill, H. R. 7314 (p. 6606).

HOUSE

7. FOREIGN AID. Conference filed their report on H. R. 7005, to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (H. Rept. 2031). The total authorization agreed upon was \$6,447,730,750 which was reached by dividing equally the amounts previously authorized by both Houses. A total of \$4,598,424,500 is for military assistance and \$1,805,288,500 is for economic and technical assistance. The conferees agreed to the Senate amendment providing for carry-over of unexpended balances; and eliminated a House provision limiting dollar expenditures under the act for supplies, equipment, and commodities in the technical assistance program. The conferees also expect the Administrator of TCA to cut to reasonable levels all "staffs in Washington concerned with Point 4." The conferees included language to insure that small business will share equitably in the TCA programs, and agreed that \$16,431,000 be contributed to the ELIOT but that in no case should this Country's contribution exceed more than one-third of contributions from all other governments. (pp. 6634-31.)
8. ROAD AUTHORIZATIONS. Reps. Fallon, Trimble, Dempsey, Jones (Ala.), Dondero, McGregor, and Angell were appointed as conferees on H. R. 7340, authorizing appropriations for road construction in 1954 and 1955 (p. 6683). Senate conferees were appointed June 3.
9. THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952. Consideration of the conference report on this bill; H. R. 6947, was deferred until Thursday when a point of order regarding presence of a quorum was raised by Rep. Fisher (p. 6691).
10. EMERGENCY POWERS. The "Daily Digest" states that "Agreement was reached on the Emergency Powers Continuation Act, and an amended bill will be introduced and reported favorably to the House" (p. D540).
11. PERSONNEL. Received from this Department a proposed bill to establish an additional Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and an Administrative Assistant Secretary, to authorize the Secretary to delegate his functions, and to require a periodic review by the Secretary of the management of the Department (p. 6694).
12. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Taber criticized the State Department's recent action in entering into an agreement with Chile and Cuba giving Chile a large share of the American colored dried bean market in Cuba without consulting the farmers (p. 6690).
Rep. Hill also spoke on this subject and claimed the State Department is giving away our foreign markets while the CCC owns over 4,500,000 bags of dried beans which he claimed will have "to be given away later in exchange for token payments" (pp. 6690-1).

tom," to independent and executive agencies, where "no such protection prevails."

"Press conferences by cabinet officials, once a weekly institution, have become a rarity," he said. "Months go by without a single correspondent having direct access, in an open press conference, to a Department head. Public relations policies of Federal agencies more and more restrict the direct access of reporters to most officials."

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mrs. ST. GEORGE asked and was given permission to address the House for 30 minutes on Tuesday next, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, and to cancel her special order for Monday next.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 5 minutes today, following the legislative program and any other special orders heretofore entered.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 5 minutes today, following any special orders heretofore entered.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, this bill carries funds for payment of postal and other salaries and we had hoped to dispose of it at the earliest possible moment but in view of the circumstances, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my request at this time.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the motion.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the

House for 5 minutes tomorrow, following any special orders heretofore entered.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEW ENGLAND

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak about the discrimination by our Defense Departments against New England in giving out Government orders and Government assistance for national defense. That is what I am going to speak about today, and that is what I am going to speak about tomorrow. It is the most unjust discrimination I have ever known in national defense orders. I have watched the wheels go around in Washington since 1913, and the New England area has very just cause for complaint, and I feel almost enough cause for revolt. We have sent many of our men to fight. Many of our men have not been properly equipped. Now there seems to be an effort to prevent our section of the country from manufacturing the very things that are badly needed today in winning the war. There is something radically wrong going on, and I intend to have it thoroughly investigated.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

THE STRIKE SITUATION

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the President has been advising us as to the necessity of keeping the steel mills operating. We also are aware that a strike is on. Some 650,000 men are not working and undoubtedly if the strike follows in the usual course, picket lines will be thrown about the entrances to the plants, and men who have sons and brothers in the armed services and who are denied the opportunity to work are not permitted to work we will not have steel production. To at least help in solving this situation, I have introduced a resolution today,¹ which I hope

¹ [82d Cong., 2d sess., in the House of Representatives, Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan, introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on ———]

House Joint Resolution —

Joint resolution advising the President of his duty to aid in the national-defense program and the preservation of civil rights
Resolved, etc.—

Whereas a labor dispute and a strike involving not less than 600,000 men in the steel industry and other threatened disputes and strikes, if continued, will not only seriously and adversely affect our domestic economy but make it impossible to adequately supply and maintain the men who have volunteered or been conscripted to fight in a war brought on by the activities of the United Nations; and

Whereas the President seized certain industrial plants engaged in the production of

will be helpful. By it, the attention of the President is called to a section of the Federal law, section 5299 of the Revised Statutes, or section 203 of title 50 of the Code. Permit an excerpt:

That if domestic violence or unlawful combinations in any State obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws of the State or of the United States so as to deprive any portion or class of the people of the State of any of the rights or privileges or immunities named

steel, without which men in the Armed Forces in Korea and wherever else they might be engaged in active fighting will needlessly die; and

Whereas such seizure has, by the Supreme Court, been declared illegal; and

Whereas the President has failed to use Federal legislation, especially the Taft-Hartley Act, in an effort to solve the labor dispute and prevent the strike in the steel industry; and

Whereas the President is, by section 2 of article III of the Constitution, Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and of the militia of the sovereign States when called into actual service of the United States; and

Whereas by section 8, article I, of the Constitution, the Congress has authority for the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the Union and to suppress insurrections; and

Whereas the Congress has provided by section 5299 of the Revised Statutes, the same being section 203 of title 50 of the United States Code, that:

"Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State so obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection, named in the Constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or, from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the due execution thereof, or impedes or obstructs the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations"; and

Whereas it has been, and is, a common practice during strikes for pickets to, by force, violence, and by threat of force and violence and by the use of profane and obscene language, prevent workers from going peaceably to their places of employment; and

Whereas such acts are in many States violations of State law and a denial of civil rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and Federal laws; and

Whereas the President of the United States has failed to take measures either by the use "of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means" to suppress domestic violence or to secure to the people of the States the "equal protection of laws": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Congress that the President use and employ the Taft-Hartley Act, section 203 of title 50 of

in the Constitution or secured by the States—

Of course, one of those is the right to work, and some employees in the steel mills want to work at this time in order to support the Armed Forces—

Then—

And note this language please—

It shall be lawful for the President and it shall be his duty—

And I emphasize the word "duty"—to take such measures by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or of other means as he may deem necessary for the suppression of violence.

If the President instead of playing "footsie" with labor politicians will enforce the laws of the Nation and make it possible for citizens to enjoy the civil rights about which he talks so often and at such length, undoubtedly the steel strike will be solved and the men will go back to work.

PROGRAM FOR THURSDAY

(Mr. TABER asked and was given permission to proceed for 1 minute.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time in order that I may ask the gentleman from Tennessee a question as to which conference report will come first tomorrow, the third supplemental appropriation bill, the mutual security bill, or something else?

Mr. PRIEST. I may say to the distinguished gentleman from New York that the first order of business tomorrow will be the conference report on the third supplemental appropriation bill.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. When does the gentleman expect the vote to come on the so-called GI bill of rights?

Mr. PRIEST. The vote on that bill will come as soon as we can get to it. Several things have had to go over until tomorrow.

The first order of business tomorrow will be consideration of the conference report on the third supplemental appropriation bill, and immediately following the conference report the vote will be had on the GI bill.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Can the gentleman give us any information about the program for Friday?

Mr. PRIEST. I cannot at this time, but as soon as possible I will do so.

the United States Code, and any other applicable Federal legislation, or authority, to amicably, or otherwise, end existing labor disputes and strikes which injuriously affect the public health, welfare, or safety or the equipment of the Armed Forces; and be it further

Resolved, That the President be advised that it is the sense of the Congress that he maintain through the use of the Armed Forces of the United States and of the States law and order in the States wherever force, violence, or rioting or the threat of force, violence, or rioting prevents the operation of any industrial plant, or results in the denial of civil rights.

INCREASE IN POSTAL RATES

(Mr. LESINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to amend Public Law 233 which was recently enacted by the Congress in order to bring about a much-needed increase in the postal rates. The amendment which I offer is designed to correct what appears to have been an oversight in that Public Law 233 failed to repeat a part of the old postal law relating to the privilege of using bulk or pound rates when mailing second-class matters—a privilege which has been available to publishers of second-class matter since 1879. It has come to my attention that as a result of failing to retain this provision of the old law, certain nonprofit service organizations must now pay 2 cents per copy to mail a substantial portion of their magazines as compared with 1½ cents per pound which they paid under the old law. To these organizations, this change in their second-class mailing privilege means a rate increase of over 1000 percent on the portion of their circulation affected, and a rate increase of 500 percent in their over-all postal bill.

Now, I do not believe that when the Members of the House voted for Public Law 233 they ever intended to increase anybody's postal bill by 500 percent. I listened carefully to the testimony before the Post Office Committee on the postal rate revision bill and I heard not one word about changing the basic law with respect to the privileges of publishers using the second-class mail. The committee report and the report of the conference committee on the bill which later became Public Law 233 listed no such change; indeed, they stated that this law merely provided certain general uniform increases in the rates and did not disturb the basic postal law. And in stating the position of the Post Office Department on this bill, Postmaster General Donaldson appeared also to be of this view, for he flatly said:

I feel most strongly that there should be an increase in the rates for all publications of the second-class and that no preferences or special consideration should be given to any groups of publications other than as covered by existing law.

And yet, when the bill was finally passed it did, by its omission, wipe out certain privileges covered by existing law.

To sum the matter up, Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that when we considered Public Law 233 we all recognized that the second-class postal rates were too low and had to be increased. But we intended to and thought we were accomplishing this increase in a fair and equitable way by a uniform general increase in the rates of all users of the privilege. It now appears we did not entirely succeed in this and as a result some people have been subjected to immediate increases of 500 percent and more in their rates. I believe that there is a principle of fairness here which we

cannot escape and an oversight which we must correct as quickly as we can.

My amendment does not create any new class of free riders. Nor does it deprive the Post Office of any revenue to which it was entitled under the old law, because the persons affected here will still have to pay the same uniform general increase in their second-class bulk rates that every other publisher does. My amendment merely restores the protection which these privileges have always enjoyed under the postal laws and, under the circumstances, I believe we must do just that.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITED STATES SCIENTIFIC ACADEMY

(Mr. FURCOLO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FURCOLO. Mr. Speaker, recent developments in the scientific field have led me to again bring to the attention of the House two proposals I have made in the last 4 years.

One was my proposal to establish a United States Scientific Academy along lines similar to those of West Point and Annapolis except in a scientific field.

Another proposal that I made back in January of 1949 was the Federal scholarship plan that I had discussed with Members many times. Under it, the Government would make it possible for qualified students to go on to higher education even when they themselves were in financial need and unable to pay for it. Under the Federal scholarship plan I suggested, that could be done without any cost at all to the Federal Government.

The reason for my talk today is that there has been a growing manpower shortage in scientific fields. That shortage is going to continue and is going to be increased.

On March 25, 1952, Dr. Edgar C. Britton, president of the American Chemical Society, spoke about the manpower shortage in chemistry at the one hundred and twenty-first national meeting of the society.

After pointing out that the manpower shortage in chemistry is growing so acute that it may well undermine both the Nation's defense program and the civilian economy, Dr. Britton said:

The situation has grown particularly acute within the past year. It will soon become critical unless the Nation takes drastic action to build up and maintain an adequate supply of chemists and chemical engineers.

Another statement that should alarm us is that of Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Gordon Dean. Pointing out that the Commission would need 7,000 extra scientists and engineers to carry out a proposed expansion of America's atomic program he said it could cause one of the greatest shortages of technicians the United States ever suffered.

There is a great deal more evidence, of course, of the acute situation but I cite the above facts as illustrations of what is facing this country. It is also interesting to note that Russia is using every possible means to increase the

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued June 6, 1952
For actions of June 5, 1952
S2nd-2nd, No: 97

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HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to conference report on 3rd supplemental appropriation bill. Senate debated defense production bill. Senate made agricultural appropriation bill its unfinished business. Senate received nomination of Duggan to FCA. Senate committee reported bill to increase school lunch funds for territories and possessions. House adopted conference report on foreign aid bill. House passed cotton parity standard bill. House passed Korean veterans' G. I. bill. Conferees agreed on report for road authorization bill.

SUMMARY

1. **THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952.** Both Houses agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 6947, and acted on amendments which had been reported in disagreement. The bill was then sent to the President. . The House agreed to the Senate amendment providing \$300 pay increases for certain \$14,000 officials. The House also agreed to the provision that the snack-jumper facilities item be the total cost of the project. The House reduced the item for Civil Service Commission investigations to \$4,000,000, and the Senate concurred in this action. In addition to the items listed in Digest 95, the bill, as finally passed, also contains an item of \$4,000,000 (Senate figure) for the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is largely for the Mexican farm-labor program. During House debate, Rep. Fisher moved that the bill be recommitted to conference with instructions that the House conferees insist on disagreement to the Senate amendment increasing the amount for the farm-labor program, but this motion was rejected, 35-149. (pp. 6709; 6747-56.)

2. **DEFENSE PRODUCTION.** Continued debate on S. 2594, to continue and amend the Defense Production Act (pp. 6702-10, 6712-39). Rejected, 27-54, a Dirksen amendment barring price ceilings after Sept. 1, 1952, on any material or service unless it is in short supply or threatens inflation (pp. 6703-6). Voted, 42-38, in favor of a McFarland motion to postpone debate on this bill until Mon., June 9, after Sen. Byrd had presented an amendment advising the President to use the Taft-Hartley Act in connection with the steel strike.

3. AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1953. This bill, H. R. 7314, was made the unfinished business (pp. 6740, 6742). Sen. Douglas gave notice that he will move to suspend the rules and offer an amendment which would make Sec. 32 of the Act of Aug. 24, 1935 (relating to disposal of surplus commodities) merely an authorization rather than a permanent appropriation. In addition, Sens. Williams, Case, and Douglas submitted various amendments which they intend to propose to the bill. (p. 6701.)
4. NOMINATION. Received the nomination of Ivy W. Duggan to be Governor of ECA for 6 years from June 15, 1952 (p. 6744).
5. SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee reported with amendments H. R. 1732, to increase the school lunch program allotments for the territories and possessions (S. Rept. 1677)(p. 6698).
6. PERSONNEL. The Rules and Administration Committee reported with amendments S. 3061, to permit and assist Federal personnel and their families to exercise their voting franchise (S. Rept. 1675)(p. 6698).
7. MIGRATORY LABOR. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) a new bill to establish a Federal Commission on Migratory Labor (p. D544).
8. PUBLIC LANDS; TAXATION. Sen. Humphrey inserted a Minneapolis City Council resolution favoring additional Federal payments in lieu of taxes on public lands (p. 6697).
9. FARM CREDIT. Sen. Humphrey inserted a Fergus Falls Production Credit Association resolution favoring legislation to make the cooperative farm credit system more independent of the Federal Government (pp. 6697-8).

HOUSE

10. FOREIGN AID. Adopted the conference report on H. R. 7005, to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (pp. 6774-78).
11. COTTON PARITY. Passed, 156-62, as reported H. R. 5713, providing that Low Middling seven-eighths-inch cotton shall be the standard grade for determining parity and price support for the 1952 cotton crop if this Department makes an official estimate that the 1952 crop will equal or exceed 16 million bales. This bill is designed to protect farmers against a disastrous price decline if they produce 16 million bales or more in 1952. (pp. 6751-4.)
12. VETERANS' BENEFITS. Passed, 361-1, as reported H. R. 7656, authorizing educational and training allowances for Korean veterans. The bill also provides home farm, and business loan credit assistance, old age and survivors' insurance credits, and employment assistance. (pp. 6759-61.)
13. ROAD AUTHORIZATIONS. Conference on H. R. 7340, authorizing appropriations for road construction in 1954 and 1955, agreed to file (but did not actually file) a conference report. The "Daily Digest" states that the conferees agreed to an annual total of \$550 million for Federal aid to highway systems for each of the fiscal years. (p. D547.)
14. APPROPRIATIONS. Agreed to conferences with the Senate on the following bills:
H. R. 6854, Treasury-Post Office Appropriation bill for 1953, appointing as conferees Reps. Gary, Fernandez, Passman, Sieminski, Cannon, Canfield, Wilson (Ind.), James, and Taber. (p. 6745). Senate conferees were appointed April 29.

Kefauver	McKellar	Smathers
Kam	Millikin	Smith, Maine
Kilgore	Monroney	Smith, N. J.
Knowland	Moody	Smith, N. C.
Lehman	Morse	Sparkman
Long	Mundt	Stennis
Martin	Neely	Thye
Maybank	Nixon	Underwood
McCarra	O'Connor	Watkins
McCarthy	O'Mahoney	Welker
McClellan	Pastore	Wiley
McFarland	Robertson	Williams

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN].

Mr. CAIN. I ask for the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business, having been appointed a delegate from the United States to the International Labor Organization Conference, which is to meet in Geneva, Switzerland.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent by leave of the Senate.

I announce further that if present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] would each vote "nay."

Mr. BRIDGES. I announce that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. SEATON], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. ECTON], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPP], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] are detained on official business.

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] is absent by leave of the Senate. If present and voting the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 46, as follows:

YEAS—29

Bennett	Cordon	McCarthy
Brewster	Dirksen	Millikin
Bricker	Duff	Mundt
Bridges	Dworshak	Nixon
Butler, Md.	Ferguson	Thye
Byrd	Hickenlooper	Watkins
Cain	Kem	Welker
Capehart	Knowland	Wiley
Case	Martin	Williams
	McCarra	

NAYS—46

Aiken	Hoey	Moody
Anderson	Holland	Morse
Benton	Humphrey	Neely
Chavez	Hunt	O'Connor
Clements	Ives	O'Mahoney
Douglas	Johnson, Tex.	Pastore
Eastland	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson
Ellender	Kefauver	Smathers
Frear	Kilgore	Smith, Maine
Fulbright	Lehman	Smith, N. J.
Gillette	Long	Smith, N. C.
Green	Maybank	Sparkman
Hayden	McClellan	Stennis
Hendrickson	McFarland	Underwood
Hennings	McKellar	
Hill	Monroney	

NOT VOTING—21

Carlson	Kerr	Russell
Connally	Langer	Saltonstall
Ecton	Lodge	Schoeppel
Flanders	Magnuson	Seaton
George	Malone	Taft
Jenner	McMahon	Tobey
Johnson, Colo.	Murray	Young

So Mr. CAIN's amendment was rejected.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1952—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hill in the chair). The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 3, 1952, pp. 6597-6598.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the report was considered and agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its action on certain amendments of the Senate to House bill 6947, which was read, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
June 5, 1952.

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 3, 5, 22, and 45, to the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, and concur therein;

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7 to said bill and concur therein with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Oklahoma, \$12,500.

"For payment to Lyla H. Murray, widow of Reid F. Murray, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, \$12,500.

"For payment to Anna M. Byrne, and Elizabeth B. Turkenkoph, sisters of William T. Byrne, late a Representative from the State of New York, one-half to each, \$12,500."

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 25 to said bill and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

After the words "Public Law", in line 5 of said amendment, insert "298, Eighty-second Congress," and, in line 7 of said amendment, change "\$6,500,000" to "\$4,000,000."

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 47 to said bill and concur therein with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"CHAPTER XII

"CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND JUDGMENTS

"For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in House Document No. 471, Eighty-second Congress, and Senate Document No. 103, Eighty-second Congress, \$6,490,662, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: *Provided*, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: *Provided further*, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more than 30 days after the date of approval of this act."

Mr. McKELLAR. Amendment No. 7 provided an appropriation to the widow of George B. Schwabe. The House has added the beneficiaries of Representatives Byrne and Murray.

Amendment No. 25 provided an appropriation of \$6,500,000 for investigations by the Civil Service Commission. The House insisted on the appropriation being reduced to \$4,000,000.

Amendment No. 47 provided an appropriation to pay judgments and authorized claims. The House added additional judgments which were submitted in House Document No. 471.

I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 7, 25, and 47.

The motion was agreed to.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT
AMENDMENTS OF 1952

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2594) to extend the provisions of the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, and the Housing and Rent Act of 1947, as amended.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 10, line 22, after the word "area", it is proposed to insert the words "including any

community owned and operated by the Federal Government."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR].

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I do not intend to object—

Mr. CAPEHART. Does the Senator from South Carolina intend to accept the amendment and take it to conference?

Mr. MAYBANK. I intend to do that after certain things are done.

Mr. CAPEHART. I understand.

Mr. MAYBANK. As I understand the amendment, it grants the people of Oak Ridge the right to vote, as people in other Federal communities have the right, and they should have that right.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator for his statement.

Mr. MAYBANK. I shall be more than pleased to take the amendment to conference, with the hope that the conferees will agree to it.

The Senator from Connecticut has asked me if I would yield him a few minutes so that he could introduce a joint resolution. He could not introduce it without being yielded to for that purpose.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me just a moment?

Mr. MAYBANK. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. At Oak Ridge, which is a community where there is an atomic energy plant, the Government owns all the property. Sometime last fall, I believe in November, the rents charged the people who lived on that project were raised. Those people have no right to vote. They have no city government, they have no municipal government of any kind. They are controlled by a corporation that is domiciled outside of the State of Tennessee. As I have said, the people there have no right to vote. But their rents were raised 18 percent, and later notice was given them that the rents were to be raised an additional 28 percent.

The Senate agreed with me when the notice of rent increase was given, and prohibited that action, but I want the people to be put on the same basis with those in other communities in our country where citizens have a right to vote. That is all there is to this amendment.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Tennessee permit a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. BRICKER. What is the total amount of the land on which the Government has increased the rental on its own property in Oak Ridge?

Mr. McKELLAR. The rental has been raised only 18 percent up to this date, but those in control desire to increase it 28 percent more. The Senator will probably recall that I offered an amendment to prohibit that, and it was agreed to.

Mr. BRICKER. It was agreed to by the conferees.

Mr. MAYBANK. The increase was prohibited last year under the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. We prohibited it last year, and our desire is to give the people the same right those in other communities have.

SECOND COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining on the pending amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina has 12 minutes left.

Mr. MAYBANK. I yield 8 minutes to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BENTON]. However, I wish to say to the Senator that I cannot yield him any more time than that.

Mr. BENTON. I am grateful to the Senator from South Carolina. Eight minutes will be sufficient, but it will prevent me from yielding for questions.

Mr. President, for myself and the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. O'CONNOR] I send to the desk for appropriate reference a joint resolution for the establishment of the Second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 163) for the establishment of the Second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, introduced by Mr. BENTON (for himself and Mr. O'CONNOR) was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. BENTON. Mr. President, I am much pleased to see so many Senators on the floor as I give this brief explanation.

Perhaps many of my colleagues noticed a newspaper story published yesterday morning, reporting on a letter from former President Hoover to the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, of the House of Representatives. I wish there were time to read the whole letter, Mr. President, but the first part of it which I commend to the Congress is the two sentences, which I should now like to read. President Hoover gives these as general comment on the 29 separate legislative measures, calling for various kinds of reorganizations, now before the House committee. He states:

You will, as in all the enactments you have already made, be confronted with opposition. They will have the familiar form "reorganize everybody but me" or "don't touch that agency," it's sacred."

Mr. Hoover ends his letter with a paragraph which carries number 9, as follows:

To reestablish the Commission on Organization, 13 bills. While many commission recommendations have been adopted during the past 3 years, there are important reor-

ganizations of the Post Office, Treasury, Interior, Agriculture Department, the Veterans Administration and the Federal Security Agency which are not fully dealt with in the 29 bills before your committee. We must also recognize the enormous increase in Federal activities since the Commission's recommendations. I suggest, therefore, that these proposals to reestablish the Commission go over to the next Congress. It would be desirable that they should appoint a new Commission to examine these uncompleted tasks and to make recommendations on them. Moreover, the increase in the Federal Budget from about \$40,000,000,000 annually to about \$90,000,000,000 creates new problems of organization which should be studied.

Mr. President, I was most actively interested in this whole subject during my first year and a half in the Senate, when I had the privilege of serving on the Committee on Government Operations. During the year 1950, I was the only Member of the Senate who spoke on the floor with respect to some of the Hoover proposals. It may be recalled that during that year, 34 proposals came to the Senate, based on recommendations of the Hoover Commission, and 27 were approved.

In the Eighty-second Congress, only six plans have been submitted by the President. One pertaining to the RFC was approved last year. One relating to the Bureau of Internal Revenue has been approved this year. Three plans are pending—namely, for the Post Office Department, collectors of customs, and United States marshals—and they will go into effect on June 21, unless disapproved. The fifth and final plan with reference to the District of Columbia, will go into effect, unless disapproved, on July 1.

Mr. President, it does not seem to me that the Congress should delay in accepting this recommendation and suggestion of former President Hoover, who calls for the establishment of a second Commission on Organization. Let us start on this at once. The total cost to the taxpayers of the first Commission was, as I recall, roughly \$2,000,000. I suppose that the American people have had a greater return from that \$2,000,000, in increased efficiency and savings in the operation of the Federal Government, than from any other money spent in this generation. Why wait a year for the follow-up which former President Hoover recommends. Starting at once, instead of next year, may save hundreds of millions of dollars. There is one saving alone, not yet acted on, which President Hoover estimated to me, when I visited with him in his apartment in New York 2 years ago, at the vast sum of \$400,000,000 annually. This one project alone warrants a second Commission.

My resolution is modeled exactly after the prior resolution in 1947 which established the first Commission on Organization. The proposed Commission would be entirely nonpartisan and nonpolitical; appointed in exactly the same manner as the Commission of which ex-President Hoover was chairman. The only difference is that, instead of giving to the second Commission as its duty and

[Mr. JAVITS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House today for 5 minutes, following any special orders heretofore entered.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6947) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 91]

Aandahl	Gamble	Morano
Anderson, Calif.	Gore	Morris
Bakewell	Hale	Moulder
Beckworth	Hall, Edwin	Murphy
Blackney	Arthur	Nelson
Blatnik	Havener	Potter
Bramblett	Hillings	Powell
Brehm	Hinshaw	Redden
Buckley	Holfield	Rees, Kans.
Buffett	Hope	Regan
Burdick	Hunter	Sabath
Carlyle	Jackson, Calif.	Sadlak
Case	Jenkins	Sheppard
Celler	Johnson	Short
Cole, Kans.	Keating	Stigler
Cooley	Kennedy	Stockman
Crawford	Kerr	Sutton
Curtis, Mo.	King, Calif.	Tackett
Davis, Tenn.	Lovre	Taylor
Dawson	Lyle	Welch
Denton	McCormack	Werdel
Doyle	McGrath	Wheeler
Eaton	McKinnon	Wilson, Ind.
Fenton	McVey	Wood, Ga.
Frazier	Martin, Iowa	Yorty
	Miller, Calif.	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 351 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1952

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the statement of the managers on the part of the House.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of June 3, 1952.)

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, this bill has been unnecessarily delayed. It passed the House on March 13. It was sent to conference April 29. It should have been disposed of before the end of that week. Agreement was reached on all amendments except one having no relation to any item in the bill and which would not have affected the situation it purported to remedy in the slightest.

It is a rule of conference that the House proposing an amendment on which agreement cannot be reached must accept responsibility for failure of the bill.

The House, in order to take every possible step to insure payment of salaries when due, passed a continuing resolution and transmitted it to the other body before the Easter holidays. It was pigeon-holed until last week when it was finally returned with the same monkeywrench amendment.

The regrettable feature is that this bill carries provisions for the pay of a vast number of Government workers. Due to this unwarranted delay, hundreds of thousands of Government employees, a large number of them in the lower brackets failed to receive their pay last pay day and will continue without pay until this conference report is agreed to. Many of them have been driven to the loan sharks and all of them have been compelled unexpectedly to readjust their financial routine.

The House managers have made every effort to avoid this situation and is urging prompt action this afternoon.

The situation is accurately reported by Joseph Young in his column The Federal Spotlight in the Washington Star of yesterday, June 4, 1952, in part, as follows:

THE FEDERAL SPOTLIGHT

(By Joseph Young)

The payless pay-day situation involving Government employees could have been avoided easily if Congress had shown some foresight, Federal officials say.

The House is not blamed.

Of course, now that House-Senate conferees have agreed on the third supplemental bill, the threat of payless pay days has vanished. Final enactment by the House and Senate is regarded as a mere formality and should take place either today or tomorrow.

But for the last week or so Federal employees have been subjected to a severe case of jitters regarding their pay.

And more than 500,000 postal workers, most of them in the lower-salary brackets, who live from pay check to pay check, already have missed out on their pay this week. At best, their pay checks will be from 3 to 4 days late.

These postal workers are hard-working and conscientious. To deny them their pay was a shabby way for Congress to show its appreciation of their loyal service to the American public.

Fortunately, most other Federal departments and agencies don't have their pay days until next week. Thus, most Federal workers were spared a payless pay day. Employees in several agencies, among them the Small Defense Plants Administration and the Railroad Retirement Board, were not so fortunate and have missed a pay day.

The entire situation could have been avoided, if the Senate had approved the House-passed emergency resolution that would have permitted regular pay days while the third supplemental bill containing the funds was tied up in conference.

Over a month ago, the House prepared for this contingency by approving the emergency resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, there are some things in this conference report that I do not like, but for my own part I do not believe I shall offer a motion to recommit, although I would support one if it were offered with reference to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which has an increase of \$1,400,000 to carry the Mexicans who come into the United States illegally back to Mexico in airplanes. It sounds like a rather gorgeous way to treat these people. Of course they will come back again right away for another airplane ride. It sounds so silly that I cannot imagine any department getting into it. Frankly, I do not see how that outfit could spend \$4,000,000 in 1 month, anyway. I do not believe such a thing ought to happen.

There is another item, which the other body put in, amendment No. 54, a limitation with reference to expenditures in connection with the steel seizure. For my own part, I would like to see that carried, but I shall not ask for a roll call, or may any motion with reference to that because there are so many people who feel that now the President has acquiesced in the decision of the Supreme Court, and we will not have any more such operations.

I think that is all I care to say at this time except that these salaries of the employees, which are held up, unquestionably have been held up because of the failure of the other body to pass the continuing resolution, which was sent to them as early as the 9th day of April, and because of the delay in this conference. This bill has been in conference now for practically a month, and that is a much longer time than ordinary circumstances would justify the bill being in conference.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is there any appropriation here for conveyances for certain disabled veterans, and money to pay the widows' and orphans' insurance benefits?

Mr. TABER. I think there is. It was in the bill when it went to the other body; was it not?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. As I understand it, it was in that bill.

Mr. TABER. There were no amendments which related to anything of that kind which were under consideration in the conference, and as I understand it, those things are all in this bill.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is that correct, may I ask the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON]?

Mr. CANNON. There is an item of \$25,000,000 in the bill for that purpose. This amount was inserted by the House

with the cooperation of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And there is also the money to pay the widows' and orphans' insurance benefits?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And that will be paid at once?

Mr. TABER. That is not a question in disagreement so it does not appear in the conference report. The conference report only relates to the amendments adopted in the other body, and those items which were not amended would not be mentioned in the conference report. It is not customary to bring a bill back from conference and mention in the conference report anything except that which is in disagreement between the two Houses.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Furthermore, that was not passed in the continuing resolution.

Mr. CANNON. I might say in response to the inquiry of the gentlewoman that every item requested by the Veterans' Bureau is included in the bill in full. There was no reduction of any kind in any amount of any of the budget estimates submitted to the committee for the Veterans' Bureau.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am very glad for that.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER].

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, at the proper time, I propose to offer a motion to recommit this conference report, with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist upon the disagreement to Senate amendment No. 16, which pertains to an expenditure referred to a moment ago by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]. It refers to a nonessential spending item which this House on three different occasions has stricken out when it has had the issue debated and explained. I think you are entitled to know exactly what it is and what you are doing. Of course, I am not unmindful of the difficulty under which we are legislating today. I recognize the pressure that is coming from the fact that the postal employees are overdue in their pay checks. That has been emphasized as one of the reasons for rushing this through. We are all anxious to get those checks to the postal employees.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Why do they have to have 40 automobiles in this item?

Mr. FISHER. Yes. It includes 40 automobiles. They were given a good many automobiles a year ago. There are many other expenditures that are absolutely not essential, including in particular the airlift into Mexico, the most inexcusable part of it.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PHILLIPS. All the gentleman intends by his motion will be to correct this one item of excessive expenditures, particularly as applying to the airlift, which has proven a very expensive item, and also one which creates difficulties in Mexico, as well as in the United States?

Mr. FISHER. That is correct. I assume that the conferees could agree in 5 minutes on this correction, and that the House could then adopt the report in 5 minutes. There might be involved here a matter of holding up the pay checks possibly 30 minutes.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. CROSSER. I have had a number of calls from the lower-income groups, saying that they have been compelled to go to loan agencies, and so on, to get money to keep going.

Mr. FISHER. Yes. I understand that is true. Those people are entitled to be paid promptly.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Will the gentleman yield briefly further?

Mr. FISHER. I yield.

Mr. PHILLIPS. As I understand it, in making your motion to recommit, there will be specific instructions on this point, so that there will be no misunderstanding?

Mr. FISHER. That is correct.

Mr. PHILLIPS. My own opposition is directed to the airlift item, which I think is extravagant and unfortunate.

Mr. FISHER. Certainly it is, and this House has acted on that subject three different times. It is also proposed to increase the number of people on the Federal payroll, to a certain extent, and for the construction of two large concentration camps, one in California and one in Texas, which would replace the system that has been used for a hundred years of contracting the retention of prisoners at local jails, which has worked fairly well and economically. Here it is proposed to appropriate money for the construction of two large detention camps. That would mean a complete administrative set-up at each facility and it would mean administration officers, conveyances, all kinds of utilities; a complete, brand new set-up of administrative procedure, which would be very expensive and which, of course, would go on for a long time. The hearings simply do not justify this expenditure.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Will the gentleman tell us during what period of time the money which is here appropriated is to be spent?

Mr. FISHER. As I understand it, this is for the balance of this fiscal year.

Mr. POAGE. And that ends in about 3 weeks, does it not?

Mr. FISHER. That is correct.

Mr. POAGE. In other words, this money must then be intended to pay for alleged services and commodities that were supposed to have been furnished in months past, and this House has here-

before specifically refused to authorize an appropriation for these services and commodities, particularly the airlift?

Mr. FISHER. The gentleman is correct. A reading of the hearings will disclose that part of this money was to have been spent last April and May and this June, for the payment of salaries which the House refused to go along with when the matter was before the House. And it refers to the operation of the airlift during May and June.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. POAGE. It is true, is it not that this House has affirmatively acted upon the question of whether this should be spent for this airlift and it was decided that it should not be?

Mr. FISHER. Yes; the House decided three different times that this should not be done. The bill, of course, does not specify or identify it, but the hearings indicate that the money appropriated was for the purposes to which the gentleman has already referred.

Mr. POAGE. In other words, if this money is appropriated, as is proposed by this conference report, this House will be voting \$1,400,000 of public funds that we say we need in order to meet the payroll of the postal employees. We have got to raise the money somewhere to pay those employees. If we pay it out for an airlift we will not have it to pay to the postal employees. To agree to the conference report as it now stands would be to vote \$1,400,000 to pay certain bills we specifically said should not be incurred. If we do that how can we continue to make any pretense of economy?

Mr. FISHER. That is exactly correct.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. In just a moment, if the gentlemen will get me proceed.

Let me recall to your minds a little of the history of this. On March 12 the House defeated an identical item before it by a vote of 105 to 48; they said it was nonessential and struck it out. Then in the regular appropriation bill for the next fiscal year we had a \$4,000,000 item for the same three purposes in there, and a record vote was taken at that time. That was a month or two ago. At that time the House acted again and by a vote of 193 to 126—that was April 4—the House struck it out.

Then, last August, they had it in the appropriation bill, and the gentleman from Iowa, who is now standing, offered an amendment to strike that \$4,000,000 out of the bill, and it was carried overwhelmingly. So, on three different and separate occasions the House has expressed its will on this identical subject and said that this type of nonessential spending should not be incurred by the Federal Government. Here we have it back again this time. Last summer, by the way, after the House struck out the \$4,000,000 item, it went over to the other body, and they put in \$3,000,000. Then the committee on conference finally reported it at \$1,000,000, and the House approved that. Then this time we struck

out all of it, and it comes back; they restored the full amount, and it is back here now with the full amount.

What we are doing is to ask that this be recommitted in order that the will of the House may be protected, after having expressed itself three different times, and the conference brought back and approved without this item being in it.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman now yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania for a question.

Mr. FULTON. May I ask this question: If the gentleman's motion to recommit this bill prevails, will that not send this appropriation bill back to conference? And is it not a fact that this bill has been held in conference through no fault of this House for a period of more than 30 days? So it will not require just a 5-minute delay if the gentleman's motion prevails?

There is a binding obligation on the Government that our employees' pay be paid on time. I know, personally, that failure to pay the postal employees currently results in severe and needless hardship on workers who are doing a fine job, and, in addition, lowers morale and efficiency.

Mr. FISHER. The gentleman can figure that out to suit himself. I see no reason why they should take very much time. We are under pressure; and, of course, the conferees would be under pressure, and I know they would act expeditiously. I can see no reason why there would be any quibbling among the conferees when this is called to their attention. This is for the present fiscal year, and the justification for it had to do with expenditures in April, May, and June.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield.

Mr. ROONEY. Does the gentleman realize that the conferees on behalf of the other body were unanimous in insisting upon the restoration of this money to the bill? When the gentleman says it would take only 5 minutes for the conferees to agree on this, the gentleman is not properly informed, in my opinion.

Mr. FISHER. Oh, well, the gentleman is not doing himself justice. I know that. I feel very confident that with his powers of persuasion he could probably get a little concession out of the Senate. I think the Senators would like for this bill to be passed and the conference report adopted. We know that they are hearing from home also, and they also want to pay the postal employees without delay.

Has the gentleman explained to them the fact that they may have misunderstood that they are appropriating money here to do something last April and May?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Texas two additional minutes.

Mr. FISHER. I would like to ask the gentleman if he called the attention of the Senate conferees during conference

to the fact this appropriation has to do with items the justification for which called for expenditure last April, May, and this month?

Mr. ROONEY. The gentleman is incorrect in his particulars with regard to this item. He has given the House a great deal of misinformation in the last 10 minutes. The gentlemen representing the other body on the conference committee were and are fairly familiar with it. At the time of the action, this item was agreed upon in conference, the House conferees were unanimous, and I say that for the reason there was no objection at that point by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] or the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN]. It was upon the signing of the conference report almost a month later that the gentleman from New York first brought up any question on amendment in disagreement No. 16.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISHER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Both the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN] and I objected to the item when it was reached.

Mr. FISHER. I would like to suggest to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] that he read the hearings, particularly page 124 of the hearings, with respect to the correctness of what I said a moment ago. I quoted Mr. Mackey. He should know, should he not, because he asked for the money? He is the one who testified and said that it was to be used beginning early in April. He went on to say with regard to the airlift that it was to be used during May and June. Those are his words. I cannot believe that the gentleman would say I misrepresented. I am quoting from what Mr. Mackey said.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, there is no reason on earth why they could not agree on this in 5 minutes and save the taxpayers \$1,500,000. We have been doing pretty well this year in attempting to keep the fat out of these appropriation bills. Are we under pressure now going to throw in the sponge?

Let the conferees protect the integrity and the will of this House as expressed on three different occasions. Although I realize the House is prone to go along with the conference report, due to the pressing need to pay the postal employees whose salaries for June are 5 days overdue, I nevertheless feel that we should not forget our obligation to economize when we can. The recommitment of this conference should not delay those postal checks for even 1 day.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN].

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I suppose I should talk about the Immigration Bureau's special tourist-rate air-coach service to Guadalajara and other oases in southern Mexico. However, I am going to limit my remarks to just one item of this appropriation bill which includes a part of that my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER] has covered in his remarks.

I refer to the two prisons or stockades that are going to be built. The United States has had some difficulty and State governments have had some difficulty with their prisons recently. Here we have an item for two prisons or stockades to be built, one of them in my district, at a cost of \$250,000, and another also at a cost of \$250,000.

Let me give you some facts and figures. This is to contain illegal aliens. I used to be a member of a county government on the border, and I know what we did to help the Federal Government when it made its request to house these Federal prisoners. We spent thousands of dollars enlarging our jails along the border and improving them to meet Federal conditions so that we could house these illegal aliens. We did it at a cost to the Government of from \$1 to \$1.50 a day. That is what the Federal Government pays to house these illegal aliens in county jails in my district.

Now, after the counties have made this expenditure to improve and enlarge their jails, we see the Immigration Service turning around and saying, "No; we want to take them out of the jails that you have built; we want to put them in Federal prisons we are going to build along the border."

We know that the Federal Government cost averages over \$3 a day for the prisoners it houses; that in comparison with \$1 to \$1.50 a day they are paying the counties at this time. It just does not make sense. Just to choose an arbitrary figure of 2,000 prisoners, which I think would be conservative, this means an additional cost to the taxpayer of well over \$3,000 a day, plus the capital investment by the Government for the new prisons.

To show you the contradiction and waste at this time, there is a bill in the Judiciary Committee to allow counties to house their prisoners in Federal jails because in many parts of the country are Federal prisons overbuilt and standing partially vacant. Yet in this time of deficit financing, we find the Border Patrol asking to build new prisons when the situation is now being met in an economical manner by south Texas counties with a saving to the taxpayer.

Not only is the proposed construction uneconomical and expensive to the taxpayer, but it is a prime example of bad faith on the part of the Federal Government after they have encouraged our officers to increase their facilities at great expense to our taxpayers now to remove the prisoners and deny them the small source of revenue that would eventually pay for the improvements. I want to read to you a telegram I have just received from an able law enforcement officer of my district:

BROWNSVILLE, TEX., June 4, 1952.—Please oppose any move by United States Immigration to construct alien-detention camp in our area. This would be very detrimental to our good neighbor relations with Mexico regardless of what some Mexican officials might say. I have improved our county jail at great expense to our taxpayers at the request of Federal Bureau of Prisons and Immigration and can care for 600 prisoners at present. Our jail is inspected regularly by Federal Bureau of Prisons and has met every stand-

ard. I cannot see why more taxpayers' money should be spent to duplicate facilities already being used and adequate.

BOYNTON H. FLEMING,
Sheriff, Cameron County, Tex.

The Immigration Bureau has not received this money yet, and has seen the disapproval of the House of the expenditure of these funds, not just this time, but in times past, and yet they have gone ahead with their plans in utter disregard of the views the majority of this House expressed on this particular amendment when it was voted on some months ago.

The mayor of the city of Brownsville called me yesterday and told me that the Immigration Service said:

We want 3 acres of the Brownsville Airport on which to build our prison.

The mayor of Brownsville, Mr. Herb Stokely, in answering the inquiry for the site by the Immigration Bureau, said:

There is not a logical location.

It will be very expensive to build the facilities that will be needed to house these prisoners. You will have to put in complete sewerage facilities, plus many other items necessary for the welfare of the prisoners.

They further advised him that they were submitting plans of the prison, which included 12-foot control towers with searchlights and armament. When he told them he thought the expenditures were excessive, he quoted them as saying, "Don't you worry about that. We will get the money. We will make the expenditures."

It is obvious that a stockade or prison of this type, after the many disturbances we have seen throughout the country and abroad in prison and stockade management, will lead to further bad relations with Mexico, and will complicate the good-neighbor policy that has progressed so well between the citizens of Brownsville and Matamoros, and many other sister cities along the international border.

I have heard no complaints about the way the counties have met their obligations in their contracts with the Federal Government in the housing of these prisoners. They have invested considerable funds in modernization, enlargement, and improvement of their local jails in the area at the behest of the Federal Government, now only to find they are left holding the bag because the Immigration Bureau decides it wants to increase its staff and duties and go into the prison business on a grandiose scale.

Certainly our county jails' administration have not been plagued with riots, have seen no banner of defiance strung across the windows of the jails, nor any general criticism of their administration, nor have the prisoners been able to capture a single sheriff and hold him hostage.

The citizens of my district are interested in law enforcement, and certainly are ready to cooperate in solving the most difficult problem of the illegal alien. Those who attacked our citizenry as being wholesale law violators and slave-masters have been the victims of distorted pictures portrayed by a carefully conducted tour given them by the border patrol, who is trying to their utmost to

justify some of the asinine appropriations.

A congressional subcommittee recently visited my district, and stayed something like 24 hours, during which time they were in the hands of the border patrol and were shown what the border patrol wanted them to see. I regret very much that the gentlemen on that committee did not have the time or opportunity to fully study the facts involved in the problem of the illegal alien along the Rio Grande.

They were carefully given the plaintiff side of the case, but were given no opportunity to hear the defendant enter his rebuttal.

I suppose I could seize on isolated instances of lawlessness in Brooklyn, such as the Arnold Shuster incident, and say that because of these examples where men were shot down on the streets because they stood ready to advise the police of the presence of criminals, and say that this represented the attitude of the people of Brooklyn, but such, of course, would be a most unfair analysis, just as to choose isolated instances in my district and to condemn all the people for them would be unfair and unjust.

While the committee was in my district, I heard some stories quoted in the newspaper of ridiculously low wages being paid, and that the committee had been offered evidence of the facts. In the particular incidents that were described, I have tried repeatedly to obtain the names of the employee and the employer in order that we might have the full facts involved. None of this information has been forthcoming. I am confident that a full examination of the particular incidents would show there is much more to the story than has been told, and that the picture, as portrayed, has been vastly distorted to try to influence the members of the subcommittee.

Certainly the vast majority of the citizens in my district would never condone these incidents if they were true.

It is my hope that a committee of Congress will have an opportunity to visit my district again soon, and they will have time to be able to stay and investigate the problem fully—taking time to talk to laborers, border patrolmen, farmers, businessmen, and all representative groups that are interested in the welfare of south Texas—that they will not be subjected again to a tour conducted solely by a bureau who is trying to influence an increase in appropriations.

I think the example of the prisons or stockades that are proposed in the bill is such a clear extravagance and waste that it cannot be refuted.

Today we find the House conferees have accepted the Senate version on this expenditure in its entirety. The House is placed in an exceedingly difficult position, because this expenditure is tied to the pay checks of thousands of Government employees who are in arrears in their pay because of the length of time taken in conference on this bill. Even though I know that many of the Members of the House have not changed their minds on this particular amendment, and agree with me that it is a wasteful expenditure, they are faced with the fact

that it is a relatively small item, when taken in comparison with the huge appropriations involved in the over-all bill for a multitude of items. Particularly is this problem posed when we find thousands of Federal employees have had one payless pay day because of the delay in passage of this bill.

I regret the tactics by which this item has been returned to the House, surrounded by the pressure of the other items in the bill.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time in order to clear up a situation that has developed here. The gentleman who proposed to recommit this appropriation bill said the purpose of it was to build concentration camps. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] said it was to pay for expenditures already made. There seems to be a misunderstanding. The fact of the matter is—and I want my colleagues of the House to know—it is an attempt on the part of the people who backed the wetback legislation to prevent the immigration authorities from properly controlling the wetback situation. They do not want them to have money to control that situation; they want to run it so that they can use these wetbacks on their farms while they are in this country illegally. I hesitate to make a direct charge like that, but that is the move back of this proposal to recommit this bill. I sincerely hope that the House will not be fooled by the intentions of the gentlemen who succeeded in getting the wetback legislation passed some months ago.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would be very much afraid to recommit this bill. We know what happened; we know the length of time the Senate took to act upon it before; we know that the Senate refused to act on the continuing resolution, and if it goes back to conference I feel that the veterans and the widows and the postal employees will not receive their just due, and it would be very cruel to them. I do not see how I can vote to recommit the bill.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. JENSEN. I am sure the gentlewoman would not want this House to pass this legislation without attempting to save \$1,400,000, and I am sure that the veterans and the postal workers and the rest of the folks would surely back this Congress up if they knew the facts and knew the story and knew that we were doing it to save \$1,400,000.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I doubt very much if you would save \$1,400,000. The Senate is not in a yielding mood.

Mr. JENSEN. Out in my country that is not hay, and it is not hay in most States. It may be one of these things that will finally break the camel's back

if we do not start saving a million here and there.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I do not think you will save it. The Senate will not yield, and in the meantime the people in these departments and the disabled should have their money.

Mr. JENSEN. I know they will get their money and it will not take more than a few hours at the most.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I believe it would take weeks, and we will be in adjournment before the bill will be passed.

Mr. JENSEN. We certainly will not.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the Members of this House will keep their attention on the fact that the postal employees had a payless payday on Monday of this week. In communities such as the one which I have the honor to represent, Brooklyn, N. Y., thousands of these low-bracket employees have had to go to finance companies and borrow cash at a premium in order to tide themselves over for a few days, so I trust that we shall not waste too many minutes in regard to the Mexican wetback labor controversy that has arisen. I would rather that the controversy had come at a time when we would each have an hour or two to debate the issue which the gentlemen from Texas have raised, because I can assure you that they have not been presenting an accurate picture. And, I include the gentleman from California.

Less than 2 months ago, during the week of April 14, I had occasion to visit the lower Rio Grande Valley with members of my committee. We were there only 24 hours, but in that short period of 24 hours we learned enough to be able to prove that the opposition to law enforcement along the border in Texas is not as it is represented here to be. I am now going to include with my remarks the names of some of the persons in the lower Rio Grande Valley who have shown their contempt for our Federal immigration laws and at the bottom of the picture you will find the almighty dollar.

We had a good look at the lower Rio Grande Valley, including an airplane ride at quite low altitude, and we saw these Mexican people, men and women, crossing the Rio Grande River in order to obtain work.

We happened, also, to visit a shed, not a Federal prison as referred to awhile ago, but a shed which our Immigration and Naturalization Service uses as a detention headquarters at McAllen, Tex. In that shed, in my presence, a farm foreman paid a young, dimwitted, able-bodied Mexican five \$1 bills for a week's work on a farm picking tomatoes.

While there at dusk on Tuesday, April 15, 1952, I saw another farm foreman, in my presence and in the presence of the members of our group, pay two young women of the age of 20 and 21, who had waded over the Rio Grande the

night before, a dollar each to cover the period they picked carrots beginning at 8 o'clock that morning until 4:30 that afternoon, when they were apprehended before the end of their day's work.

Certain employers of alien Mexican labor persist in encouraging illegal aliens to return to the United States after they have been deported by the border patrol. That is the reason you have to fly these aliens a couple of hundred miles south into Mexico, and down to Guadalajara.

Among the most flagrant offenders are the Schuster brothers, Carl and Frank, who have large farms located along the river south of Pharr and San Juan, Tex. These two brothers are among the largest operators in this territory and are both active in civic affairs in their community. They are violently opposed to immigration laws and to the personnel of the border patrol in trying to enforce such laws. They make open threats against individual patrol inspectors and the patrol as a unit and place every obstacle at their command in the way of the patrol in an effort to hamper them in their operations. Hundreds of aliens are apprehended from their farms weekly.

The Kremnueller brothers, Fred and Max, who are close relatives of the Schuster brothers, have adjoining farms to the Schusters and operate in the same manner as the Schuster brothers. Between these two large farming operations, thousands of aliens have been taken over the last year from this area alone. They show a complete lack of respect for all immigration laws. All of these people are prominent farmers in their communities and active in all civic affairs.

Henry Kawahata, a prominent Japanese-American farmer who has large holdings near Hidalgo, has consistently worked illegal aliens and openly states that he will continue to do so. He, too, has thrown every obstacle in the way of the patrol in an effort to impede the apprehension of aliens.

Allen Shivers, Governor of Texas, has large holdings near the Rio Grande and through his employees has consistently worked illegal aliens. He, too, has shown a disregard for the Federal immigration laws. Illegal aliens have been apprehended on his property weekly, and it is impossible to believe that Governor Shivers could be ignorant of these conditions.

Shary Farms, owned by Mrs. John H. Shary, mother-in-law of Allen Shivers, has extensive holdings throughout Hidalgo County, but principally in the vicinity of Mission and McAllen, Tex. Hundreds of aliens are apprehended on these farms and the property of this owner, and they show a flagrant disregard for all immigration laws.

Following are the names of farmers in different sections of the Rio Grande Valley who have consistently disregarded the immigration laws and who have made the enforcement of such laws as difficult as they possibly could for the border patrol:

In the McAllen area is J. K. Bottiger who resides on South Jackson Road and operates a farm adjacent to the Rio Grande, which is about 200 acres in size.

He employs aliens exclusively, has locked the entrances to his farms to prevent the apprehension of aliens in his employment, and is most insulting to the officers of the Immigration Service. He makes himself as offensive as possible to the men on each occasion they have to visit his farm to apprehend aliens.

A. F. Buchanan, Alamo, Tex., who farms several hundred acres of land in the floodway and south of the floodway near Alamo, consistently hires aliens, and though he does nothing to impede the Immigration Service in their efforts to apprehend the aliens, shows a complete disregard for all immigration laws.

Joe A. Cunningham, Jr., McAllen, building contractor, works large groups of aliens at various times in his contracting business, and upon every apprehension made of illegal aliens while in his employment, the patrol inspectors have had to endure insults and threats of bodily harm, and upon occasions have even endured such actions that in any other section of the United States the courts would have convicted him of assault upon a Federal officer in the performance of his duty.

In the Edinburg area the following show the most flagrant disregard of our immigration laws:

Bert W. Sheets, Elsa, Tex., who is a retired attorney and operates a small farm of about 100 acres. He consistently challenges the authority of patrol inspectors to enter upon his land to apprehend aliens without warrants and has ordered patrol inspectors off his property each time they find it necessary to go there.

The Gutowsky brothers of McAllen and Edinburg, who have extensive farming holdings in the vicinity of both towns and probably have about 700 or 800 acres of land in cultivation, have numerous wetback camps, and attempt to hide aliens from the patrol at all times. They have on many occasions attempted to interfere with the patrol in the performance of their duties and have always objected strenuously to having their aliens apprehended.

Milton D. Richardson, Monte Alto, Tex., county judge of Hidalgo County, has a large farm in the Monte Alto area northwest of Edinburg. Estimated acreage, about 700, and he consistently challenges the authority of the patrol to apprehend aliens employed by him. He has created ill will between Federal officers and county officers in that he has instructed county officers to give the border patrol no cooperation in any matter.

Joe Holms, Route 1, Edinburg, Tex., operates a farm of some 300 to 400 acres. He employs large numbers of aliens and resists all efforts of the patrolmen to apprehend such aliens. He has been most uncooperative and on occasions has threatened to beat up patrolmen who apprehended aliens while in his employment.

C. R. Parlman, Edinburg, Tex., owns 700 to 800 acres north of Edinburg and consistently employs aliens and resists efforts of patrolmen to apprehend his aliens whenever possible. During the last cotton season he closed roads on his

land, placed boards with nails in them extending upward across roads, stretched a chain between two posts in another road, the chain being placed about 12 to 15 inches above the ground. All these booby traps were placed on the roads leading into his property to prevent the border patrol from apprehending his aliens. He installed a siren on the roof of his tractor shed and used it to warn aliens of the approach of the border patrol.

Carroll Vernon, Edinburg, Tex., operates scattered farms in the dry-land area north of Edinburg between Faysville and San Manuel. He consistently employs aliens for all work on his farms, is most disagreeable and uncooperative to the Immigration Service. For example, on one occasion a Government-owned truck broke down near his home and he refused the driver the use of his telephone to call for assistance.

In the Mission area there have been several farmers who have flagrantly shown little respect for our immigration laws. Among them are Thomas Robertson, a prominent farmer and leader in the Mission community who has consistently resisted all efforts of the patrol to apprehend illegal aliens working on his various farms located north and west of Mission. He has openly stated to several patrol inspectors that he intended to work aliens and that if any man came on his farm without his permission that he intended to stop him with whatever means that would be at his hand, and that if it meant killing a patrol inspector, that is the way it would have to be.

The Banworth brothers, Arthur and Harold, who operate a large farm and ranch west of Mission along the river, have consistently resisted the efforts of the border patrol to apprehend their aliens and have openly stated they would use whatever means necessary to prevent their apprehension. They have kept their gates locked to prevent the border patrol from entering and apprehending aliens on their farms. Recently, they have attempted to contract braceros from Mexico. They have made threats against individual patrol inspectors and continuously attempt to lure patrol inspectors into arguments concerning the policy of the Immigration Service.

Jim Carpenter, who has large acreage along the river west of Mission and near Sullivan City, Tex., has always created much trouble for the patrol, has locked gates to his property and prevented patrol along the Rio Grande, and during the last cotton season his father assaulted three patrolmen with a shotgun and was later no-billed by a grand jury consisting of Rio Grande Valley farmers.

Jim Griffin, ex-Patrol Inspector and now prominent farmer near Mission, has holdings in the vicinity of Rio Grande City, Tex., and uses his knowledge of immigration law to consistently impede the border patrol in its efforts to apprehend aliens illegally in his employment. Mr. Griffin is the head of farm organizations which are constantly attempting to secure a more favorable bracero agreement with Mexico.

In the Harlingen area there are several prominent men who have large farms and businesses and who constantly use illegal aliens. Some of these are Bert Adams, Albert Wolf, Harlingen Compress Co., Valley Compress Co., Niagara Chemical Co. and H. E. Butt Canning Co. These companies and individuals consistently hire illegal aliens and impede the Immigration Service in every manner possible.

The following are the more flagrant offenders in the San Benito area: Billie Sojak, R. G. Smith, H. J. Garret, Frank Russell, John T. Chalick, Campbell Brothers, Robert West, W. D. Todd, Carl Stanford, John DeHaan, Kenneth Shuckman, Lee Joe Woods, Miguel Ramirez, G. W. McCain, George Bishop, Jesus Montalva, Woolam and Yarbrough, Porter and Wince, and Tilton Garrison. All of these men are large farmers or contractors and employ large groups of illegal aliens. The majority of them are prominent leaders in the communities in which they live. Many of them consistently place every obstacle available in the way of the border patrol to prevent them apprehending their aliens.

In the Weslaco area the following-named farmers constantly employ large groups of illegal aliens and resist all efforts of the border patrol in the apprehension of such aliens: J. S. McManus, packing shed and farms; Gulf Distributing Co. and packing shed; Bob Tankersly farm; Tony Taromina farms and canning company; C. W. Tyner farm; Boyce and Botton packing shed and farms; A. C. Fuller farms; G. I. Ripley farms; American Fruit Growers, Inc.; Happy Kitayama; Mummert farms; William and Hubert Drawe farms; McDaniel brothers farms; and E. W. Vertrees farms.

Brownsville area: Larry F. Lightner, owner of Lightner Products Co., Inc., a tremendously wealthy man who owns and operates farms consisting of hundreds of acres and leases, rents, and finances several thousand more acres. He has stated he did not have to legally contract braceros, that he could always get all the wetbacks he wanted by going down to the river and beating on a bucket to signal them across.

J. W. English farms about 400 acres immediately along the bank of the Rio Grande, hires illegal aliens who live immediately across the river from his farm, and states that the border patrolmen had better watch their coming around his place at night, they might get shot and that no jury here would ever convict anyone for shooting a border patrolman.

Paul Gilmore farm, about 300 acres across from Matamoros, Mexico, obtain all their labor from Matamoros and constantly complain about patrolmen abusing aliens. These charges are groundless and made to slow down the operation of the patrol.

E. E. Sadler, deputy United States marshal for the judicial district, was until recently openly using illegal aliens in his farming. He was very critical of the airlift operation and stated that it was illegal and unconstitutional, and that the border patrol should have been

airlifted to Mexico rather than the illegal aliens. Aliens have frequently and constantly been apprehended while in his employment.

Frank Russell, Russeltown and Olmito area, the largest and wealthiest farmer in the Brownsville territory. It is hard to determine just how much land he farms and what all his interests are. He farms at least 5,000 acres, has his own water district, his own cotton gin and drier, owns a large packing shed, and is reputed to be owner of oil wells in Oklahoma and large cattle and oil interests in Duval and La Salle Counties of Texas. His bookkeeper and manager is a brother-in-law of George Parr, political leader of south Texas. Frank Russell consistently uses large groups of illegal aliens in his operations and shows a complete disregard and contempt for all immigration laws.

Carlos G. Watson, United States Commissioner for south Texas judicial district, owner of Coronado Farms near Brownsville, prominent attorney and State secretary of the Republican Party of Texas, is next. Mr. Watson's employees quite often refuse to pay aliens who have been apprehended on his property and who have been employed by him, and he consistently challenges the authority of the Immigration Service.

The following are others who are just as contemptuous of the immigration laws as those I have mentioned but do not operate on as large a scale: George McGonigle; S. L. Turner; Mrs. M. R. McCormick; S. D. Ray; Jesse Dennett; W. E. Collins; Dean Porter; Floyd and Lynn Hoel, who have most recently been charged with assaulting two patrol inspectors with deadly weapons; A. B. and A. N. Baker; N. L. Ledbetter; Edward Ginn; J. G. Fernandez, president of First National Bank, Brownsville; Dr. R. F. Breeden; Pan-Am Foods, Inc.; R. M. Mathers & Sons, Frank and Charles; Douglas Risinger; J. H. Ginn II and J. H. Ginn III; C. E. Coffelt; H. H. Pope; Cameron County Water Control District No. 5, W. I. Gilson, manager; E. E. Mackbee; John H. and Earl Hunter; and L. P. Wilkinson.

Most of these people who are engaged in farming activities own or operate farms ranging from 200 acres up to 4,000 and 5,000 acres. Many of them have elaborate alarm systems set up to warn their aliens of approaching border patrolmen, and among these people are those that are and do conduct smear campaigns against the border patrol and the United States Immigration Service.

I am going to insert in the RECORD at this point a report to the chief patrol inspector at McAllen, Tex., made in February last by the patrol inspector in charge, Brownsville, Tex., concerning a conference with one J. H. Ginn, Jr., and his son, Mr. J. H. Ginn, Jr., is county commissioner for Cameron County, Tex., of which Brownsville is the county seat. It reads as follows:

The morning of February 19, 1952, Mr. J. H. Ginn, Jr., and his son J. H. Ginn, 3d, came to the Brownsville patrol office to protest the apprehension of aliens in their employ. Earlier the same morning Patrol

Inspectors Donald R. Hansis and Douglas S. Wilson had apprehended a number of aliens at the Ginn home farm. At the time of the apprehension the patrolmen were thoroughly cursed and vilified in a particularly lurid and imaginative manner by J. H. Ginn, 3d.

Mr. Ginn, the father, started the conference by apologizing for his son's behavior toward the patrolmen. Throughout the proceedings the father was very reasonable and pleasant. The basis of his complaint was that the patrolmen drove by his house, on a private road, in order to apprehend the aliens that were congregated around an implement shed approximately 1,000 yards beyond the house. On being questioned, Mr. Ginn stated: He had no objection to the manner in which the patrolmen drove down the road; he was satisfied that we were within our legal rights to enter and that he had no objection to our doing so; he stated we had never disturbed his family by passing the house and had never damaged his property in any way; he had always cooperated with the border patrol and did not object to our picking up his wetbacks, in fact, if we would call him on the phone he would bring the aliens into the office; but he did object to the lack of courtesy shown by not stopping at the house, bidding him good morning and telling him we were after his wetbacks.

I told Mr. Ginn that we always tried to be courteous and to conduct our operations in a manner becoming to officers and gentlemen but that I felt his request was impractical in that the aliens were almost certain to escape if the patrolmen stopped at the house before driving on and also such an act would be misconstrued by others to mean that we had to have permission to enter upon a farm. Mr. Ginn regretted that I felt that way but did not press the point. Instead he attempted to draw me into a discussion of politics in general, the probable actions of Congress in regards to pending immigration bills, the "Bracero" program, and economic conditions here in the Rio Grande Valley. During this discussion he made a blanket statement that he was not going to do any contracting under any labor agreement this year.

Mr. Ginn is a very prominent man. He is county commissioner for Cameron County and has extensive farm holdings as well as other interests and he has in the past consistently employed a great many illegal aliens.

He is very personable and was entirely reasonable throughout the conference but I do not believe he was completely satisfied with the interview and in my opinion there will be incidents whenever the operations of this unit interfere with his farm labor requirements to any appreciable extent. I am not satisfied as to the real purpose of his visit but I do not believe he is actually concerned with the courtesies he requested. I am satisfied, however, that whatever his purpose, if any, would not be compatible with the efficient removal of illegal entrant aliens from this territory.

As stated before Mr. J. H. Ginn, Jr., was very reasonable but Mr. J. H. Ginn III was extremely obnoxious, abusive and completely objectionable throughout the major period of time they were in the office. The father did most of the talking with the son interjecting uncontrolled outbursts of profanity and unfounded accusations directed against the border patrol. He, Mr. J. H. Ginn, III, a young man of about 24 years of age, repeatedly referred to the gestapo and of how they had everyone but him terrified. He stated three times that he was going to get a gun and that then he would like to see any border patrolmen come on his place. He inquired as to our legal rights to enter a house, and upon being informed that we did not enter residences without a warrant, he told us he had a wetback housemaid in

his home and dared us to try and get her. The maid had actually been apprehended that morning by Hansis and Wilson and was no longer in his house. This apprehension was made without entering the residence. Just before leaving the office he, too, calmed down enough to apologize for his conduct toward the officers.

You might also find the next report interesting. It was made in the same month to the chief patrol inspector at Del Rio, Tex., by a patrol inspector with regard to illegal aliens apprehended on the Roger Gillis California Ranch. Mr. Gillis is one of the most prominent ranchmen in the Del Rio area, and if I am not mistaken has a member of his family in the Texas legislature. This one reads as follows:

We received information from a reliable source that there were a large number of wetbacks, aliens illegally in the United States, on the Roger Gillis California ranch near Comstock, Tex.

On Monday, February 4, 1952, Inspector — and I were sent there to investigate. However, since the gates leading into his ranch are kept locked, it was necessary to proceed afoot.

We walked in about 6 or 7 miles and finally topped out on a hill with the ranch buildings about 300 or 400 yards below. This was about 5:30 p. m. We stayed there until we believed that all the aliens were in. Just before sunset we left this spot and proceeded under cover around the hill and came out on the road below. We followed this road directly to the ranch houses. We arrived about 5 or 10 minutes after sunset.

Upon approaching the ranch buildings we saw a man, who, upon seeing us, ran into the bunkhouse with us right behind him. After questioning he admitted being in the United States illegally. We asked him where the other "wets" were, in Spanish, and he told us that they were in the next building. Then we encountered a foreman, asked him the same question, and received the same answer. As we were talking to the foreman some of the men came out of the next building, saw us, turned around, and ran back. We followed them in and inside found several more. The foreman also followed us in. We asked him how many of these men were here without proper papers. He looked them over, counted them, 12 in all, and replied all but one. This one man was Juan Cortez, a bracero, whose contract had expired on December 19, 1951. We left this man and took the remaining 11 aliens who were here illegally.

Then Mr. Schiller, the man in charge of the ranch, came into the cookhouse and told us to leave. We said that we would but that the wets were going with us. We waited for the aliens to finish eating and to collect their belongings. Then the foreman took each of their addresses. When this was finished Mr. Schiller tried to get us to wait because, he said, Mr. Gillis was on his way out and wanted to talk to us. We asked him that should we wait, would he give us transportation to the highway where our car was. He did not answer to this after being asked twice. We realized that this was only a delaying action to stall us. We had spent better than a half hour to 45 minutes there. When we started he kept following us down the road to the next gate, which was about a hundred yards away, still trying to persuade us to wait. After a further discussion of some 10 or 15 minutes, we realized that Mr. Schiller was only trying to delay our departure, whereupon we departed on foot with the aliens. Shortly after departure I looked at my watch and it showed 7:20 p. m.

After going about 2½ miles, Messrs. Roger Gillis, Walter Gillis, and Schiller inter-

cepted us and tried to prevent us from taking these men. First they asked if we had a warrant, to which we replied "No." Then they demanded to see our identification, as they said they doubted that we were border patrolmen. Inspector — showed his credentials, while I only showed my badge, having left my identification card at home. Mr. Roger Gillis made the remark that badges could be bought in any J. C. Penney store, and continuing, said, "Let's take these men back to the ranch, the sheriff is on his way out; we'll call your boss and straighten this matter out." When we refused, he said, "Then the sheriff will probably take you in." To this we replied that the sheriff probably would not, and that he, Roger Gillis, was interfering with a Federal officer in the performance of his duty. He replied that Federal officers come under the laws too. We agreed with him on that point, and also stated that interfering with a Federal officer in the performance of his duty also comes under the law. He then ordered the aliens to put their belongings in his car, that they were going back to his ranch. "No, they are not," we said, "these men are in our custody and we are taking them to Del Rio headquarters right now." "Well, maybe you will and maybe you won't," he replied, "you don't have to get tough all of a sudden." Then we told the aliens to come on, and left.

The aliens were delivered to border patrol headquarters in Del Rio, Tex.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to my distinguished friend.

Mr. BENTSEN. I have heard the comment before about the committee having seen these two particular employees paid these wages, and I would certainly agree that would be slave wages, and I could not condone it in any way if the facts were truthfully represented to the committee and the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. I will say to the gentleman that while we were in the automobile in which we were proceeding to Falcon Dam from Brownsville, we stopped three Mexican wetbacks in tattered clothes and practically no shoes who were returning across the border that afternoon because all they were offered, and these were three able-bodied men—was \$1.25 for stoop labor, picking tomatoes.

Mr. BENTSEN. But the question I was going to ask the gentleman is that I have tried, since I heard that statement and seen it in the papers in my district, I have tried and citizens of my district have tried to find out the name of the farmer who paid that wage of \$5 for a week's work.

Mr. ROONEY. I would imagine that it could easily be obtained.

Mr. BENTSEN. I have not been able to, and I would appreciate the gentleman's help because I would like to get it.

Mr. ROONEY. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MARSHALL] was present at the time.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I gladly yield.

Mr. BENTSEN. I want to clarify something. I was not questioning the gentleman's statement, or the gentleman from Minnesota, but I am questioning the farmer's statement and the em-

ployee's statement. I think it was a put up job to influence the gentleman from New York and the committee.

Mr. ROONEY. It was not a question of anyone making a statement. I was there and I saw the dollar bills which I have referred to, five to the young man and one each to the young women.

Mr. BENTSEN. I tried repeatedly to try to find out who the farmer was.

Mr. ROONEY. What about the case of the two young women who had not worked before that day?

Mr. BENTSEN. I would like to have the facts surrounding this so I could talk to the people and have it investigated, if it did happen. The vast majority of citizens in my district would not condone such a practice if it was true, any more than I believe would the citizens represented by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. If the gentleman will get in touch with the district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—

Mr. BENTSEN. That is what I have been doing.

Mr. ROONEY. I should say that if the fine people who are all over the rest of that fine State of Texas knew the situation in the lower Rio Grande Valley, they would not stand for it for a minute because the many Texans I have met by and large are fair people. They would not tolerate this kind of nonsense occasioned only for the sake of making the almighty dollar. The point is, not only that the Mexicans were paid such a low wage—they were satisfied with it—the point is that as the result there is no respect for our law along that border, and I am ashamed, as an American citizen, to see the contempt in which decent, faithful officers of the Federal Government are held. They are being continually threatened and being told that if they enter a property as they have the right to do to legally apprehend an illegal alien, they will be shot.

I yield to the gentleman from California, and may I say I have not gotten to California on this as yet.

Mr. PHILLIPS. We will be glad to see you. This is a point which is not quite clear in our minds. For example, we have a minimum 70-cent wage so that this must be some illegal individual rather than an exceptional case.

Mr. ROONEY. Exceptional?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. ROONEY. Why do not these farmers in this area hire Mexican labor legally? Why do they not sign up for their aliens and vouch for them?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They do.

Mr. ROONEY. Why do they not hire them legally and agree to pay them 45 cents an hour. That is low enough.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Since we pay them 70 cents an hour, I suppose 45 cents an hour would be low.

Mr. ROONEY. Surely the gentleman is acquainted with the fact that the Mexican agreement calls for 45 cents an hour.

Mr. PHILLIPS. But we do not pay that low.

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to my distinguished friend and fellow committee

member the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MARSHALL].

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, this is a terrific problem, and concerns all of us. As Members of the House, we are attempting to talk about in a short time one of the most critical problems facing that area. It is not a localized problem. I would like to say to some of my good friends that this is not a local problem because these people who come across the border illegally keep right on going. It is not the group who merely comes across the line that we are concerned about, but it is the people who keep right on going. They come from Mexico into the southern part of the United States and they go on up to Michigan. They come clear up into my area.

Mr. ROONEY. Exactly. And the gentleman well knows about the narcotics which have been brought in as a result of this loose condition on the border.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield.

Mr. MARSHALL. Some of the farmers in my area are wondering what sort of economy people have in that area, that they need to be subsidized with cheap labor to the extent that some of them are. That is a serious problem with some of our people who had to pay wages in cooperation with the Mexican Government under the labor agreement that they entered into. It is unfair competition.

Mr. ROONEY. I thank the gentleman for his wholly accurate remarks.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. I spoke to the Director of Immigration in the city of Chicago, and he said the most expensive item in their budget is the apprehension of the illegal Mexican entrees who come into this country and wind up in the industrial areas, such as Chicago, where they have to be rounded up and sent back to Mexico. They stop at the farms in the south for a temporary sojourn, and they continue on up to the industrial areas where the wages are much higher.

Mr. ROONEY. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

In conclusion may I say that I wish we had an hour to discuss this one subject of the Mexican wetbacks. But we have an important conference report pending. As to this particular item the Senate was in full agreement, the Senate conferees; and the House conferees yielded to the Senate on this point. I hope no one will lose sight of the fact that in this bill is contained the pay of our postal workers who have been payless since Monday. Let us not get too involved in this important subject at the moment. Let us defer debate on it until a later date, and I am sure you will agree with the position that my committee has taken in regard to this particular matter. Let us all vote for adop-

tion of the conference report and our postal employees will get their back pay.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

[Mr. RANKIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. WIER].

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, I have been greatly disturbed not because of the defense of the Members of the House who come from Texas, in regard to the wet-back situation, because I am thoroughly familiar with their position on that, but more important in this legislation, that has been delayed too long now, is more than just the pay of postal and Government employees.

On yesterday I received a long-distance call from Frank Howard, adjutant of the Disabled American Veterans organization in the city of Minneapolis, which represents the organization at Fort Snelling. The Disabled American Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars have now found it necessary to help subsidize the widows of the deceased veterans these widows and dependents are not able to collect their pensions. It is a meager amount at best. I cannot accept the argument that is advanced that this conference agreement will be done in 5 minutes, as was said by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER]. It has been over 6 weeks in conference now, and on the basis of the position of the Senate on this question, I am not as naive as the gentleman from Iowa, who thinks that this is a mere formality on this question. I want to see the widows and the beneficiaries of these veterans get their checks at Fort Snelling. That is my interest in this bill. I do not want to see any Government employees or postal employees having to go down to the pawn shops or the loan offices and have to subject their needs to that system. I hope this bill will be passed today.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS].

(Mr. PHILLIPS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] in the feeling that we should not attempt in a few minutes on the floor to solve a question that is as confused and as confusing as the problem of the Mexican national workers. This also involves other workers usually referred to as wetbacks. That actually represents a separate problem. It would not be right for me to sit here and have statements made on the floor that people are paying pickers a dollar or a few dollars a week. I have no doubt that there are people today evading the law in Texas and California just the same as there are people evading the law in Brooklyn, but we certainly would not judge Brooklyn by the fact that one or

two people evaded the law; that would be a matter, according to my mind, for the police department, or in this case for the Department of Justice; and we would support legal action.

I wonder if it did not seem odd to my friend from New York [Mr. ROONEY] that the payment of this illegal amount of money was made exactly at the moment when his subcommittee happened to be on the spot and in a position to observe the payment. The minimum in Texas is 45 cents an hour for farm labor, and higher in California. We do not pay anyone less, on an hour rate, than 70 cents. It is no surprise to me that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN] was unable to trace this alleged incident.

I confine my remarks to an area with which I am familiar, my own area. These pickers we are talking about make as high as \$8, \$10, \$14 and \$18 a day picking onions and cantaloups. The melon season is on. If there were small checks it could be because the worker elected to work on a piecework basis. When the season is at its height they make as high as \$18 a day. I doubt the incident even then. The piecework basis has been in effect for 50 years and has been a satisfactory method.

The wetback is not primarily a problem of the American farmer. He is a problem of Mexican regulations which require \$10 for a visa on a crossing card. He can walk across a nonexistent border and work without it. We have tried to cut out the wetbacks; our farms are policed by our own farm associations where I live.

We prefer domestic workers whenever we can get them, but the Mexican has been doing this type of work for 50 years, in California, Arizona and Texas, and the native American does not want to do it, except for those of Spanish origin, or those who live all the time in the area. The Spanish and Mexican workers were in this part of the United States before we English-speaking people got there.

Some of these days I think I shall have to take time to talk at length on this subject. When you hear what these workers make, and the conditions under which they work, your opinions may change from the opinions created by the stories of the window-box farmers from New York and West Virginia, who have not seen the situation for themselves. We would welcome a disinterested and honest investigation of the whole problem. The solution of the problem is closely related to the food supply of the eastern seaboard.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. FISHER. I am.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman qualifies. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. FISHER moves to recommit the conference report on the bill H. R. 6947 to the committee on conference with instructions to

the managers on the part of the House to insist upon their disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FISHER) there were—ayes 35, noes 149.

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 2: Page 1, line 10, insert:

"For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Kenneth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska, \$12,500."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 3: Page 2, line 1, insert:

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

"Effective April 15, 1952, the appropriation for salaries of officers and employees of the Senate contained in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1952 is made available for the compensation of one camera man, Joint Recording Facility, at the basic rate of \$3,600 per annum."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 5: Page 2, line 9, insert:

"Folding documents: For an additional amount for folding speeches and pamphlets at a gross rate not exceeding \$2 per thousand, \$10,000."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 7: Page 2, line 23, insert:

"For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Oklahoma, \$12,500."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CANNON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert:

"For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Oklahoma, \$12,500."

"For payment to Lyla H. Murray, widow of Reid F. Murray, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, \$12,500."

"For payment to Anna M. Byrne, and Elizabeth B. Turkenkoph, sisters of William T. Byrne, late a Representative from the State of New York, one-half to each, \$12,500."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 22: Page 11, line 23, insert: "That the amount made available herein shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of facilities."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 25: Page 15, line 15, insert:

"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

"Investigations: For the establishment of a revolving fund which shall be available to the Civil Service Commission without fiscal year limitation for financing investigations, the costs of which are required or authorized by Public Law or any other law to be borne by appropriations or funds of other Government departments and agencies, \$6,500,000: *Provided*, That said funds shall be reimbursed from available funds of such departments and agencies for investigations made for them at rates estimated by the Commission to be adequate to recover expenses of operation, including provision for accrued annual leave and depreciation of equipment purchased by the fund: *Provided further*, That any surplus accruing to the fund in any fiscal year shall be paid into the general fund of the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts during the ensuing fiscal year: *Provided further*, That any such surplus may be applied first to restore any impairment of the capital of the fund by reason of variations between the rates charged for work or services and the amount subsequently determined by the Commission to be the cost of performing such work or services."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CANNON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 25, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

After the words "Public Law", in line 5 of said amendment, insert "298, Eighty-second Congress,"; and, in line 7 of said amendment, change "\$6,500,000" to "\$4,000,000."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 45: Page 43, line 24, insert: "Provided further, That (1) the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Treasury established by Reorganization Plan No. 26 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Attorney General established by Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Interior established by Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secre-

tary of Commerce established by Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1950, and the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of Labor established by Reorganization Plan No. 6 of 1950, shall be filled without reference to section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress, as amended, shall be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be placed in the highest grade set forth in the general schedule of such act without regard to section 505 (b) of such act, as amended, and shall be in addition to the number of positions authorized to be placed in such grade under such section, and (2) in the case of any other position for which compensation is expressly established by law at a rate equal to the rate payable prior to the enactment of Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress, under the highest grade of the Classification Act of 1949, the rate of compensation shall hereafter be equal to the rate payable for such grade under said Public Law 201."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 47: Page 50, line 21, insert:

"CHAPTER XII

"CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND JUDGMENTS

"For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in Senate Document No. 108, Eighty-second Congress, \$4,357,649, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: *Provided*, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: *Provided further*, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more than 30 days after the date of approval of this act."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CANNON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate Numbered 47, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"CHAPTER XII

"CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND JUDGMENTS

"For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in House Document No. 471, Eighty-second Congress, and Senate Document No. 108, Eighty-second Congress, \$6,490,662, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in

such judgments or in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: *Provided*, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: *Provided further*, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for herein shall not continue for more than 30 days after the date of approval of this act."

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the several motions was laid on the table.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the conference report just adopted.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

EMERGENCY POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary may have until midnight tomorrow night to file a report on the extension of the emergency powers of the President.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mr. ARMSTRONG asked and was given permission to address the House for 30 minutes on Tuesday next, following any special orders heretofore entered.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin (at the request of Mr. ARMSTRONG) was given permission to address the House for 20 minutes on Tuesday next, following any special orders heretofore entered.

KOREAN VETERANS BILL OF RIGHTS

(Mr. RANKIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, in a few moments we are going to vote on the passage of H. R. 7656, a bill to take care of our veterans in the Korean war, which President Truman referred to as a "police action." I hope there will not be a vote against it.

I introduced the bill, H. R. 7642, and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs amended it to the satisfaction of practically every Member present. Then a motion was made to strike out all the bill after the enacting clause and insert the provisions in H. R. 7656, introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE].

Efforts have been made to force through an amendment for the benefit of private schools instead of legislating,

as this bill does, for the benefit of the veterans themselves.

These boys did not stir up these foreign wars, but they are doing the fighting, the suffering, the dying; and it is our duty to see that they and their widows and orphans are properly treated.

At this point I am inserting a telegram I received from Hon. Francis M. Sullivan, national legislative director, Disabled American Veterans. It reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 3, 1952.

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Disabled American Veterans request your support for passage of H. R. 7656, as reported by Veterans' Affairs Committee. Our organization vitally concerned with provisions of title III, H. R. 7656, which extends loan guaranty benefits to veterans of the Korean conflict. In our judgment title III provides safeguards so that Korean veterans applying for loans will not be victimized as were World War II veterans.

FRANCIS M. SULLIVAN,
National Legislative Director,
Disabled American Veterans.

Mr. Speaker, attempts have been made to build up strength for the so-called Springer amendment, which would mean legislating for the private schools instead of for the veterans. I want to repeat that we owe the veterans our first duty. In this Korean conflict, or police action, we have already lost more men than we lost in four wars—the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Spanish-American War. We did not suffer as many casualties in all four of those wars combined as we have suffered in this Korean conflict.

In order to let the Members know how the people feel about this legislation, who are in a position to know what it means, I am inserting at this point a letter from the Department of Higher Education, signed by Hon. Francis H. Horn, executive secretary, which reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION,

Washington, D. C., June 3, 1952.

To Members of Congress:

The Department of Higher Education of the National Education Association, an organization of some 18,000 members in 1,600 of the Nation's 1,850 colleges and universities, including administrative officers of all kinds and faculty members of every academic and professional field, urges you to support H. R. 7656, the Teague bill, without amendment, when it comes to a vote in the House.

On March 13 the department's national committee on veterans' affairs, consisting of veterans' counselors from both publicly supported and privately supported institutions, submitted to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee a statement endorsing the proposal to make all educational benefits payable direct to the veteran because such an arrangement will (1) "foster a relationship between the veteran and the educational institution which is the same as that of non-veteran students"; and (2) "it will save money for the Federal Government by eliminating the extensive and expensive operations now required of the Veterans' Administration and educational institutions alike in the administration of the present GI law."

Since that time, as a result of agitation on the part of some colleges and universities for support of the Springer amendment, the department's executive committee of eight members, also representative of both

Public Law 375 - 82d Congress
Chapter 369 - 2d Session
H. R. 6947

AN ACT

All 66 Stat. 101.

Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1952, ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes, namely: Third Supplemental Appropriation Act,

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

SENATE

For payment to Marjorie C. Wherry, widow of Kenneth S. Wherry, late a Senator from the State of Nebraska, \$12,500.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Effective April 15, 1952, the appropriation for salaries of officers and employees of the Senate contained in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1952 is made available for the compensation of one camera man, Joint Recording Facility, at the basic rate of \$3,600 per annum.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

Folding documents: For an additional amount for folding speeches and pamphlets at a gross rate not exceeding \$2 per thousand, \$10,000.

Senate restaurants: For an additional amount for Senate kitchens and restaurants, \$25,000.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For payment to Helen D. Whitaker, widow of John A. Whitaker, late a Representative from the State of Kentucky, \$12,500: *Provided*, That the foregoing death gratuity payment, and any other death gratuity payment at any time specifically appropriated by this or any other Act or at any time made out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, shall be held to have been a gift.

For payment to Barbara Y. Schwabe, widow of George B. Schwabe, late a Representative from the State of Oklahoma, \$12,500.

For payment to Lyla H. Murray, widow of Reid F. Murray, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, \$12,500.

For payment to Anna M. Byrne, and Elizabeth B. Turkenkoph, sisters of William T. Byrne, late a Representative from the State of New York, one-half to each, \$12,500.

SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Office of the Doorkeeper

For an additional amount for "Office of the Doorkeeper", \$38,895.

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

For an additional amount, salaries and expenses, studies and examinations of executive agencies, \$35,000.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE HOUSE

For payment to Walter B. Huber, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Huber versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to William H. Ayres, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Huber versus Ayres as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to W. Kingsland Macy, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to Ernest Greenwood, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Macy versus Greenwood as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to Maurice S. Osser, contestant, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

For payment to Hardie Scott, contestee, for expenses incurred in the contested election case of Osser versus Scott as audited and recommended by the Committee on House Administration, \$2,000.

Stationery (Revolving Fund)

For an additional amount for "Stationery (revolving fund)", first session of the Eighty-second Congress, \$500, to remain available until expended.

Special and Select Committees

For an additional amount for expenses of "Special and select committees", \$75,000.

ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

Subway transportation, Capitol and Senate Office Buildings: For an additional amount, not to exceed \$300, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Capitol Buildings".

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WORKING CAPITAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING AND BINDING

65 Stat. 401. The limitation under this head in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for printing, binding, and distributing the Federal Register, is increased from "\$480,000" to "\$650,000".

CHAPTER II

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

For an additional amount for "Fees and expenses of witnesses", \$100,000.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, CLAIMS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses, claims of persons of Japanese ancestry", \$12,500,000.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES.

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$1,000,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$30,159,900" to "\$33,117,250": *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for the purchase of not to exceed forty passenger motor vehicles in addition to those heretofore provided, and for purchase or construction of buildings and adjunct facilities for detention of aliens. 65 Stat. 584.

FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

For an additional amount for "Support of United States prisoners", \$750,000.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

ESTABLISHMENT OF AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES

The limitation under this head in the Department of Commerce Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$1,965,300" to "\$5,950,000". 65 Stat. 587.

CLAIMS, FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT

For an additional amount for "Claims, Federal Airport Act", \$701,170, to remain available until June 30, 1953, as follows: Municipal Airport, Dothan, Alabama, \$50,901; Municipal Airport, Tucson, Arizona, \$25,544; Yuma County Airport, Yuma, Arizona, \$3,114; Delano-Kern County Airport, Delano, California, \$403; Palm Springs Airport, Palm Springs, California, \$29,979; Municipal Airport, Colorado Springs, Colorado, \$108,757; Municipal Airport, Statesboro, Georgia, \$46,398; Henry Tift Myers Airport, Tifton, Georgia, \$93,931; Municipal Airport, Valdosta, Georgia, \$85,069; Hammond Airport, Hammond, Louisiana, \$24,538; Lafayette Airport, Lafayette, Louisiana, \$44,368; Municipal Airport, Glasgow, Montana, \$36,487; Municipal Airport, Omaha, Nebraska, \$44,440; Municipal Airport, Bismarck, North Dakota, \$13,924; Clatsop Airport, Astoria, Oregon, \$8,915; Municipal Airport, Roanoke, Virginia, \$63,161; Walla Walla City-County Airport, Walla Walla, Washington, \$21,241. 60 Stat. 170. 49 U.S.C. § 1101 note.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS

For an additional amount for "Federal-aid highways", to remain available until expended, \$69,500,000, which sum is composed of \$14,491,000, the remainder of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1950, and \$55,009,000, a part of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1951.

CHAPTER III

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$450,000.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES, PUBLIC MONEYS

For an additional amount for "Contingent expenses, public moneys", \$25,000.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$20,000,000.

BUREAU OF THE MINT

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$225,000: *Provided*, That appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952, shall be available for paying wage increases from the date of approval by the Treasury Department.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

(Out of the postal revenues)

POSTAL OPERATIONS

For an additional amount for "Postal operations", \$10,000,000.

TRANSPORTATION OF MAILS

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails", fiscal year 1951, \$61,578,000.

For an additional amount for "Transportation of mails", \$100,000,000.

CLAIMS

For an additional amount for "Claims", \$250,000.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$988,000; and the limitation under this head in the Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$4,200,000" to "\$5,746,000": *Provided*, That the limitation in the appropriation granted the Department of Labor in the

joint resolution of August 16, 1951 (Public Law 113), on the duration of temporary employment of Mexican nationals, is repealed. 65 Stat. 190.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION

EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION FUND

For an additional amount for "Employee's compensation fund", \$2,200,000.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

The amount authorized to be expended from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, for "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance", by the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Act, 1952, is increased from "\$58,000,000" to "\$60,100,000". 65 Stat. 219.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

For an additional amount for "Surplus property disposal", \$40,000.

DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

For an additional amount for "Defense community facilities and services", Federal Security Agency, \$4,000,000, to remain available until June 30, 1953; and the amount of the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses, defense community facilities and services", granted in the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, shall be available until June 30, 1953, for necessary expenses of the Federal Security Agency in connection with its functions under the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act of 1951, including services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a). 65 Stat. 763. 65 Stat. 293. 42 U.S.C. § 1591 note. 60 Stat. 810.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD (TRUST FUND)

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses, Railroad Retirement Board (trust fund)", \$1,600,000, to be derived from the railroad retirement account; and the limitation under this head in the Railroad Retirement Board Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$3,799,724" to "\$5,259,000". 65 Stat. 222.

CHAPTER V

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FOREST SERVICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", for fighting forest fires, \$3,250,000.

SMOKE JUMPER FACILITIES

65 Stat. 609. For expenses necessary for the establishment of facilities for forest fire control operations pursuant to the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law 198), \$700,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the amount made available herein shall be the full cost of the acquisition of land and construction of facilities: *Provided further*, That hereafter the authorization granted in section 3 of said Act to enter into contracts for the foregoing purposes shall not be exercised.

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$3,500,000.

CHAPTER VI

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

65 Stat. 250. For an additional amount for "Operation and maintenance", \$240,000; and the limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services is increased from "\$3,983,862" to "\$4,261,862".

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

MANAGEMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

65 Stat. 251. For an additional amount for "Management of lands and resources", \$250,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau of Land Management for personal services, are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

65 Stat. 252. For an additional amount for "Resources management", \$175,000; and the restrictions contained within the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended from appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for personal services, are hereby waived to the extent necessary to meet the cost of fire suppression.

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

65 Stat. 255.
65 Stat. 742. The limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended by the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$38,570,172" to "\$42,976,462".

BUREAU OF MINES

CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL RESOURCES

The limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is ^{65 Stat. 259.} increased from "\$10,446,575" to "\$11,454,000".

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

MAINTENANCE AND REHABILITATION OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is ^{65 Stat. 260.} increased from "\$4,193,747" to "\$4,543,900".

OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ALASKA

The limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is ^{65 Stat. 263.} increased from "\$2,493,000" to "\$2,844,700".

ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES

For an additional amount for "Administration of Territories", \$163,000; and the limitation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal ^{65 Stat. 262.} services, is increased from "\$811,865" to "\$879,200".

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Investigations: For the establishment of a revolving fund which shall be available to the Civil Service Commission without fiscal year limitation for financing investigations, the costs of which are required or authorized by Public Law 298, Eighty-second Congress, or any ^{Ante, p. 43.} other law to be borne by appropriations or funds of other Government departments and agencies, \$4,000,000: *Provided*, That said fund shall be reimbursed from available funds of such departments and agencies for investigations made for them at rates estimated by the Commission to be adequate to recover expenses of operation, including provision for accrued annual leave and depreciation of equipment purchased by the fund: *Provided further*, That any surplus accruing to the fund in any fiscal year shall be paid into the general fund of the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts during the ensuing fiscal year: *Provided further*, That any such surplus may be applied first to restore any impairment of the capital of the fund by reason of variations between the rates charged for work or services and the amount subsequently determined by the Commission to be the cost of performing such work or services.

COMMISSION ON RENOVATION OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION

For an additional amount for "Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion", \$20,000.

DISPLACED PERSONS COMMISSION

For an additional amount for "Displaced Persons Commission", \$3,074,500; and appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952 shall remain available until August 31, 1952.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

65 Stat. 273. For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$313,000; and the limitation under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for travel, is increased from "\$240,000" to "\$252,000".

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL SUPPLY AND RECORDS BUILDING

44 Stat. 630. For the acquisition of a site in or near Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri, and the construction thereon of a building for use as a supply and records center, including related equipment approaches, ramps, roadways, railroad spurs, and other appurtenant facilities, pursuant to the provisions of the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as amended (40 U. S. C. 341), \$1,400,000, to remain available until expended.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

DEFENSE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES

For an additional amount for "Defense community facilities and services", \$9,375,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

DEFENSE HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Defense housing", \$12,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the construction of any project unless funds are available for the completion of such project.

ALASKA HOUSING

For an additional amount for "Alaska housing", \$1,125,000, to remain available until expended.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

For an additional amount for "Annual contributions", \$3,600,000.

NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PROPERTIES

For an additional amount for "Maintenance and operation of properties", \$3,000.

RENEGOTIATION BOARD

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$100,000.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$2,955,000; and the limitations under this head in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for expenses of National Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Management is increased from "\$1,856,000" to "\$2,042,000", and on the amount available for expenses of State Administration, Planning, Training, and Records Servicing is increased from "\$6,454,000" to "\$7,350,000": *Provided*, That effective as of the first day of the first pay period which began after June 30, 1951, and within ninety days from the date of enactment of this Act, the rate of compensation of any employee of a local board or appeal board may be increased pursuant to the authority contained in section 10 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended: *Provided further*, That such increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951.

65 Stat. 745.

62 Stat. 618;

65 Stat. 75.

50 U.S.C. app.

§ 460.

65 Stat. 612.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

For an additional amount for "Compensation and pensions", \$60,000,000, to remain available until expended.

READJUSTMENT BENEFITS

For an additional amount for "Readjustment benefits", \$148,000,000, to remain available until expended.

NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE

For an additional amount for "National service life insurance", \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended.

SERVICEMEN'S INDEMNITIES

For an additional amount for "Servicemen's indemnities", \$2,300,000, to remain available until expended.

SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS INSURANCE FUND

For the "Service-disabled veterans insurance fund", authorized by section 620 of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 821), \$250,000, to remain available until expended.

VETERANS SPECIAL TERM INSURANCE FUND

For the "Veterans special term insurance fund", authorized by section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended (38 U. S. C. 822 (a)), \$250,000, to remain available until expended.

AUTOMOBILES AND OTHER CONVEYANCES FOR DISABLED VETERANS

To enable the Administrator to provide, or assist in providing, automobiles or other conveyances for disabled veterans, as authorized by the Act of October 20, 1951 (Public Law 187), \$25,000,000, to remain available until expended.

65 Stat. 574.
38 U.S.C.
§§ 252a-252e.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

MARITIME ACTIVITIES

OPERATING-DIFFERENTIAL SUBSIDIES

The last proviso under the head "Operating-differential subsidies", in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided further*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be available for obligation, nor any obligation made, for the payment of an operating-differential subsidy for any number of voyages, during the current fiscal year, in excess of fourteen hundred, of which sixty shall be for new operators, which number shall include the number of voyages under contracts hereafter awarded."

65 Stat. 284.

MARITIME TRAINING

For an additional amount for "Maritime training", \$43,500, and the limitation under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1952, on the amount available for personal services, is increased from "\$2,236,500" to "\$2,263,500".

65 Stat. 285.

CHAPTER VIII

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

Flood control, general (emergency fund)

For an additional amount for "Flood control, general (emergency fund)", \$5,750,000, to be derived by transfer from "Flood control, general" and to remain available until expended.

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN AID

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—CIVIL FUNCTIONS

GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS

After the termination of the occupation government in Japan, there may be transferred, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, to appropriations of the Department of State for the purposes thereof in the areas for which the funds were appropriated during fiscal year 1952, such unobligated balances of the appropriations granted under this head for the fiscal year 1952, and such property related thereto, as may be determined to be necessary, and any limitations in said appropriations to the Department of State are hereby waived to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes of such transfers.

CHAPTER X

EMERGENCY AGENCIES

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", \$200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses", Office of Defense Mobilization.

SMALL DEFENSE PLANTS ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for the Small Defense Plants Administration, including expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the purposes of this appropriation, and hire of passenger motor vehicles, \$825,000.

CHAPTER XI

INCREASED PAY COSTS

For additional amounts for appropriations for the fiscal year 1952, for increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law, as follows:

65 Stat. 612,
622, 636.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Senate:

"Salaries, officers and employees", \$782,896;

Contingent expenses of the Senate:

"Senate policy committees", \$9,910;

"Joint Committee on the Economic Report", \$7,690;

"Joint Committee on Atomic Energy", \$12,925;

"Joint Committee on Printing", \$2,792;

- "Vice President's automobile", \$355;
- "Automobile for the President pro tempore", \$355;
- "Automobile for majority and minority leaders", \$710;
- "Reporting Senate proceedings", \$10,253;
- "Furniture", cleaning and so forth, \$290;
- "Inquiries and investigations", \$92,120;
- "Folding documents", \$2,890;
- "Miscellaneous items", \$15,060;
- House of Representatives:
 - "Salaries, officers and employees", \$150,000;
 - "Clerk hire, Members and Delegates", \$500,000;
- Contingent expenses of the House:
 - "Furniture", \$8,850;
 - "Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation", \$7,475;
 - "Office of the Coordinator of Information", \$5,630;
 - "Folding documents", \$5,250;
 - "Revision of laws", \$800;
 - "Speaker's automobile", \$485;
- "Office of Legislative Counsel", \$16,065, of which \$7,600 shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and \$8,465 by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;
- Capitol police: "Capitol Police Board", \$1,795;
- "Education of Senate and House pages", \$2,940;
- Architect of the Capitol:
 - Office of the Architect of the Capitol: "Salaries", \$8,100;
- Capitol Buildings and Grounds:
 - "Capitol Buildings", \$39,000;
 - "Capitol Grounds", \$18,100;
 - "Legislative garage", \$2,400;
 - "Senate Office Building", \$55,400;
 - "House Office Buildings", \$78,000;
 - "Capitol Power Plant", \$35,400;
- Library buildings and grounds: "Structural and mechanical care", \$16,700;
- Botanic Garden: "Salaries and expenses", \$14,700;
- Library of Congress:
 - "Salaries, Library proper", \$293,634;
 - Copyright office: "Salaries", \$73,000;
 - Legislative reference service: "Salaries and expenses", \$66,300;
 - Distribution of catalog cards: "Salaries and expenses", \$55,359;
 - Union catalogs: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,230;
 - Library buildings: "Salaries and expenses", \$74,860;
- Government Printing Office, Office of Superintendent of Documents:
 - "Salaries and expenses", \$117,120;

THE JUDICIARY

- Supreme Court of the United States:
 - "Salaries", \$52,000;
 - "Care of the building and grounds", \$11,800;
- Court of Customs and Patent Appeals: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;
- Customs Court: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,835;
- Court of Claims: "Salaries and expenses", \$7,000;
- Other courts and services:
 - "Salaries of clerks of courts", \$398,000;
 - "Probation system", \$197,000;
 - "Salaries of criers", \$51,000;

"Miscellaneous salaries", \$239,900;

"Salaries of court reporters", \$94,400;

"Administrative Office of the United States Courts", \$40,300;

"Expenses of referees", \$15,000;

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

"Executive Mansion and grounds", \$20,000;

Bureau of the Budget: "Salaries and expenses", \$246,000;

Council of Economic Advisers: "Salaries and expenses", \$17,800;

National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$30,000;

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,000,000;

Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and expenses", \$5,000,000;

"Export-Import Bank of Washington" (increase of \$70,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Federal Civil Defense Administration: "Operations", \$365,000;

Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$488,900;

Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$203,775;

Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys", \$14,000;

Federal Trade Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$274,000;

General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$1,500,000;

Indian Claims Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,900;

Interstate Commerce Commission:

"General expenses", \$719,000;

"Railroad safety", \$60,000;

"Locomotive inspection", \$45,000;

National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,400,000;

National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$432,250;

National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$20,900; and

the amount made available under the head "Salaries and expenses,

National Railroad Adjustment Board", in the National Mediation

Board Appropriation Act, 1952, for compensation and expenses of

referees is decreased from "\$250,000" to "\$231,000";

65 Stat. 222.

Securities and Exchange Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$435,000;

Smithsonian Institution:

"Salaries and expenses, Smithsonian Institution", \$162,000;

"Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art", \$90,000;

Tariff Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$87,000;

The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and expenses", \$42,000;

Veterans' Administration: "Administration, medical, hospital, and domiciliary services", \$32,254,000;

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Columbia Institution for the Deaf: "Salaries and expenses", \$26,600,

to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and

further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$343,300;

Freedmen's Hospital: "Salaries and expenses", \$193,800;

Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$260,300, of which \$216,100 shall be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Office of Education: "Salaries and expenses", \$202,300, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Promotion and further development of vocational education", Office of Education;

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and expenses", \$38,000;

Public Health Service:

"Venereal diseases", \$146,300;

"Tuberculosis", \$61,750;

"Assistance to States, general", \$95,000;

"Communicable diseases", \$272,650;

"Engineering, sanitation, and industrial hygiene", \$104,500;

"Disease and sanitation investigations and control, Territory of Alaska", \$18,050;

"Salaries and expenses, hospital construction services", \$63,650;

"Hospitals and medical care", \$1,346,150;

"Foreign quarantine service", \$148,200;

"National Institutes of Health, operating expenses", \$256,500;

"National Cancer Institute", \$156,750;

"Mental health activities", \$42,750;

"National Heart Institute", \$82,650;

"Dental health activities", \$19,000;

"Salaries and expenses", \$167,200;

Saint Elizabeths Hospital: "Salaries and expenses", \$199,025;

Social Security Administration:

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Federal Credit Unions", \$54,150;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assistance", \$96,900;

"Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$90,250;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner", \$14,250, together with not to exceed \$7,325 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$156,275, together with not to exceed \$30,400 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

"Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations", \$28,975, together with not to exceed \$3,700 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

"Salaries, Office of the General Counsel", \$28,500, together with not to exceed \$1,900 to be transferred from the appropriation "Salaries and expenses, certification and inspection services", and not to exceed \$29,250 to be transferred from the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund;

Provided, That the Administrator may transfer from any appropriation available for salaries and expenses of the Federal Security Agency or any constituent part thereof to any of the foregoing appropriation accounts of the Federal Security Agency such additional amounts as

65 Stat. 612. may be necessary to meet increased pay costs under Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951;

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

"Operating expenses", \$5,759,000;

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Office of the Administrator:

"Salaries and expenses", \$207,000;

"Advance planning of non-Federal public works", \$63,500;

"Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services", \$44,700;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$40,000;

"Federal National Mortgage Association" (increase of \$244,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Loans for prefabricated housing (increase of \$18,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses in connection with loans for prefabricated housing);

"Home Loan Bank Board" (increase of \$31,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$95,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses for the examination of Federal and State chartered institutions);

"Federal Housing Administration" (increase of \$334,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,175,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses);

"Public Housing Administration" (increase of \$833,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$1,031,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for nonadministrative expenses);

"Administrative expenses", \$601,000;

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$222,000;

Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

"Economic investigations", \$170,500;

"Crop and livestock estimates", \$234,500;

Agricultural Research Administration:

"Office of Administrator", \$41,000;

"Research on agricultural problems of Alaska", \$20,000;

"Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials", \$32,000;

Office of Experiment Stations: "Salaries and expenses", \$23,000;

"Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics", \$86,000;

Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:

"Animal research", \$215,000;

"Animal disease control and eradication", \$395,800;

"Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum", \$4,200;

"Meat inspection", \$1,040,000;

"Bureau of Dairy Industry", \$98,000;

"Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry", \$450,000;

Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering:

"Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering research", \$745,920;

"National Arboretum", \$12,080;

60 Stat. 1082.
7 U.S.C.
§§ 427, 427h-
427j, 1621-
1629

All 66 Stat. 116.

Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:

Salaries and expenses:

"Insect investigations", \$265,500;

"Insect and plant-disease control", \$297,900;

"Plant quarantines", \$192,600;

"Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases" (not to exceed \$42,000 of the amount of this appropriation which may be apportioned for use only to meet emergency conditions, pursuant to the provision under this head in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law 201));

65 Stat. 231.

65 Stat. 612.

Forest Service:

Salaries and expenses:

"National forest protection and management", \$1,492,000;

"Forest research", \$308,000;

"State and private forestry cooperation", \$48,000;

Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing services", \$740,000;

"Commodity Exchange Authority", \$12,000;

Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$540,000;

Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,745,000;

65 Stat., 244.

65 Stat. 612.

"Commodity Credit Corporation" (not to exceed \$1,080,000 of the amount placed in reserve pursuant to the last proviso under this head in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1952, may be used to meet increased pay costs under the Act of October 24, 1951 (Public Law 201));

"Farm Credit Administration", \$31,000;

"Federal intermediate credit banks" (increase of \$53,756 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

"Production credit corporations" (increase of \$49,015 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

Extension Service: "Salaries and expenses", \$58,000;

"Office of the Secretary", \$160,000;

"Office of the Solicitor", \$172,000;

"Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations", \$40,000;

"Office of Information", \$48,000;

"Library", \$46,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;

"Technical and scientific services", \$10,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$2,500,000;

Bureau of the Census:

"Salaries and expenses", \$450,000;

"Seventeenth decennial census", \$660,000;

Civil Aeronautics Administration:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000,000;

"Technical development and evaluation", \$70,000;

"Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$80,000;

"Federal-aid airport program, Federal Airport Act" (\$150,000 60 Stat. 170.
of the amount made available for projects in the States to be 49 U.S.C.
available for necessary planning, research, and administrative § 1101 note.
expenses);

Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;

Coast and Geodetic Survey: "Salaries and expenses", \$469,000;

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

"Departmental salaries and expenses", \$209,000;

"Field office service", \$92,000;

"Export control", \$124,000;

Maritime activities: "Salaries and expenses", \$719,300; and increase
the limitations thereunder as follows:

Administrative expenses, \$642,300;

Maintenance of shipyard facilities, \$41,000;

Reserve fleet expenses, \$36,000;

Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$750,000;

National Bureau of Standards:

"Operation and administration", \$40,000;

"Research and testing", \$250,000;

"Radio propagation and standards", \$70,000;

Weather Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,470,000;

"Inland Waterways Corporation" (increase of \$10,000 in the limita-
tion upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Department of the Army—Civil functions:

Quartermaster Corps: "Cemeterial expenses", \$47,500;.

"United States Soldiers' Home" (\$135,000, to be paid from the
Soldiers' Home permanent fund);

"Canal Zone Government", \$550,000;

"Postal service", \$50,000;

"Panama Canal Company" (increase of \$15,000 in the limita-
tion upon the amount which may be used for administrative
expenses);

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Enforcement of the Connally Hot Oil Act", \$11,000; 49 Stat. 30.

"Operation and maintenance, Southeastern Power Adminis- 15 U.S.C.
tration", \$16,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation § 715-715k.

"Construction, Southeastern Power Administration";

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$250,000;

Commission of Fine Arts: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,200;

Bonneville Power Administration: "Construction", \$590,000;

Bureau of Land Management: "Management of lands and resources",
\$335,000;

Bureau of Indian Affairs:

"Health, education, and welfare services", \$2,175,000;

"Resources management", \$388,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$224,900;

"Payment to Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians, Okla-
homa", \$1,500;

"Tribal funds" (from tribal funds), \$79,000;

Bureau of Reclamation: "General administrative expenses",
\$300,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Construc-
tion and rehabilitation";

Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and research",
\$649,000;

Bureau of Mines:

"Conservation and development of mineral resources", \$650,000;

"Health and safety", \$285,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$84,000;

National Park Service:

"Management and protection", \$440,000;

"Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facilities", \$79,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$83,000;

Fish and Wildlife Service:

"Management of resources", \$275,000;

"Investigations of resources", \$170,000;

"General administrative expenses", \$55,000;

Office of Territories: "Operation and maintenance of roads, Alaska", \$40,000;

Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries and expenses", \$140,000;

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Legal activities and general administration:

"Salaries and expenses, general administration", \$160,000;

"Salaries and expenses, general legal activities", \$400,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division", \$245,000;

"Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and marshals", \$800,000;

Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons", \$1,130,000;

Office of Alien Property (trust fund): "Salaries and expenses" (increase of \$240,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses);

"Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated" (increase of \$21,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for administrative expenses, and increase of \$29,000 in the limitation upon the amount which may be used for expenses of vocational training of prisoners);

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$76,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor", \$109,200;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards", \$43,700;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights", \$18,000;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$120,000;

Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses", \$166,300;

Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and expenses", \$138,700;

Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"Salaries and expenses", \$323,000;

"Revision of consumers' price index", \$83,600;

Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$16,200;

Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses", \$521,500;

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

(Out of the postal revenues)

"General administration", \$1,675,000;

"Postal operations", \$241,479,000;

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"Salaries and expenses", \$4,200,000;
 "International information and educational activities", \$1,750,000;
 "Government in occupied areas", \$700,000;

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses", \$175,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of Accounts:

"Salaries and expenses", \$65,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

"Salaries and Expenses, Division of Disbursement", \$750,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public debt", \$617,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Bureau of Customs: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000,000;

Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses", \$130,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

Secret Service Division:

"Salaries and expenses", \$172,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

"Salaries and expenses, White House police", \$10,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation "Operating expenses, Coast Guard";

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Out of revenues of the District of Columbia)

General Administration:

"Executive office", \$19,400;

"Office of the corporation counsel", \$18,000;

"Purchasing Division", \$8,500;

"Board of Tax Appeals", \$1,200;

Fiscal Service: "Salaries and expenses, Fiscal Service", \$106,700;

Compensation and retirement fund expenses:

"Workmen's compensation, administrative expenses", \$14,000;

"District government retirement and relief funds", \$70,000;

Regulatory agencies:

"Alcoholic Beverage Control Board", \$4,800;

"Board of Parole", \$2,400;

"Coroner's office", \$4,300;

"Department of Insurance", \$700;

"Department of Weights, Measures, and Markets", \$11,400;

"License Bureau", \$6,700;

"Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board", \$6,500;

"Office of Recorder of Deeds", \$10,000;

"Poundmaster's office", \$3,100;

"Office of Administrator of Rent Control", \$1,200;

"Zoning Commission", \$2,100;

Public schools:

"General administration", \$1,557,000;

"Vocational education, George-Barden program", \$19,000;

"Operation and maintenance of buildings, grounds and equipment", \$221,000;

All 66 Stat. 120.

Public Library: "Operating expenses", \$68,000;
 Recreation Department: "Operating expenses", \$133,000;
 "Metropolitan Police", \$944,000, of which \$132,650 shall be payable from the highway fund;
 Fire Department", \$440,000;
 Courts: "District of Columbia courts", \$42,100, of which \$1,700 shall be available for payment to the United States Public Health Service;
 Health Department:
 "General administration", \$56,000;
 "Operating expenses, Glenn Dale Tuberculosis Sanatorium", \$94,000;
 "Operating expenses, Gallinger Municipal Hospital and the Tuberculosis Hospital", \$341,000;
 Department of Corrections: "Operating expenses", \$150,500;
 Public welfare:
 "General administration", \$4,400;
 "Agency services", \$12,600;
 "Operating expenses, protective institutions", \$97,000;
 "Saint Elizabeths Hospital", \$575,000;
 Public works:
 "Office of chief clerk", \$5,700;
 "Office of Municipal Architect", \$8,800;
 "Operating expenses, Office of Superintendent of District Buildings", \$79,000;
 "Department of Inspections", \$36,000;
 "Operating expenses, Electrical Division", \$14,000;
 "Central garage", \$5,900;
 "Operating expenses, Street and Bridge Divisions" (payable from highway fund), \$60,000;
 "Capital outlay, Street and Bridge Divisions" (payable from highway fund), \$13,000;
 "Department of Vehicles and Traffic" (payable from highway fund), \$32,000;
 "Division of Trees and Parking" (payable from highway fund), \$21,300;
 "Operating expenses, Division of Sanitation", \$331,000;
 "Operating expenses, Sewer Division", \$85,000;
 "Operating expenses, Water Division" (payable from water fund), \$105,000;
 Washington Aqueduct: "Operating expenses" (payable from water fund), \$20,000;
 "National Guard", \$3,500;
 "National Capital Parks", \$146,000;
 "National Zoological Park", \$29,800;

DIVISION OF EXPENSES

The sums appropriated in this Act for the District of Columbia shall, unless otherwise specifically provided, be paid out of the general fund of the District of Columbia, as defined in the District of Columbia Appropriation Act of 1952.

65 Stat. 155.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Appropriations or other funds made available by this or any other Act for personal services during the fiscal year 1952 shall be available for pay increases, comparable to those provided by Public Law 201, approved October 24, 1951, granted by administrative action pursuant to law: *Provided*, That such pay increases may be made retroactively effective on the same basis as if they had been authorized by said law:

65 Stat. 612.

Provided further, That this section shall not affect the availability of funds for compensation of personnel employed, by contract, pursuant to section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), or other similar authority, or of employees whose rates of pay are fixed in accordance with prevailing local wage rates upon recommendation of wage boards or other similar authority: *Provided further*, That (1) the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Treasury established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 26 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Attorney General established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 2 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Interior established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1950, the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of Commerce established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 5 of 1950, and the position of Administrative Assistant Secretary of Labor established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 6 of 1950, shall be filled without reference to section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress, as amended, shall be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, shall be placed in the highest grade set forth in the general schedule of such Act without regard to section 505 (b) of such Act, as amended, and shall be in addition to the number of positions authorized to be placed in such grade under such section, and (2) in the case of any other position for which compensation is expressly established by law at a rate equal to the rate payable prior to the enactment of Public Law 201, Eighty-second Congress, under the highest grade of the Classification Act of 1949, the rate of compensation shall hereafter be equal to the rate payable for such grade under said Public Law 201.

Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or other funds, available during the fiscal year 1952, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for specified types of personal services, or for other purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may be transferred between appropriations or authorizations available for or involving such services, are hereby increased to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by Public Laws 201 and 204, approved October 24, 1951, and Public Law 207, approved October 25, 1951, and comparable pay increases granted by administrative action pursuant to law.

CHAPTER XII

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES, AUDITED CLAIMS, AND JUDGMENTS

For payment of claims for damages as settled and determined by departments and agencies in accord with law, audited claims certified to be due by the General Accounting Office, and judgments rendered against the United States by United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims, as set forth in House Document Numbered 471, Eighty-second Congress, and Senate Document Numbered 108, Eighty-second Congress, \$6,490,662, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest (as and when specified in such judgments or in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office or provided by law) and such additional sums due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in foreign currency: *Provided*, That no judgment herein appropriated for shall be paid until it shall have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise: *Provided further*, That, unless otherwise specifically required by law or by the judgment, payment of interest wherever appropriated for

64 Stat. 1280.
5 U.S.C.
§ 1332-15
note.

64 Stat. 1261-
1263.
5 U.S.C.
§ 1332-15
note.

65 Stat. 757.
5 U.S.C.
§ 43 note.

63 Stat. 954.
5 U.S.C.
§ 1071 note.
65 Stat. 612.

65 Stat. 612,
622, 636.

herein shall not continue for more than thirty days after the date of approval of this Act.

CHAPTER XIII

Persons
 engaging,
 etc., in
 strikes a-
 gainst or
 advocating
 overthrow of
 U.S. Govern-
 ment.
 Affidavit.

Penalty.

65 Stat. 757.
 5 U.S.C.
 § 43 note.
 Promotions.

Reductions in
 amounts.

SEC. 1301. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act, or of the funds available for expenditure by any corporation included in this Act, shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that the person making the affidavit has not contrary to the provisions of this section engaged in a strike against the Government of the United States, is not a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or that such person does not advocate, and is not a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*, That any person who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence and accepts employment the salary or wages for which are paid from any appropriation or fund contained in this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law.

SEC. 1302. Section 1310 of Public Law 253 of the Eighty-second Congress is hereby amended as follows:

At the end of subsection "a" before the period, insert: "*Provided further*, That any agency may promote any employee permanently to a position if such promotion will not increase the number of employees holding permanent positions in the grade of such position in such agency above the number in such grade in such agency prior to September 1, 1950: *Provided further*, That permanent promotions may be made to any position in a category for which the Civil Service Commission authorizes permanent appointments under the terms hereof".

And in the last proviso of subsection "c", after "register," insert: "or is eligible for appointment, in accordance with a regular appointment system or procedure established prior to September 1, 1950, to higher grade position outside the competitive Civil Service".

And at the end of subsection "c", before the period, insert: "or being advanced to a grade level not exceeding that for which he had previously established eligibility as required by the terms hereof: *Provided further*, That, notwithstanding the provisions hereof, and in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity, the Civil Service Commission, when requested by the head of the agency involved, may authorize promotions in individual cases of meritorious nature".

SEC. 1303. Amounts made available for pay increases in this Act, by appropriation, increase in administrative expense limitation, transfer and otherwise are hereby reduced in the sums hereinafter set forth, and such sums (except corporate funds, trust funds, and funds under the title "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases") shall be carried to the surplus fund and covered into the Treasury immediately upon the approval of this Act, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

National Security Resources Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000;

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Civil Service Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$40,000;
 Defense Production Administration: "Salaries and expenses", (transfer) (\$130,000);
 Economic Stabilization Agency: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,500,000;
 "Export-Import Bank of Washington" (administrative expenses) (\$7,000);
 Federal Communications Commission: "Salaries and expenses", \$20,000;
 Federal Power Commission: "Flood-control surveys", \$1,400;
 General Accounting Office: "Salaries", \$500,000;
 Interstate Commerce Commission:
 "General expenses", \$24,000;
 "Railroad safety", \$6,000;
 "Locomotive inspection", \$4,500;
 National Capital Housing Authority: "Maintenance and operation of properties", \$160;
 National Labor Relations Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$22,000;
 National Mediation Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$900;
 Railroad Retirement Board: "Salaries and expenses", (trust fund) (\$35,000);
 Selective Service System: "Salaries and expenses", \$100,000;
 Smithsonian Institution: "Salaries and expenses, National Gallery of Art", \$4,000;
 The Tax Court of the United States: "Salaries and expenses", \$1,000;

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Food and Drug Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$17,300;
 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", \$4,420;
 Howard University: "Salaries and expenses", (transfer) (\$21,610);
 Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,000;
 Social Security Administration:
 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance", (trust fund) (\$173,000);
 "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Public Assistance", \$3,900;
 "Salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau", \$5,250;
 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner", \$250;
 "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Commissioner", (transfer) (\$325);
 Office of the Administrator:
 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", \$6,275;
 "Salaries, Office of the Administrator", (transfer) (\$2,400);
 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations", \$975;
 "Salaries and expenses, Division of Service Operations", (transfer) (\$700);

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Office of the Administrator:
 "Salaries and expenses", \$20,700;
 "Advance planning of non-Federal public works", \$6,350;
 "Salaries and expenses, defense housing and community facilities and services", \$4,470;
 "Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$4,000;

- "Federal National Mortgage Association", (administrative expense limitation) (\$24,400);
- "Loans for prefabricated housing", (administrative expense limitation) (\$1,800);
- Home Loan Bank Board:
 - "Administrative expense limitation", (\$6,000);
 - "Nonadministrative expense limitation", (\$9,500);
- Federal Housing Administration:
 - "Administrative expense limitation", (\$33,400);
 - "Nonadministrative expense limitation", (\$117,500);
- Public Housing Administration:
 - "Administrative expenses", \$60,100;
 - "Administrative expenses limitation", (\$83,300);
 - "Nonadministrative expenses limitation", (\$103,100);

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- 60 Stat. 1082. "Research and Marketing Act of 1946", \$10,000;
- 7 U.S.C. Bureau of Agricultural Economics:
 - §§ 427, 427h- "Economic investigations", \$10,500;
 - 427j, 1621- Agricultural Research Administration:
 - 1629. "Research on Agricultural problems of Alaska", \$2,000;
 - "Research on strategic and critical agricultural materials", \$3,200;
- Bureau of Animal Industry: Salaries and expenses:
 - "Animal disease control and eradication", \$15,800;
 - "Marketing agreements, hog cholera virus and serum", \$200;
- Bureau of Dairy Industry: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,000;
- Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry", \$25,000;
- Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering:
 - "Plant, soil, and agricultural engineering research", \$30,020;
- Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine:
 - "Control of emergency outbreaks of insects and plant diseases", (language) (\$1,200);
- Forest Service:
 - "State and private forestry cooperation", \$3,000;
- Production and Marketing Administration: "Marketing Services", \$74,000;
- "Commodity Exchange Authority", \$1,200;
- Rural Electrification Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$5,000;
- Farmers' Home Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$174,500;
- "Commodity Credit Corporation" (language) (\$108,000);
- Farm Credit Administration: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,100;
- "Office of the Secretary", \$10,000;
- "Office of the Solicitor", \$17,000;

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- Office of the Secretary:
 - "Technical and scientific services", \$1,000;
 - "Salaries and expenses, Defense production activities", \$400,000;
- Civil Aeronautics Administration:
 - "Technical development and evaluation", \$7,000;
 - "Maintenance and operation, Washington National Airport", \$8,000;
- Civil Aeronautics Board: "Salaries and expenses", \$15,000;
- Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: "Export Control", \$12,400;

Maritime activities: "Maritime training", \$2,000;
 Patent Office: "Salaries and expenses", \$25,000;
 "Inland Waterways Corporation", (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,000);

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Department of the Army—Civil Functions:

"Canal Zone Government", \$55,000;
 "Postal service", \$5,000;
 "Panama Canal Company", (administrative expenses limitation) (\$1,500);

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary: "Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$15,000;

Bonneville Power Administration:

"Operation and Maintenance", \$16,000;
 "Construction", \$59,000;

Bureau of Land Management:

"Management of lands and resources", \$15,000;

Bureau of Indian Affairs: "Health, education, and welfare services", \$75,000;

Geological Survey: "Surveys, investigations, and research", \$64,900;

Bureau of Mines: "Conservation and development of mineral resources", \$65,000;

Fish and Wildlife Service:

"Management of resources", \$10,000;
 "Investigations of resources", \$5,000;

Office of Territories: "Administration of Territories", \$16,300;

Administration, Department of the Interior: "Salaries and expenses", \$4,000;

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Legal Activities and General Administration:

"Salaries and expenses, general legal activities", \$40,000;

"Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division", \$24,500;

Federal Prison System: "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons", \$113,000;

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of the Secretary:

"Salaries and expenses", \$1,500;

"Salaries and expenses, Office of the Solicitor", \$2,200;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Standards", \$700;

"Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights", \$300;

"Salaries and expenses, defense production activities", \$3,000;

Bureau of Apprenticeship: "Salaries and expenses", \$3,500;

Bureau of Employees' Compensation: "Salaries and expenses", \$2,700;

Bureau of Employment Security: "Salaries and expenses", \$9,000;

Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"Salaries and expenses", \$6,000;

"Revision of consumers' price index", \$1,600;

Women's Bureau: "Salaries and expenses", \$200;

Wage and Hour Division: "Salaries and expenses", \$11,500;

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

(Out of the postal revenues)

"General Administration", \$16,750;
"Postal operations", \$2,414,790;

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"Salaries and expenses", \$250,000;
"International information and educational activities", \$175,000;
"Government in occupied areas", \$70,000;

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Bureau of the Public Debt: "Administering the public debt",
(transfer) (\$75,000);
Bureau of Narcotics: "Salaries and expenses", (transfer) (\$13,000);
Secret Service Division: "Salaries and expenses, White House
Police", (transfer) (\$5,000).

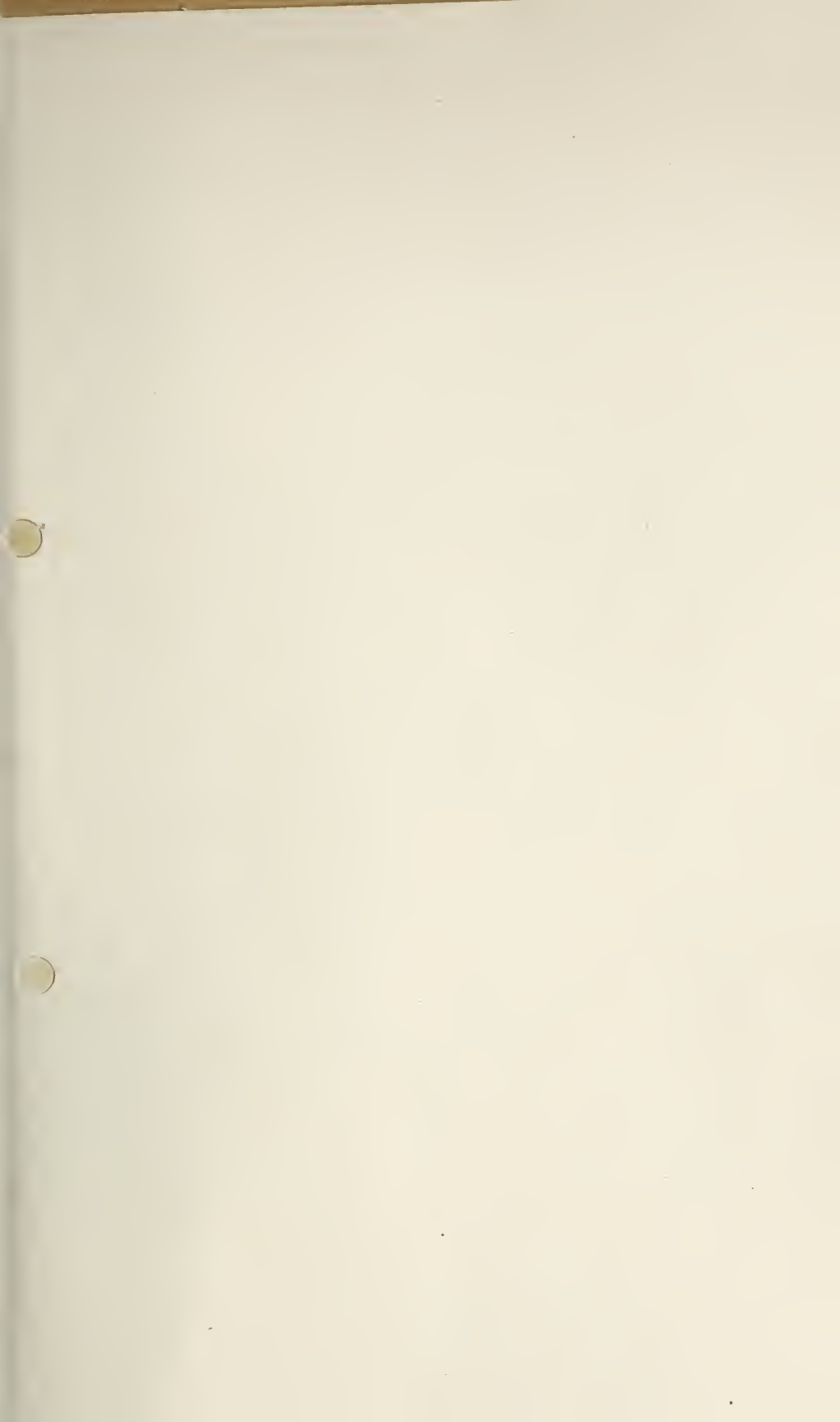
Publicity or
propaganda.

SEC. 1304. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall
be used for publicity or propaganda purposes not heretofore author-
ized by the Congress.

Short title.

This Act may be cited as the "Third Supplemental Appropriation
Act, 1952".

Approved June 5, 1952.



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